OUR UNITED STATES

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HISTORY

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OUR UNITED STATES

A History of the Nation

WOODBURN *and* MORAN'S

History and Civics Series

ELEMENTARY AMERICAN HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

INTRODUCTION TO AMERICAN HISTORY

BEGINNER'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

THE MAKERS OF AMERICA

FINDERS AND FOUNDERS OF THE NEW WORLD

THE CITIZEN AND THE REPUBLIC

THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY

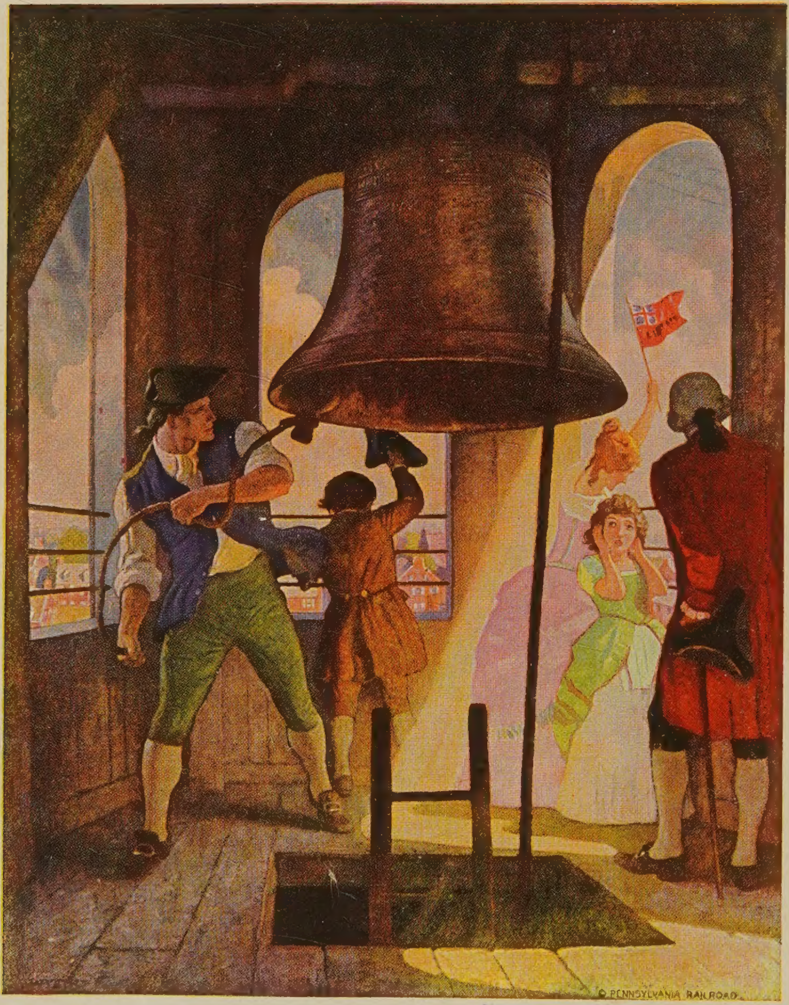
ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP

[With Howard C. Hill]

EARLY AMERICA

HISTORIC BACKGROUND OF OUR UNITED STATES

OUR UNITED STATES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OUR UNITED STATES

A History of the Nation

BY

JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN

Indiana University

THOMAS FRANCIS MORAN

Purdue University

HOWARD COPELAND HILL

Laboratory Schools, University of Chicago

1935 EDITION

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.

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WOODBURN, MORAN, AND HILL

OUR UNITED STATES

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MADE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PREFACE

This book is intended for boys and girls in the upper-elementary and junior high-school grades. It contains an account of the outstanding movements and developments in the history of the United States from the days of Christopher Columbus to those of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The volume is based on the belief that it *is better educative procedure to follow, one by one, the main lines of progress that have marked the history of our country than to attempt to carry them all along at the same time.* Instead of presenting a mass of miscellaneous and unrelated facts merely in the order of their happening, we have sought, therefore, to bring out in a unified way the great movements in our history, their causes, beginnings, and growth, and to make known the achievements and character of the great men and women who have made the United States what it is today.

Accordingly the *story of the significant movements in American history is told* with a proper recognition of the time order of events within such movements, but without causing a break in the narrative by introducing topics and facts which, although contemporary and important, are without logical connection with the subject under discussion. Thus *each line of progress is presented by itself.* When the story of each is fully told, the story of the whole is more effective and more easily understood. If the movements are clearly related or are interdependent, the relation is explained in the text; cross references also enable the pupils to grasp readily the historical connections.

The plan of selecting and organizing historical material explained above makes it unnecessary to burden the teacher and the pupil with the mention of *everything* that has happened in the four hundred years of our history. For teaching purposes at least many matters are best omitted. It is important rather to include only the details that are of moment both in themselves and as a means of clarifying the significant lines of development in our history as a nation.

The Table of Contents shows what we conceive to be the great movements in American history from the discovery of the New World to the problems of the present day. These movements, when properly apprehended, reveal the history of the United States in its various aspects — social, industrial, educational, political, governmental, inventive, including the story of the receding frontier, the pioneer conquest of the continent, and our advancing democracy. The story is one to inspire patriotism and lead to better citizenship.

We have sought to present the history of our country in a clear, readable style. No pains have been spared to bring every sentence and paragraph within the easy understanding of children in the upper-elementary and junior high-school grades. With this end in view the text was critically read and the vocabulary and sentence structure thoroughly revised by Miss Nelle E. Moore, Supervisor of Elementary Education, Wilmette Public Schools, Wilmette, Illinois. The procedure included (1) securing a list of probable difficulties through the reader's judgment and a check on the Thorndike 10,000 word list, (2) trying out the expressions likely to cause difficulty with upper-grade pupils of a public school, (3) recasting sentences to remove difficulties in vocabulary and sentence structure, (4) inserting explanations of historical terms which were necessary to the text, (5) including vocabulary self-checking exercises for pupils.

The Appendix should prove a helpful part of the volume. Here are found the texts of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution of the United States. These are cited frequently in the book and a study of them can be made with profit. The Appendix can also be used for reference and significant statistics. Here the pupil will find a chronological list of the principal facts and dates in our history; the list and terms of the Presidents, the political parties to which they belonged, and the States from which they came; the population of the States by the last census, the order in which the Original Thirteen ratified the Constitution, and the date when each subsequent State was admitted to the Union; the growth of our population by decades since 1790, and the number of members of Congress.

Careful attention has been given to the pedagogical features of the volume. Previews, giving the heart of the movement to be studied, will be found at the beginning of each of the ten Parts of the book. Class Activities, containing questions, problems, projects, and exercises of a wide variety, provide suggestive material to enable the teacher to meet the varying needs of the pupils. A Class Library is given on the pages following the Preface. The citations to these books, which are made at the end of every chapter in the volume, will be found helpful in stimulating wide reading. The illustrations, maps, and other graphic aids form an integral part of the volume; they have been selected to illuminate and interpret the text, not to adorn it.

Special mention should be made of the exercises and tests that are provided under the title "Looking Backward" at the end of each of the ten Parts into which the volume falls. The activities there presented are intended to round out or summarize the movement that the pupils have just completed (1) by providing suitable review material, (2) by revealing the respects in which study may have been inadequate, and (3) by clarifying matters that may not have been understood. The systematic use of this material — a distinctive feature of the volume — will prove a valuable aid in guiding instruction.

In bringing this preface to a close a word concerning the viewpoint of the authors is in order. We have faith in America. We would inculcate that faith in the rising generation. We believe there is reason for pride in America's past and we have bright hopes for her future. To bring about that greater and better future requires that the children in the schools be taught how their liberties were obtained; how the Union of the States was formed; how our Constitution came to be; how the nation has grown, the changes it has undergone, the perils that have threatened it, and the courage and wisdom that have sustained it. These are the central themes of our story. We believe that when the children of America come to know their country's history they will become better citizens, more devoted to the principles of government and life for which their fathers struggled. They will then be more determined to strive for good will among nations, for obedience to law, and for the maintenance of the freedom and order which have been bequeathed to them.

A CLASS LIBRARY

The following books have been selected for their value in supplementing the text. They are referred to again and again throughout the volume. If at all possible, they should be secured for the use of the pupils in the classroom or in the school library. The entire set, with the exception of the last three numbers (10, 11, and 12), can be bought for about ten dollars.

1. *The Book of the United States,* by Elsie Singmaster. Doubleday, Doran & Co., Garden City, N. Y.
2. *Women in American History,* by Grace Humphrey. Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis.
3. *Makers of Our History,* by John T. Faris. Ginn and Company, Boston.
4. *America First,* by Lawton B. Evans. Milton Bradley Company, Springfield, Mass.
5. *Source Book of American History,* by Albert Bushnell Hart. The Macmillan Company, New York.
6. *Heroes of Progress,* by Eva March Tappan. Houghton Mifflin Company, New York.
7. *Readings in Community Life,* by Howard C. Hill. Ginn and Company, Boston.
8. *Our Presidents,* by James Morgan. The Macmillan Company, New York.
9. *In Our Times,* by Albert Bushnell Hart and John Gould Curtis. The Macmillan Company, New York.

10. *America the Great Adventure,* by George P. Krapp. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

11. *This Country of Ours,* by Henrietta E. Marshall. Doubleday, Doran & Co., Garden City, N. Y.

12. One, two, or all of these:

    The Book of Knowledge. 20 vols. Grolier Society, New York.

    Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia. 10 vols. F. E. Compton and Company, Chicago.

    The World Book Encyclopedia. 12 vols. W. F. Quarrie & Company, Chicago.

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PART ONE
FINDING A NEW WORLD

FINDING A NEW WORLD

The history of the American nation begins, not in the New World, but in the Old. For centuries America, remote and lonely, lay hidden beyond the "Sea of Darkness." Men's fears had imagined in that sea dangers which they dared not attempt to pass.

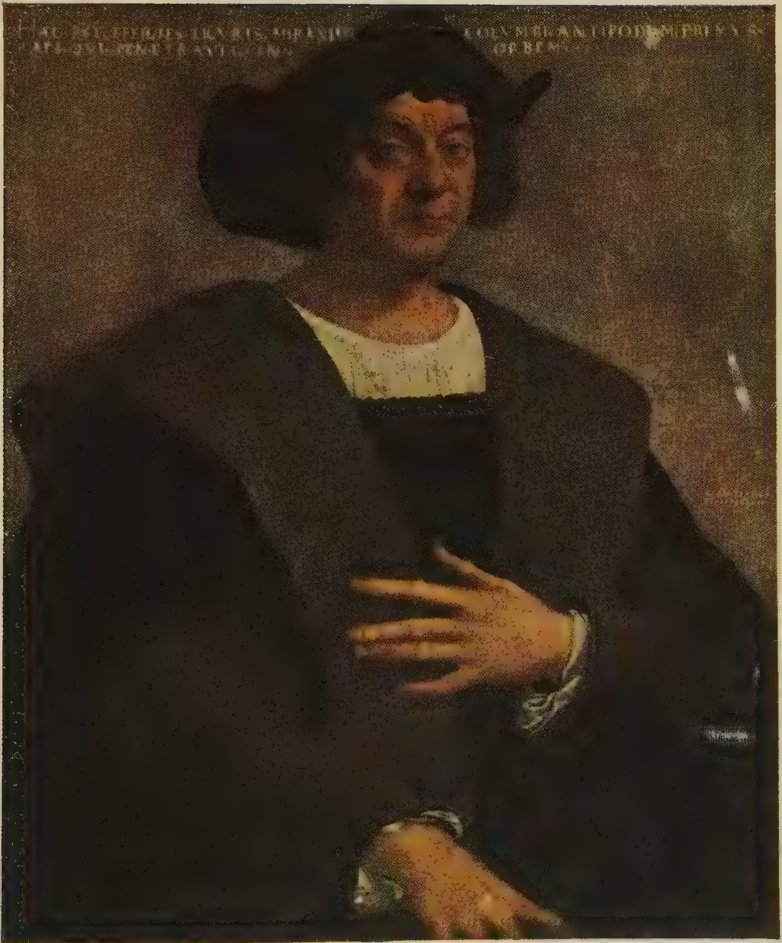
In the Old World, however, travelers from Europe had long since found their way to Asia. They had carried back with them the spices, silks, and precious stones of the Indies, and their adventures in the Far East had brought romance into their uneventful lives.

But the routes of travel from West to East were slow and dangerous. In addition to the perils of desert and shipwreck, travelers had to face attacks from warlike tribes and nations. A safer route was needed if the trade with the East was to continue. An all-sea route would be the best, because it would be the cheapest. Where could such a route be found?

Many explorers turned their attention to this problem. Several believed that an all-sea route might be found around Africa. Columbus decided to strike out boldly into the Western ocean, and found — quite by accident — a New World!

The rulers of the countries of Europe were eager to secure for themselves large areas in the strange lands across the Atlantic. For who knew what treasures might be found there? Accordingly each sent out brave men to explore the newly-discovered region.

The natives of America could offer no effective resistance against the white man's gunpowder. Slowly but steadily the newcomers explored the interior and took possession of the dense forests, the fertile plains, and the rich mineral deposits of the New World.



Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art

Columbus, Finder of a New World

OUR UNITED STATES

PART ONE
FINDING A NEW WORLD

CHAPTER I

OUR ANCESTORS AND THEIR EUROPEAN HOME

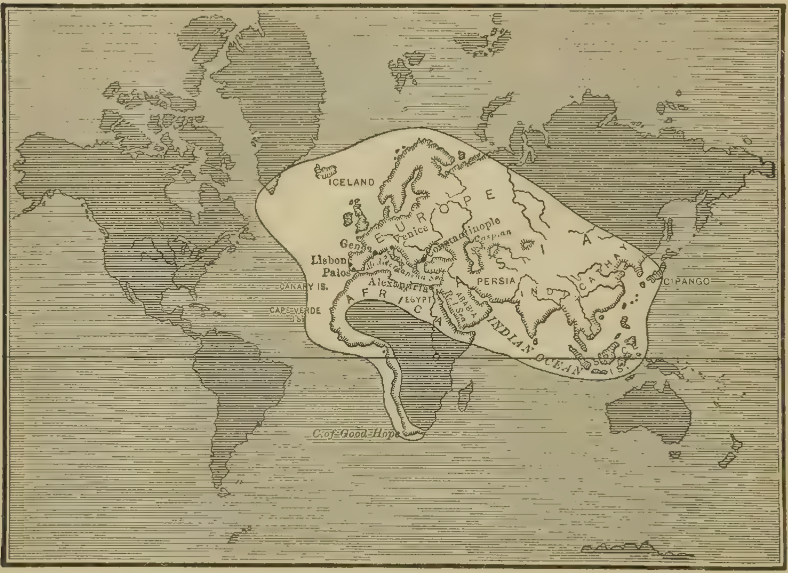
The Old World and the New. Our ancestors came from the Old World. They brought with them to the New World their languages, their manners and customs, their religious beliefs, and their ideas of government. If we would understand our forefathers and what they did, we must first understand the region from which they came, the conditions under which they lived, and the ideals and ambitions which they cherished.

The New World is the name given to the American continents. They were so called because they were the last of the great continents to be discovered and inhabited by civilized man. Europe, Asia, and Africa, on the other hand, are called the Old World. They were inhabited by civilized peoples many hundreds of years before America was discovered.

Since the American continents were surrounded by immense oceans, they lay concealed for centuries, unknown to the people of the Old World and unaffected by their activities. But with the passing of time, a close connection came about between the history of the Old World and that of the New; for the New World was discovered, explored, and inhabited by men from the

Old. In short, a part of the people of the Old World came over to the New. The history of the New World, therefore, continues that of the Old.

A short time before America was discovered there occurred in Europe what is called the revival of learning. It was not only a revival of learning but also the revival of a new spirit, a revival of inquiry, of travel, of exploration and adventure. The printing press was invented and the mariner's compass came into wide use. Men wondered about the size and shape of the earth. The times were ripe for exploration and discovery. The Old World was ready for the discovery of the New.


ICELAND
EUROPE
Venice
Constantinople
Caspian
Genoa
Lisbon
Palos
Mediterranean Sea
CANARY IS.
CAPE VERDE IS.
Alexandria
AFRICA
EGYPT
ARABIA
Red Sea
PERSIA
ASIA
INDIA
CATHAY
CIPANGO
INDIAN OCEAN
SPICE IS.
C. of Good Hope

THE KNOWN WORLD IN THE TIME OF COLUMBUS

European travelers had been to India, China, and Japan. Portuguese navigators had crept down the western coast of Africa, and Bartholomew Diaz had reached the Cape of Storms (Cape of Good Hope). Vasco da Gama had not yet sailed around Africa and come to India. The great American continents were still unknown.

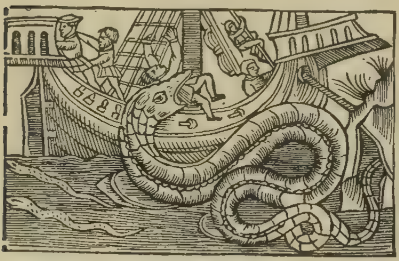
Size and Shape of the Earth. Men who lived in the days before America was discovered had queer notions about the size and shape of the earth. We now know that the earth is shaped like a ball or sphere, but most people in those times thought that it was flat and that people lived only on the upper side of it. Every one, including the few men who believed that the earth was round, estimated its size to be much less than it really is.

That part of the globe which was known even to the best geographers of the day was very small indeed. By looking at the map you will see that the American continents were entirely unexplored before the time of Columbus. Europe, of course, was well known; but large parts of Asia had never been seen by civilized man, and the interior of Africa was known only to wild beasts and savages.

The maps of the world which were made before the time of Columbus show only the continent of Europe, a large part of Asia, and a narrow strip on the northern coast of Africa. In many cases pictures of fierce-looking animals were drawn upon the edges of the maps to show the kinds of creatures which a traveler might expect to find in the unexplored regions. Most men, naturally enough, had little desire to risk their lives by going into the remote parts of the world.

"The Sea of Darkness." The men of this time were also slow to venture out upon the Atlantic Ocean. The mariner's compass was in use, and the astrolabe, an instrument for finding the latitude of a ship at sea, had been invented; but in spite of such aids the equipment of sailors was not good. Many of the instruments in use were imperfect and crude, and the ships of the time were small sailing vessels. One of the largest of these ships could be placed in the dining-room of an ocean liner of today.

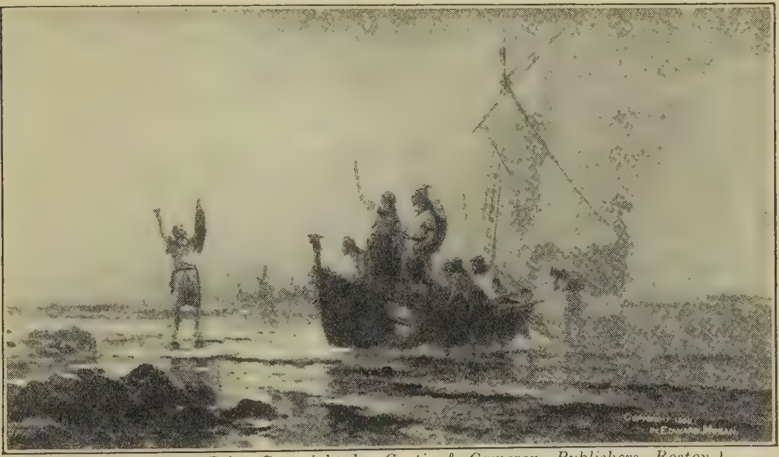
The lack of good instruments and large ships was not the chief reason why sailors did not wish to try to cross the ocean. The main reason for their attitude is found in the way in which they looked upon the Atlantic, or "The Sea of Darkness," as it was then called. No one had explored the ocean; little was known about it; and, as is usual in such cases, most people imagined a great many terrible things. For example, some of them believed that the water of the Atlantic constantly boiled in certain places; that parts of it were covered with a dense, black fog in which sailors could not make their way; and that monstrous animals of queer and terrible shapes constantly glided about among the waves. Many people also believed that parts of the ocean contained "ship-worms" which bored holes in the bottoms of vessels, causing them to sink rapidly and almost without warning. Such "worm-seas," as they were called, were greatly dreaded by sailors.



An Old Picture Representing Some of the Terrors of "The Sea of Darkness"

Then again, vessels sailing out of port seemed to go down hill, since the tops of the masts were the last to disappear. Upon noticing this fact, some asked: "How will it be possible for the ships to make their way up the hill again, when they wish to come back into port?" When we consider such beliefs and notions, is it strange that the men of that day did not care to sail out of sight of land upon the Atlantic?

Prophecies of the Discovery. It is not exactly correct to say, as a few writers have done, that a New World was not thought of before the time of Columbus. In their day dreams several early writers had pictured such a continent. Seventeen hundred years before the time of Columbus a Greek writer said that if the Atlantic was not too wide sailors could reach India by sailing west from Spain. He also said that it was entirely possible that two or even more "habitable earths" might lie between the two countries.



(From a Copley Print Copyright by Curtis & Cameron, Publishers, Boston.)

THE LANDING OF LEIF ERICSON

The Northmen came to America in small swift sailing vessels like those shown in the picture. They made their long voyages without the aid of the mariner's compass.

A wonderful prophecy was also made by a Roman poet who lived about the time of the birth of Christ. This man prophesied that in the future a day would come when the sea would reveal new worlds, and that vast earths, then unknown, would lie open to view. Centuries later the son of Columbus read this prophecy and claimed that his father had fulfilled it by his voyage of 1492.

The Norsemen. Columbus was not the first white man to set foot upon American soil. About five hundred years before his famous voyage a band of Norsemen (Northmen) led by Leif Ericson (lēf ĕr′ĭk sŭn), a hardy sea rover, came from Norway to the Atlantic coast of North America, and like a flock of sea birds alighted, lingered for a while, and then went their way. The people of the time soon forgot all about the voyage of the Northmen, and Columbus, to the day of his death, had probably never heard of it.

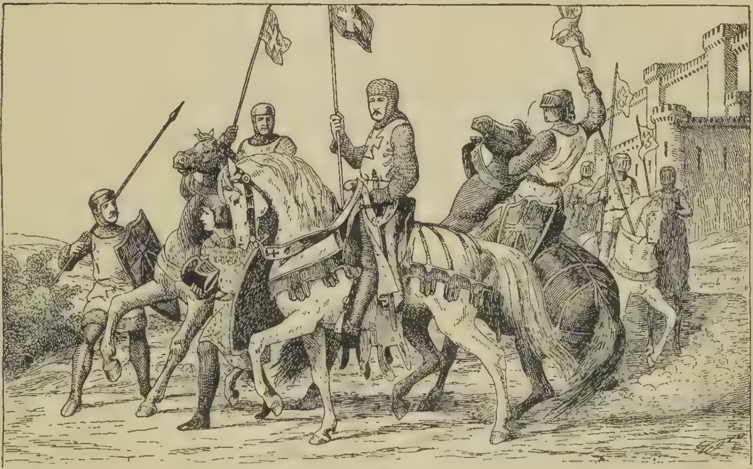
The Great East. The men of Europe of Columbus's day desired, above all other things, to find a new trade route to the Indies. By the Indies Europeans meant a vast expanse of territory in the Far East, comprising the countries which we now know as India, China, and Japan.

For centuries the people of Europe had carried on a large and profitable trade with this far-off region. In exchange for their own goods they had obtained pepper, spices, gold, precious stones, silks, perfumes, fine glass from Bagdad, fine swords from Damascus, and other rare and valuable articles. Many merchants of southern Europe became exceedingly wealthy by engaging in this eastern trade.

Little was known about the Far East, and for this very reason the people of the time had an exaggerated notion of its wealth and importance. Only a few Europeans had visited eastern Asia, but those who had done so told strange and alluring stories about the riches which they had seen.

Marco Polo, an Italian, who had traveled widely in the East, gave a glowing account of the country in 1299. A short time later Sir John Mandeville (măn′dē vĭl) published his stirring book, *Voyage and Travels.* Sir John had never really been in the East, but he led people to believe that he had by telling as his own experiences the adventures of other eastern travelers.

These stories told of "silver walls and golden towers," of precious stones and fountains of youth, and of immense palaces paved with gold, "like slabs of stone, a good two fingers thick." Such accounts naturally made the people of Europe very eager to increase their trade with the East and to know more of that marvelous region.



CRUSADERS
Notice the crosses on the banners.

The Crusades and the East. The Crusades also increased the desire of European people to have greater commerce with the East. These "Holy Wars of the Cross" were military expeditions organized in Europe in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries for the purpose of going to the Holy Land and rescuing the tomb of Christ from the hands of the Turks. These expeditions increased the demand of the people of Europe for eastern goods and aroused in them a keen interest in the geography of the East.

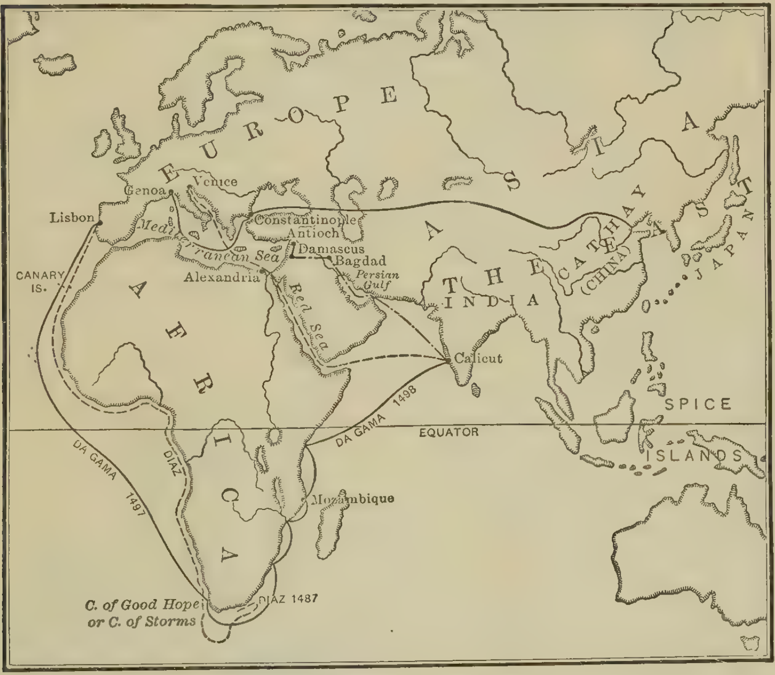
The Revival of Learning. This interest in commerce, navigation, and geography was further stimulated by a great revival of learning that began early in the fourteenth century. For nearly a thousand years before this time there had been little knowledge or enlightenment in Europe. The period is usually called the Dark Ages. The monks and clergymen of the Christian Church were about the only educated men of the time. The masses of people were ignorant and cared nothing for education.

In the fourteenth century, however, a remarkable change took place. A revival of learning began which soon spread in every direction. Men became more active than they had been for centuries. Trade increased, manufacturing became more extensive, printing was invented. Men read and studied and were eager for travel by land and water. In short, the spirit of enterprise was in the air.

All of these things — the glowing accounts of travelers, the Crusades, and the revival of learning — tended to increase the interest of Europeans in the trade and geography of the East.

The Three Routes to the East. In the time of Columbus there were three important trade routes to the East. The northern route started from Genoa (jĕn′ō̇ ȧ), and, passing through Constantinople (kŏn stăn′tĭ nō′pl), the Black and Caspian Seas, led the merchant into eastern China. The southern route started from Venice (vĕn′ĭs) and, passing through the Red Sea, reached India. The middle route began at Antioch (ăn′tĭ ŏk) and made its way to India by way of the Persian Gulf.

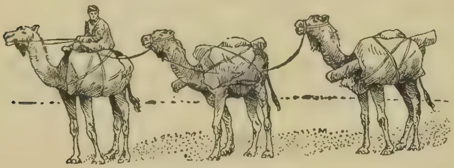
Over these routes the rich products of the East were carried upon the backs of camels, mules, and horses, and even upon the shoulders of men. The caravans of the merchants toiled slowly and painfully over mountains, through valleys and across deserts, in the midst of snow, ice, or burning sands, until their precious burdens were finally placed on shipboard at a Mediterranean port. Sometimes the cargoes were plundered by wild Asiatic tribes; again, goods fell into the hands of pirates or robbers; now and then an entire ship-load went to the bottom of the sea during one of the furious Mediterranean storms. Yet the goods usually reached their destination and caused Venice and Genoa to become wealthy commercial cities.


EUROPE
ASIA
AFRICA
Genoa
Venice
Lisbon
Med.
-ranean Sea
Constantinople
Antioch
Damascus
Bagdad
Persian Gulf
Alexandria
Red Sea
CANARY IS.
THE INDIA
CATHAY (CHINA)
JAPAN
Calicut
SPICE ISLANDS
EQUATOR
DA GAMA 1498
DA GAMA 1497
DIAZ
DIAZ 1487
Mozambique
C. of Good Hope
or C. of Storms

Trade Routes to the East

For centuries Europeans had toiled up and down the northern and middle routes with boat and caravan. They carried woolen cloth, linen, lead, wine, glassware, gold, and silver to the East, and received in exchange spices, pepper, cotton cloth, silks, ivory, pearls, sapphires, diamonds, and other valuable articles. The southern route, around the coast of Africa, was first undertaken by the Portuguese.

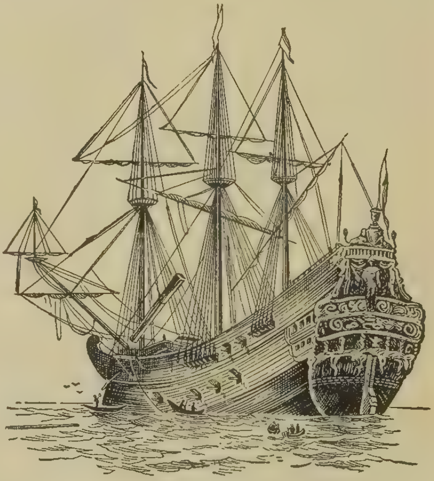
But a turn soon came in the fortunes of the Italian cities. In 1453 Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks, who at that time were conquering large parts of Asia. In the half century between 1450–1500 the Turkish conquests brought most of the trade under the control of that race. The system of commerce which had been in existence for centuries was endangered by Turkish wars and violence. The old trade routes were blocked or hampered. The commerce of Venice and Genoa with the East suffered, merchants failed, business was seriously interrupted, and Columbus probably saw grass growing in the streets of his native city.



PART OF A CARAVAN

These patient beasts of burden brought a large part of the valuable goods from the East to the ports of the Mediterranean.

It was evident that the time was near at hand when the Turks might cut off all the overland routes between Europe and the East. Something had to be done. The merchants of Europe said, "A new route must be found to the great East." This desire furnished the main cause for the great discoveries and explorations that we are now to study.



A VENETIAN SHIP

These staunch and gaily decorated ships carried valuable cargoes to and from the port of Venice in the Middle Ages. They made Venice one of the most prosperous cities in the world.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. What is the Old World? The New World? Is not the New World as *old* as the Old World? Why, then, are the names used? How did they first come to be used?

2. Tell what the common people believed about the size and shape of the earth before America was discovered. What views were held by scholars and educated people?

3. Give three reasons why navigators did not like to sail out of sight of land four hundred and fifty years ago.

4. Tell about early prophecies that were made about the discovery of new lands beyond the Atlantic. Suggest reasons why neither the men who made the prophecies nor the sailors of their day tried to find the hidden continents.

5. Who were the Norsemen? Tell why their discovery of America was of no practical importance.

6. Why were the people of Europe of Columbus's time so greatly interested in the East? Is our interest as great today? Explain.

7. Point out the chief difference between the kinds of goods that formed the cargoes of early trade between Europe and the East (see pages 6–7) and the main kinds of goods exchanged at the present time. How do you explain the change?

8. Tell how the Crusades increased the interest of Europeans in the East. Explain the part the revival of learning had in arousing curiosity about unknown lands.

9. How did the conquests of the Turks in western Asia affect European trade with the East?

THINGS TO DO

1. Select one of the readings in the Class Library (see page 12) and prepare a floor-talk upon it.

2. Find out the country in the Old World in which your ancestors lived. (Ask your father and mother.) Write the name of the country on a slip of paper. (You need not give your own name.) Hand in your slip to a committee of three pupils to be chosen by the class. The committee will (1) show on an outline map the countries from which the ancestors of the members of the class came, and (2) tell something about the conditions in the countries at the time of Columbus.

3. On an outline map of the world show in black the parts of the earth that were unknown to Europeans before America was discovered.

4. Make a list of common articles of food and clothing enjoyed by us, but unknown to the people of Europe of Columbus's day.

5. Study the map on page 9 until you are able (1) to show on an outline map the three main trade routes to the East and (2) to locate Genoa, Venice, Constantinople, Antioch, Red Sea, India, Persian Gulf, China.

6. For volunteers. Secure a copy of Marco Polo's *Travels* or of Sir John Mandeville's *Voyage and Travels* and report to the class interesting stories told by these writers about the East.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "The Old World," *America the Great Adventure*, 5–9.
2. "The Perils of the Sea," *ibid.*,* 22–30.
3. "Life in England," *Source Book of American History*, 18–21.
4. "When the World of Art and Letters was Born Again," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia*, 6: 2995–2997.
5. "Persecution in England," *America First*, 40–45.
6. "The Crusades," *The World Book Encyclopedia*, 3: 1761–1764.
7. "Renaissance," *ibid.*, 10: 6055–6056.

**Ibid.* signifies "in the same book."

CHAPTER II

THE DISCOVERERS AND EXPLORERS

A Water Route to India. When the merchants and traders of Europe found their trade routes to the East cut off or interfered with by the Turks, they naturally tried to find a new route to the East. A glance at the map will show that only one way offered hope — a route by sea. At the time Spain and Portugal (pōr′tū̇ găl) were the two leading exploring nations of Europe, and navigators from these countries set out in different directions to seek India.

Portuguese sailors attempted to reach India by going around the southern part of Africa. They sailed cautiously down the western coast, crossed the equator, and in 1487 Bartholomew Diaz (bär thŏl′ō mū dē̆′äs) succeeded in rounding the southern cape, only to be beaten back by furious gales. He made a map of the coast along which he had passed, naming the southern extremity the "Cape of Storms." The King of Portugal, however, greatly pleased at the success of the expedition, struck off this name and put in its place the name the cape still bears — the "Cape of Good Hope." The King hoped that his men would yet sail around the cape and thus reach India.

In this hope he was not disappointed. In 1497 Vasco da Gama (väs′kō dä gä′mä) sailed from Lisbon and reached India in May of the following year. He returned to Portugal in triumph, laden with the spices, jewels, silks, and fine fabrics of the East. The Portuguese had solved the great problem. They had found an all-water route to India, and Lisbon soon became an important market for the rich products of the East.

Columbus and His Voyages. While the Portuguese were creeping down the African coast and crossing the Indian Ocean, the Spaniards were seeking the same goal by boldly sailing west across the Atlantic Ocean. In fact, America had been discovered and Columbus was about to sail for the third time in search of a western route to India when Vasco da Gama made his great voyage. This brings us to the fascinating story of Columbus and his discovery of the New World.

Christopher Columbus was born in Genoa, Italy, about the year 1446. His father was a humble weaver, and he, too, called himself "a wool-worker of Genoa." He did not go to school a great deal, but by practice he became a fine penman and a skillful map-maker. The sea had great attractions for him even when he was a boy, and he read with eagerness everything that he could lay hands upon about sea voyages and geography. He also read about the riches of the East, and studied with much care the problem of finding a new route to that marvelous country.

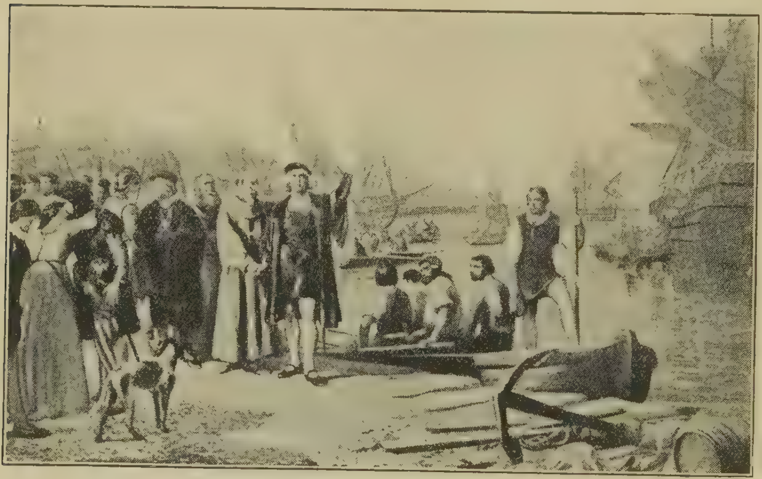
After careful study Columbus came to the conclusion that India could be reached by sailing directly west from Spain. This was a very natural conclusion. Many other men, believing the earth a globe and not being aware of the existence of the American continents, had reached the same conclusion. Toscanelli (tŏs′kä nĕl′lė), a famous Italian astronomer, wrote a letter to Columbus in which he expressed this view. Toscanelli also said that the distance from Spain to India by water was not more than 3000 miles. His error was a very fortunate one in some respects. If the real distance — about 12,000 miles — had been known, Columbus would have had great difficulty in inducing sailors to risk their lives in attempting the voyage. Indeed, had he been aware of the truth, he would probably have had little desire to undertake the expedition himself.

Columbus, then, was not the first to believe that the earth is a sphere; neither was he the first to suggest a western voyage to India. But he was the first man who had the courage to push boldly out into the "Sea of Darkness" in search of the new route. This was the great service of Columbus.

> What if wise men, as far back as Ptolemy,
>   Judged that the earth like an orange was round,
> None of them ever said, "Come along, follow me,
>   Sail to the West and the East will be found."

Difficulties in Fitting Out the Expedition. After Columbus had made up his mind to sail west he had great difficulty in fitting out his expedition. He was a poor man and had no money to build ships or to hire sailors. He asked the King of Portugal for help, but was refused. He then went to the court of Ferdinand and Isabella — King and Queen of Spain. Here he pleaded his case with remarkable force and eloquence. He said later that "he felt himself kindled as with a fire from on high, and considered himself as an agent chosen by Heaven to accomplish a grand design." But his eloquence seemed to be of no use. The wise men shook their heads and declared his plan was "vain and impossible." People thought that he was insane. Crowds followed him in the streets, and small boys hooted at him as he went from place to place.

For seven years he remained in Spain pleading his cause, but all in vain. Sick at heart, he determined to seek aid from the King of France. He began his journey, penniless and on foot, and begged his way to the seaport town of Palos (pä′lōs), which he afterward made famous. Footsore and weary, he stopped at the Convent of Rabida (rä bē′dȧ) to ask for food. Here he met the prior, a monk of the institution, who became interested in his plan and determined to assist him. The good monk went to the King and Queen and persuaded them to recall Columbus to the royal court. This was immediately done, and an agreement was soon reached. The expenses of the western voyage were to be paid by the Queen, and Columbus was to have full command of the expedition.



Columbus About to Set Sail from Palos

The morning of Columbus's departure from Palos was the most exciting time in the history of the little Spanish town, with the possible exception of the day upon which he re-entered the harbor.

An Age of Ignorance. In order to understand the way in which the people of the time looked upon Columbus and his plans, we must remember the age in which he lived. The time was one of dense ignorance and superstition, as far as the masses of the people were concerned.

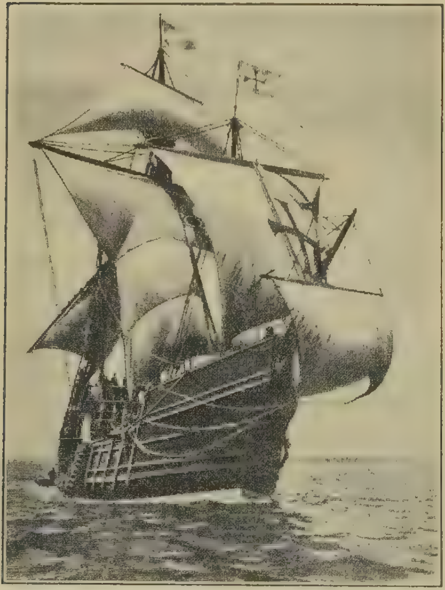
The revival of learning had taken place, but this revival had, as yet, reached only a few. There was almost no education among the common people. There were no public schools, and books were scarce and costly. Printing had been invented only a short time before and the process was still costly and slow. There was little demand for books anyway because only a few people knew how to read. The result was that the common people were ignorant and uneducated. Even many rich noblemen were not able to write their own names.

It was impossible also for news to spread freely, since there were no newspapers or magazines. The telegraph, the telephone, and the locomotive were unknown. Even good wagon roads were exceedingly scarce.

In short, the life of the average man was very narrow. He had not attended school. He could not read. He did not travel. He was born, lived his life, and died in the same valley or upon the same slope. He "knew almost nothing of the world beyond the hills that happened to bound his own horizon." Under such conditions the people could not be expected to take a broad and intelligent view of the great plans of Columbus.

Columbus Sails West. On the last day of April, 1492, Columbus received his commission, and preparations for the great voyage were begun at once. Three small vessels, the *Niña* (nēn′yȧ), *Pinta* (pĭn′tȧ), and the *Santa Maria* (sän′tä mȧ rē′ȧ), were made ready at Palos, Spain. The largest of these ships was only sixty-five feet long and twenty feet wide, as Columbus preferred small vessels for the exploring of coasts.

Finally everything was in readiness. All was excitement in the little seaport town. Business was stopped and men thought only of the mysterious and dangerous voyage. The hardened mariners, about to sail, went to confession and attended Mass in order to be prepared for the worst. One hundred and twenty men, including ninety sailors, a physician, and a surgeon, went on board after tearful good-bys, and on Friday, August 3, 1492, an hour before sunrise, the ships set sail.



The *Santa Maria*, Columbus's Flagship

"A dull vessel," it is said, "and unfit for discovery." This is a picture of the model which was sent over to the World's Fair in Chicago, in 1893, and is now kept in Jackson Park in that city.

It is often said that the only object of Columbus was to find a new route to India. This is not quite true. This was undoubtedly his main object, but he also wished to find new lands, to carry the Christian religion to the nations, and to be governor of the islands and mainlands which he might find. This was all set forth in his commission.

The voyage was exciting. The sea was calm enough, but the sailors became rebellious, wanted to turn back, and even threatened to throw Columbus overboard. The great navigator, however, told them it was useless to complain. He said that he had started for the Indies and that, with the aid of God, he would keep on until he found them. In order that the sailors might not know their real distance from Spain, Columbus recorded the daily sailings at less than they really were.

As days passed into weeks, the sailors anxiously watched for signs of land. Low-lying clouds were often mistaken for distant mountains. The strain upon Columbus was intense; day and night he was on the lookout for land, knowing that his life depended upon finding it. Finally, at ten o'clock on the night of the 11th of October, he thought that he saw a light moving to and fro in the distance. Four hours later — at two o'clock on the morning of October 12, 1492 — land was distinctly seen in the moonlight. "Discovery Day" or "Columbus Day," as it is frequently called, is now a legal holiday in some of the States of the American Union.

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INDIANS FURTIVELY WATCHING THE APPROACH OF COLUMBUS AND HIS SEAMEN

At daybreak Columbus and his men went ashore. The whole scene was new and strange. The landscape was beautiful and the trees very different from those in Spain. At first the Indians fled in terror at the approach of the Spaniards. They thought the ships were huge sea monsters and that the pale-faced Europeans had come down from the skies. A little later, when their fear had partly passed away, they approached Columbus and his men and traded their tame parrots and gold ornaments for glass beads and other trinkets.

Columbus was at the gateway of the New World, but he was not aware of the fact. He went ashore on one of the smaller islands of the Bahama group and took possession of the land in the name of the King and Queen of Spain. He named the island San Salvador, meaning *Holy Saviour,* and called its inhabitants *Indians* because he thought that he had reached the Indies.

Columbus Founds the First Colony in America, 1492. Columbus spent almost three months exploring the islands. He came to Cuba and thought that it was a continent. Here the Spaniards saw the natives drawing smoke from the leaves of a plant rolled up in the form of tubes which were called tobaccos. The practice of smoking was soon afterwards introduced into Europe.

A little later Columbus came to what is now Haiti (hā′tĭ). He was charmed with the beauty of the island, which the Indians told him contained "large mines of fine gold." He determined at once to establish a colony there. The lumber for a fort and storehouse was furnished in a most unexpected way. On Christmas Day the waves dashed the *Santa Maria* to pieces and her boards and timbers were used in making a rude building. Columbus left about forty men in the new colony — the first in the New World[1] — but when he returned on his second voyage, not a man could be found. The Indians said that some of the men had died from illness and that the others had moved away. It is quite probable that the colony had been destroyed by the savages and the men killed.

The Journey Home. Early in January, 1493, the *Niña* and the *Pinta* set out for Spain. A few Indians were captured and taken on board to show that land had been found. The little ships suffered from violent storms, and after many adventures the *Niña,* in command of Columbus himself, was compelled to land in Portugal. After remaining there for nine days she again put out to sea, and reached Palos two days later.

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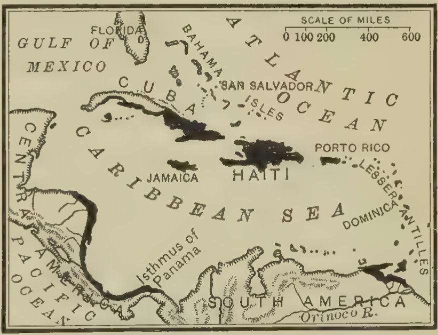
[1] In 1498, Bartholomew Columbus, the brother of Christopher, founded Santo Domingo (sän′tō dȯ mĭn′gō), on the island of Haiti, in honor of his father. This is "the oldest European settlement in the New World which still exists."

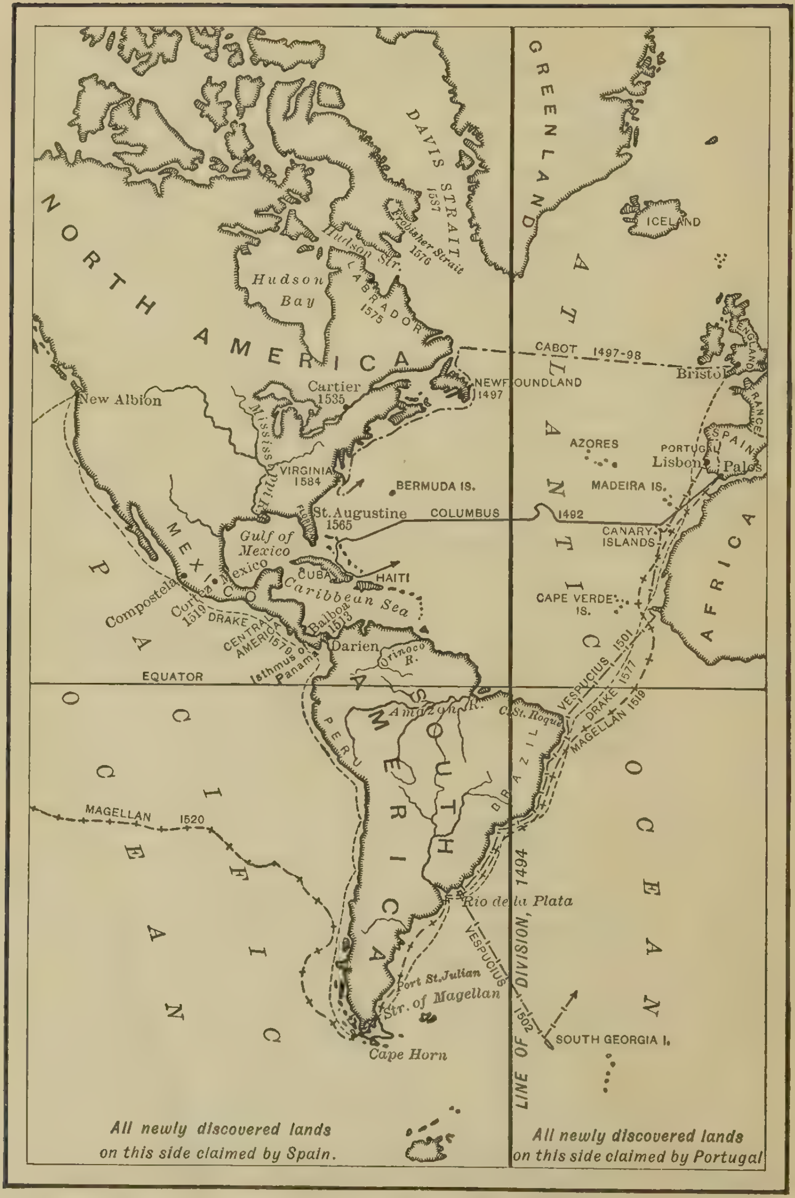
Strangely enough, the *Pinta* sailed into the harbor of Palos on the evening of the same day. The two vessels had been separated in a storm, many days before, and each thought that the other had been lost. The meeting of the crews was a happy one, and March 15th thus became a notable day in the history of Palos. People forgot all about their business and gathered in eager groups to listen to the tales of the sailors. There was great rejoicing and Columbus was the hero of the hour and the nation.


GULF OF MEXICO
FLORIDA
BAHAMA ISLES
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 400 600
SAN SALVADOR
CUBA
PORTO RICO
CENTRAL AMERICA
CARIBBEAN SEA
JAMAICA
HAITI
LESSER ANTILLES
DOMINICA
Isthmus of Panama
PACIFIC OCEAN
SOUTH AMERICA
Orinoco R.

THE DISCOVERIES OF COLUMBUS

The lands touched by Columbus on his various voyages are shown in black.

Columbus Makes Three Other Voyages. The work of Columbus was not yet done. He had not reached the India of the spices, silks, and precious metals, and he was unwilling to give up the search. Consequently, during the next few years he made three other western voyages. Soon after his fourth voyage he died in Spain, in poverty and wretchedness, in the year 1506. He was no longer held in honor. Instead of the gold, jewels, and spices of the East he had brought back to Spain only a few dusky savages. His work was looked upon as a failure, although he himself died in the belief that he had reached a remote part of India.


GREENLAND
DAVIS STRAIT 1587
Frobisher Strait 1576
Hudson Str.
ICELAND
NORTH AMERICA
Hudson Bay
LABRADOR 1575
ATLANTIC OCEAN
CABOT 1497-98
Bristol
ENGLAND
FRANCE
NEWFOUNDLAND 1497
Cartier 1535
New Albion
Mississippi R.
AZORES
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
SPAIN
Palos
VIRGINIA 1584
BERMUDA IS.
MADEIRA IS.
Florida
St. Augustine 1565
COLUMBUS 1492
CANARY ISLANDS
AFRICA
Gulf of Mexico
Mexico
MEXICO
CUBA
HAITI
Caribbean Sea
Compostela
Cortez 1519
DRAKE
CENTRAL AMERICA 1579
Balboa 1513
CAPE VERDE IS.
Darien
Orinoco R.
Isthmus of Panama
EQUATOR
PACIFIC OCEAN
VESPUCIUS 1501
DRAKE 1577
MAGELLAN 1519
Amazon R.
C. St. Roque
PERU
SOUTH AMERICA
BRAZIL
MAGELLAN 1520
LINE OF DIVISION, 1494
Rio de la Plata
VESPUCIUS
1502
Port St. Julian
Str. of Magellan
SOUTH GEORGIA I.
Cape Horn
All newly discovered lands on this side claimed by Spain.
All newly discovered lands on this side claimed by Portugal

EARLY VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY AND THE POPE'S LINE OF DIVISION

The Pope's Line. In order to prevent a quarrel over territory between Spain and Portugal, the Pope, who was very powerful in Europe at the time, established his famous line of division of May 4, 1493.

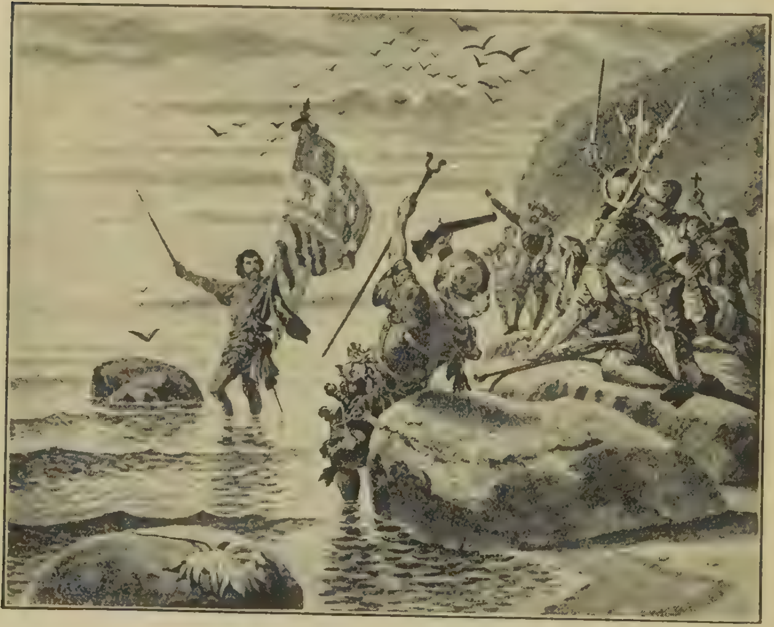
He decided that the Spaniards should have all the heathen lands which they might discover west of a meridian drawn one hundred leagues west of the Cape Verde (vûrd) Islands, and that the Portuguese should have similar privileges on the east side of the line. In the following year the two nations agreed to place the line of division 370 leagues west of the islands. This was still supposed to be in mid-ocean, but was not, and the blunder gave Brazil to Portugal.

John Cabot (kăb′ŭt) **Explores the Atlantic Coast, 1497–1498.** England also wanted to find a new route to India, and in 1497, a short time before da Gama started on his famous voyage, John Cabot, an Italian, sailed from Bristol under the English flag in an attempt to find a northeast passage to the East. On the 24th of June he saw land, probably in the vicinity of what is now Labrador (lăb′rȧ dôr).

Cabot was the first European since the Northmen to set eyes upon the continent of North America. The King of England was greatly pleased at the success of the voyage and graciously gave Cabot ten pounds (about $50) for finding "the new isle."

In April of the following year Cabot again crossed the Atlantic and explored the coast of North America, probably as far south as Chesapeake Bay. "Lost in the gloom of the Western Ocean," he probably never returned. His voyages are important because they gave England a claim to North America.

The Naming of America. In 1501 Americus Vespucius (ä mĕr′ĭ kŭs vĕs pū′shŭs), another Italian, accompanied a Portuguese expedition which explored the coast of South America from Cape San Roque (săn rō′kȧ) to the La Plata (lä plä′tȧ) River, in search of a southwestern route to India. The expedition then turned its course to the southeast and came to the island of South Georgia, about 1200 miles east of Cape Horn. It had gone farther south than any previous expedition, but the ice and cold finally caused it to turn back.



Balboa Discovers the Pacific

Balboa was a planter on one of the Bahama Islands. He fell heavily into debt and to escape imprisonment had himself nailed up in a barrel and carted on board a ship, with packages of provisions, in order to get to the mainland. When he arrived the Indians told him of another sea "where they sail with ships as big as his." He became interested in finding this new ocean and pushed across the isthmus, forty-five miles in eighteen days, where "impenetrable thickets, tangled swamps, slippery cliffs, enormous trees, and interlacing vines block the way at every turn." This picture is an artist's idea of Balboa's action on reaching the Pacific coast.

Vespucius was a better writer than navigator, and when he wrote an account of his voyages—a part of which was not true — the people were astonished at the wonderful story. They began to realize the vast extent of the new regions which had been discovered, and gradually came to the conclusion that the new land was a *continent* and not an island.

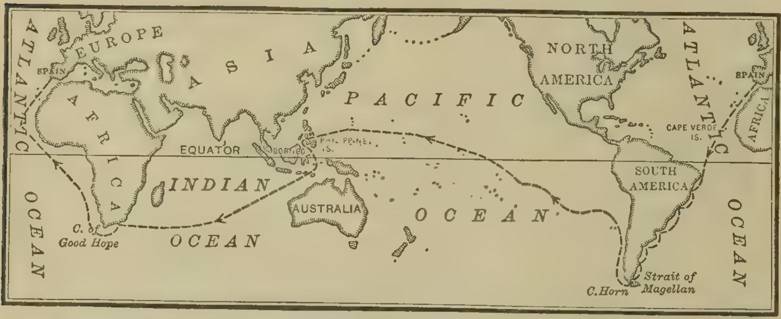
In 1507 a German professor, named Martin Waldseemüller (vält′zā mül′ler), published a geography in which he suggested that the "new part" of the earth be called "America, in honor of its discoverer, Americus Vespucius." His suggestion was adopted. It would have been much more fitting to name the New World "Columbia" in honor of Columbus, but people did not know at that time what an important discovery he had made.

Balboa (bäl bō′ä) **Discovers the Pacific, 1513.** Twenty years passed after the first voyage of Columbus before explorers entered the mainland of the American continent. In 1513 Balboa, a venturesome Spaniard, crossed the Isthmus of Panama, climbed the Peak of Darien (dā rĕ ĕn′) and looked down upon the great ocean now known as the Pacific. Rushing into the billows of the rising tide, he drew his sword and took possession of the sea and all the lands that it touched in the name of the King of Spain.

Magellan and the First Voyage Around the World, 1519–1522. The Spaniards were not yet ready to give up the idea of a western route to India. In 1519 Ferdinand Magellan (fĕr′dĭ nănd mȧ jĕl′lăn), in command of five Spanish ships, small and poor, sailed away to the southwest, hoping to find a strait through the new continent by which he could make his way to the Spice Islands. The expedition went through the straits which now bear the name of Magellan; crossed the ocean which he called the "Pacific," because it seemed so peaceful after the stormy Atlantic; continued to the East Indies;

sailed through the Indian Ocean; and returned to Spain by way of the Cape of Good Hope.

What the men suffered on this voyage can never be fully described. They fought against hunger, cold, heat, wind, wave, and disease. Their brave leader was finally killed by savages in the Philippines (fĭl′ĭ pēnz). For a time the sailors had nothing to eat but stale crumbs. The water which they drank was yellow, thick, and foul. Bits of ox hide were taken from the rigging of the ships and, after being soaked in the sea for days and then broiled, were eagerly devoured.


ATLANTIC OCEAN
EUROPE
SPAIN
ASIA
AFRICA
PACIFIC
NORTH AMERICA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SPAIN
AFRICA
CAPE VERDE IS.
EQUATOR
BORNEO
PHILIPPINE IS.
INDIAN OCEAN
AUSTRALIA
OCEAN
SOUTH AMERICA
C. Good Hope
Strait of Magellan
C.Horn

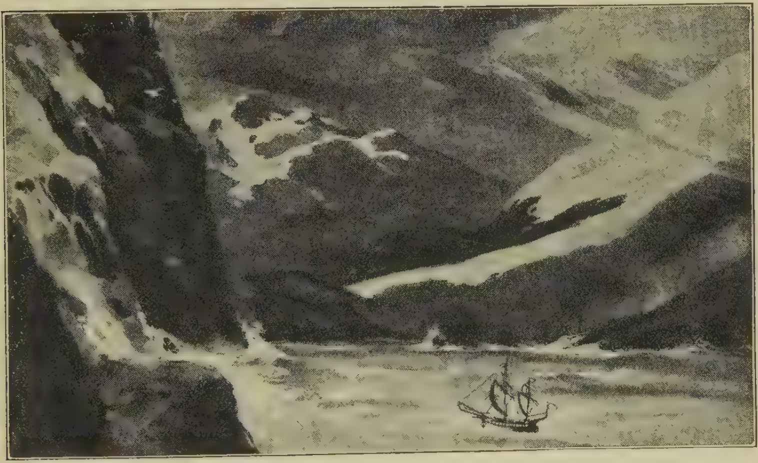
THE FIRST VOYAGE AROUND THE WORLD, 1519–1522

Magellan left Spain Sept. 20, 1519; entered the Straits of Magellan Oct. 21, 1520; and reached the Philippines in March, 1521. Here he was killed by the natives and only one of his five ships, the little *Victoria*, succeeded in completing the journey around the world. The *Victoria* returned to Spain on Sept. 6, 1522.

While in the Straits of Magellan many of Magellan's men wanted to turn back, but he bluntly refused, saying that he would go on if he had to eat the leather off the ship's yardarms — which he was finally compelled to do.

Five ships left Spain, but only one finished the voyage. After an absence of three years the little *Victoria* made her way back with eighteen famished survivors on board. Two hundred and thirty-nine men had started on the expedition. Of the ships, one deserted and returned home, two were wrecked, and one was set on fire and abandoned when she became unfit for sea.

The captain of the *Victoria* was highly honored. The King gave him a sum of money and a coat of arms upon which was a globe bearing this inscription: "Thou first encompassed me."



THE STRAITS OF MAGELLAN

It was here that one of Magellan's five ships deserted and returned home. The Straits are exceedingly dangerous to sailing vessels. Magellan and his men knew very little about the seasons in the southern hemisphere and were surprised when they were compelled to go into winter quarters at Easter and when the summer began in September. The little ship in the foreground of the picture was drawn from a model of Magellan's ship.

This was undoubtedly the greatest voyage ever taken by man, "and nothing can be imagined that would surpass it except a journey to some other planet." In spite of the loss of three of the ships, the trip was profitable. The *Victoria's* cargo, composed for the most part of 26 tons of cloves, was sold for more than enough to pay the entire cost of the expedition.

The geographical importance of the voyage was very great. It proved that the earth is a sphere. It disclosed the immense width of the Pacific Ocean. It showed that the surface of the earth is composed of much more water than land, and that America was a New World and not simply a part of Asia, as Columbus had thought.[1]

The Spaniards Explore the Interior. Six years before Magellan started on his famous voyage the Spaniards began the first of a number of expeditions to explore the interior of North America.

Ponce de Leon (pōn′thȧ dā lā ōn′) a Spanish soldier, came to the coast of what is now Florida in 1513. His main object was to establish a colony, but he also wished to find the "fountain of perpetual youth" which was said to be somewhere in that part of the continent. He wished to drink of its wonderful waters so that he would never grow old. He did not find the fountain, but he gave to the country the name which it now bears, because he first saw it on Easter Sunday, which is called in the Spanish, Pascua Florida, meaning the "Flowery Easter."

Fifteen years later (1528), Narvaez (när vä′ĕth), another Spanish adventurer, landed at Tampa Bay, Florida, with three hundred men, and pushed into the interior in a search for gold. They lost their way in the dense forests, and suffered severe hardships. One by one they fell victims of disease, accidents, and the attacks of wild beasts and savage men, until only four of the three hundred remained. For eight years these unfortunate men dragged themselves about in the forests, swamps, and deserts of the present Texas and northern Mexico, finally reaching the Gulf of California in 1536.

Another heroic Spanish explorer was Hernando de Soto (hār nän′dō dē sō′tō). He landed in Florida in

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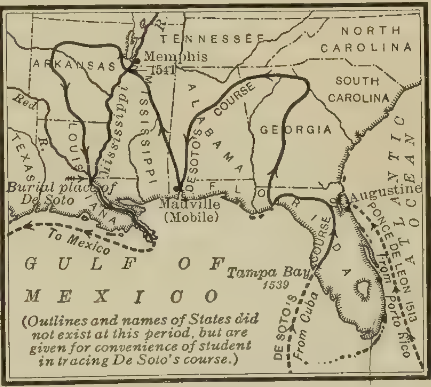
[1] It was not definitely proved that America was not connected with Asia until 1728 when Vitus Bering sailed through the strait which now bears his name.

1539 with 620 men, over 200 horses, and a large drove of hogs. After wandering about in the swamps and jungles of the Gulf region for two years searching for gold, he discovered the Mississippi River in the spring of 1541. The earliest description of the Mississippi was written by a member of De Soto's party and runs as follows: "The river was almost half a league broad. If a man stood on the other side, it could not be discerned whether he were a man or no. The river was of great depth and of a strong current; the water was always muddy; there came down the river continually many trees and timber." Early in June De Soto crossed the river a short distance south of where the city of Memphis now stands. In the following year he died of swamp fever; his body was taken out in a canoe and sunk in the middle of the great stream which he had discovered. This was done to conceal his death from the Indians.


TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
Memphis 1541
ARKANSAS
SOUTH CAROLINA
Red R.
TEXAS
LOUISIANA
Mississippi
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
DE SOTO'S COURSE
GEORGIA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Burial place of De Soto
Mauville (Mobile)
FLORIDA
Augustine
PONCE DE LEON 1513 from Porto Rico
To Mexico
GULF OF MEXICO
Tampa Bay 1539
DE SOTO'S COURSE
From Cuba

(Outlines and names of States did not exist at this period, but are given for convenience of student in tracing De Soto's course.)

THE ROUTE OF DE SOTO'S EXPEDITION

De Soto's company, soon after his death, abandoned the expedition. Building rafts and rude boats, they made their way down the river and along the Gulf coast to the Spanish settlements in Mexico. They had taken more than four years to make the journey from Tampa Bay to Mexico. Of the 620 men who started on the expedition only 311 survived. They were not on the march all the time, but stopped occasionally, sometimes for long periods, to rest and to fatten the horses. They lived on the wild turkeys and partridges which they shot, and on the hogs which they had brought with them. They also got corn and beans from the Indians, and found grapes, plums, and mulberries growing wild. Their adventure is sometimes regarded as "the most remarkable exploring expedition in the history of North America."

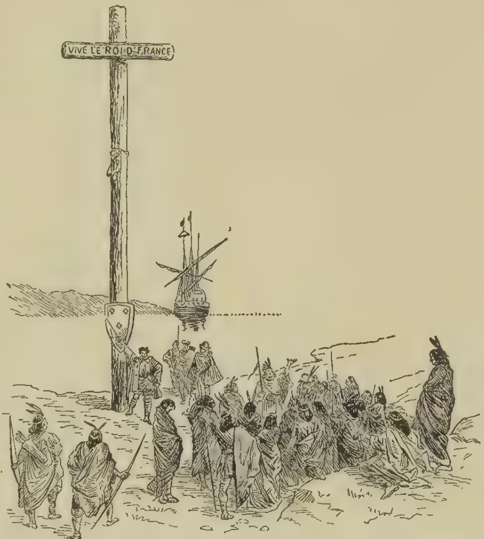
The French Explorers. While the Spaniards were busy in the South and the West, the French were exploring the region of the St. Lawrence.

Two years after the *Victoria* completed her voyage around the world, John Verrazano (vĕr′rät sä′nō), an Italian, sailed to the New World (1524) under the flag of France. He, too, wanted to find a new route to India. He failed in the attempt, but he explored the Atlantic coast from the Cape Fear River to Newfoundland, and then sailed away to France.

Ten years later, Jacques Cartier (zhȧk kär′tyā), a French fisherman, came to the mouth of the St. Lawrence River (1534), and erected there a cross thirty feet high, in the presence of a band of Indians. He then sailed up the broad river, thinking he had at last found a western passage to India; but he, too, was mistaken.

A year later Cartier again sailed up the St. Lawrence—this time as "Captain and Pilot of the King." He went to the present site of Montreal (mŏnt′rē ôl′), meaning Royal Mountain, and gave to the place its present name. Five miles farther on he was checked by the rapids, since called Lachine (China), as Cartier and his men thought that they were well on their way to China and the East.

The winter was spent on shipboard. The men suffered terribly from the cold. They said that the ice was "above two fathoms [twelve feet] thick," and the "snow above four feet high and more." Twenty-five men died of scurvy and were buried under the snow, as graves could not be dug in the frozen ground. At one time 100 out of 110 in the expedition were sick. Upon their return to France, they reported that many of the men were quickly cured of the disease by drinking the juice of the leaves of a certain tree (supposed to be the sassafras) which had been pointed out to them by the Indians. In the spring, when the ice melted, the survivors were glad to get back to France.


VIVE LE ROI DE FRANCE

Cartier at the Mouth of the St. Lawrence

French explorers when taking possession of new land frequently erected huge crosses bearing the coat of arms of France and the inscription, "Long live the King of France."

In the summer of 1541 Cartier again came to the St. Lawrence region and built a rude fort on the beautiful spot where Quebec (kwė bĕk′) now stands. He established no colony, however, as he remained in America only a few months. When he returned to France he took with him some shining rock crystals which he thought were diamonds. Similar crystals may still be found at places on the St. Lawrence.

The explorations of Verrazano and Cartier gave the French a claim to the St. Lawrence region. We shall see later how they obtained their claim to the Mississippi valley. Along these great rivers the French hoped, at some future time, to establish the "Kingdom of New France."

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. How did the location of Spain and Portugal give these countries an advantage over other European countries in the search for a new route to the East?

2. Tell why a panic, or great fear, arose among the people of Venice when the news came to the city that Vasco da Gama had found a new route to India. Did later events show that the fear was well founded? Explain.

3. Most of the early discoverers — Columbus, Cabot, Vespucius, Verrazano — were Italians. What do you find in Chapter I that explains, in part, the reason for this fact? Can you suggest reasons for the failure of Italy to send out explorers to secure territorial claims in the New World?

4. What part did Toscanelli have in the discovery of America? Tell why his error was a fortunate mistake.

5. Prepare a floor-talk on the life and work of Christopher Columbus. Include in your plan the following items: the youth and education of Columbus; his motives in sailing west; the difficulties he had in securing aid; the preparations for the expedition; events on the voyage; his discoveries; his last days.

6. What was the "Pope's Line"? Tell why it was drawn. How was it changed? How did it then affect later history?

7. Tell about the voyage of John Cabot and state its chief result. How did it lay the foundation for the United States of America?

8. How did America get its name? Would it be a good plan to change the name to Columbia? How could this be done?

9. Why is the voyage of Magellan's fleet considered "the greatest sea voyage in history"? Explain its chief results.

10. Point out ways in which each of the following explorers profited by the work of his predecessors: Balboa, Magellan, Narvaez, De Soto, Cartier. Mention the deed for which each of these men is most remembered today.

11. Explain the connection between the building of the Panama Canal and the work of Columbus, Cabot, Vespucius, and Cartier.

THINGS TO DO

1. Map study.
    - *a.* Show with the help of the map that the only " new " routes to the East would have to be by water.
    - *b.* Show also with the help of the map possible water routes.
    - *c.* Point out the main routes between Europe and the East today.

2. For volunteers:
    - *a.* Secure a copy of Joaquin Miller's poem, " Columbus," and read aloud the two stanzas you like best.
    - *b.* Find Washington Irving's account of Columbus's discovery of America (see Irving's *Life of Columbus*) and read aloud the description of the landing on San Salvador.
    - *c.* Read and report on John Fiske's story of the voyage of Magellan (see Fiske's *Discovery of America*, vol. II, 184–212).
    - *d.* Report on Higginson's account of de Soto's expedition (*Young Folks' Book of American Explorers*, 3–15).

3. Suggest scenes that might be used in preparing a motion picture of the career of Columbus. Choose committees to prepare and act out the scenes, either silently or with spoken words. Give the program before the class and, perhaps, before the school assembly.

4. Prepare a " Columbus Day " program to be given on October 12th. The foregoing dramatization (No. 3) will serve as one number. Suggest other interesting features.

5. On an outline map of the world show the following:
    - *a.* Vasco da Gama's route to India.
    - *b.* Columbus's first voyage.
    - *c.* John Cabot's explorations.

d. Vespucius' expedition of 1501.

e. Magellan's voyage around the world.

6. Give an oral report on one of the readings from the Class Library (see below).

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "The Discoverers," *The Book of the United States,* 29–54.
2. "Discovery of the New World," by Christopher Columbus, in *Source Book of American History,* 1–3.
3. "Cabot's Voyage to North America," *ibid.,* 4–6.
4. "Leif, the Lucky," *America First,* 1–3.
5. "The Fountain of Youth," *ibid.,* 15–18.
6. "De Soto Discovers the Mississippi," *ibid.,* 18–23.
7. "Christopher Columbus," *America the Great Adventure,* 31–42.
8. "How the New World Got Its Name," *ibid.,* 42–43.
9. "Spain in America," *ibid.,* 47–63.
10. "France in America," *ibid.,* 64–72.
11. "Early English Voyages," *ibid.,* 89–93.
12. "The Genoese Who Found the New World," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia,* 2: 846–849.
13. "Travels and Adventures of Marco Polo," *ibid.,* 6: 2874.
14. "How the Vikings of Old Sought and Found New Lands," *This Country of Ours,* 3–13.
15. "Columbus and His Achievement," *ibid.,* 14–34.
16. "How America Was Named," *ibid.,* 35–39.
17. "The Work of John Cabot," *ibid.,* 40–43.
18. "How the French Discovered the Mississippi," *ibid.,* 297–307.
19. "The Boy Who Walked to China," *The Book of Knowledge,* 1: 84–85.
20. "The Man Who Found America," *ibid.,* 1: 86–89.
21. "Finding the Way to India by Sea," *ibid.,* 1: 89–90.
22. "Explorers of North America," *ibid.,* 1: 240–253.
23. "Columbus and the Discovery of America," *The World Book Encyclopedia,* 3: 1572–1577.
24. "Magellan," *ibid.,* 7: 4211–4212.

CHAPTER III

THE INDIANS

Along the Atlantic coast, where big cities now stand, the early explorer saw only a lonesome shore with beautiful harbors, surrounded by forest trees and dotted here and there with frail canoes, instead of huge ocean steamships as at the present time. The deep silence was broken only by the dashing of the waves against the shore, by the shouts of the Indians, or by the shrill cries of the sea-birds.

The interior was covered with dark forests which the rays of the sun never penetrated, and in which wild beasts made their homes. Savages skulked behind the trees and gazed with wonder and suspicion upon the pale faces of the Europeans. The natives had never seen white men before. If we would know the feelings of the early American explorers, we should try to picture the New World as they saw it four hundred years ago.

The Native Races. The people whom the explorers found in America were very different from Europeans. They were tall, straight, slender, muscular, and rather handsome in appearance. Their skin was a dark brown or copper color. The men had almost no beard, because they were in the habit of pulling the hair from the face by the roots.

The Indian is usually described as a sad and gloomy man who seldom smiled. The picture is not quite true.

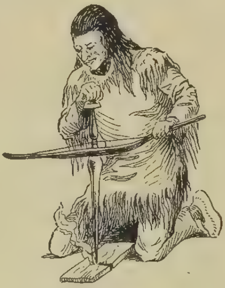
In important public meetings and when talking with white men, he was usually dignified and solemn in appearance; but in the wigwam or by the camp fire he was usually social and cheery. He smoked his pipe and talked and joked with his friends in much the same way that white men are accustomed to do. When tortured in public, he bore any kind of pain without a murmur; but on other occasions he would whine over a slight injury as much as anyone.

The sight and hearing of the Indian were remarkably keen, for his eye and ear were trained by his mode of living. When hunting, fishing, or fighting he was on the lookout constantly for game or for an enemy; he also strained his ear for every sound of the forest. His senses of sight and hearing thus became very sharp.

Making a Living. The streams and forests of the New World abounded in fish and game, and the Indian secured most of his living by hunting and fishing. He also ate berries, seeds, roots, acorns, and the bark of certain trees. He greatly prized wild grapes, prickly pears, rice, cranberries, and choke cherries. He also cultivated the soil, raising such products as corn, beans, squashes, sunflower seeds, and tobacco.

For his animal food he was fond of grasshoppers, the seal, walrus, deer, mountain sheep and goat, the antelope, and, above all, the buffalo, which was very plentiful in early times and was called by the Spanish explorers the "hump-backed cow." He liked to fish and was very skillful in this pursuit. He also showed a great deal of cleverness in making traps to catch wild game.

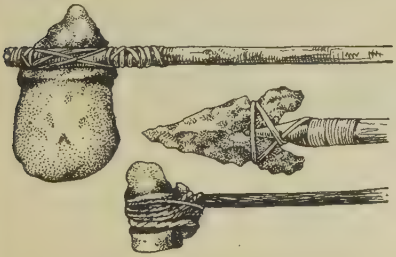
The Indian made splendid bows, arrows, spears, and clubs for warfare and for the killing of the wild things of the forest. He often covered himself with the skin of an animal in order to deceive the game which he wished to catch. In some localities he made excellent harpoons and spears for the killing of whales. After the coming of the whites he became a skillful horseman, and used his tough and tireless ponies to hunt the buffalo on the Western plains.



Making Fire

The string was wound around the spindle and by pulling the bow from side to side the spindle was made to revolve rapidly. The friction caused fire.

Cooking. After obtaining his food the Indian had to cook it. He had no matches, stoves, or electricity, and was compelled to make his fire in a very crude way. One method he used was the so-called "fire-drill." One piece of wood was made to revolve rapidly upon another and the friction produced fire. By bringing this flame into contact with dry leaves and pieces of wood, he soon had a good fire. Sometimes he started a fire by sparks obtained from flint. The Indian cooked his meat by roasting it over an open fire, or by boiling it in a crude clay pot. In the latter case he heated the water in the vessel by dropping hot stones into it.

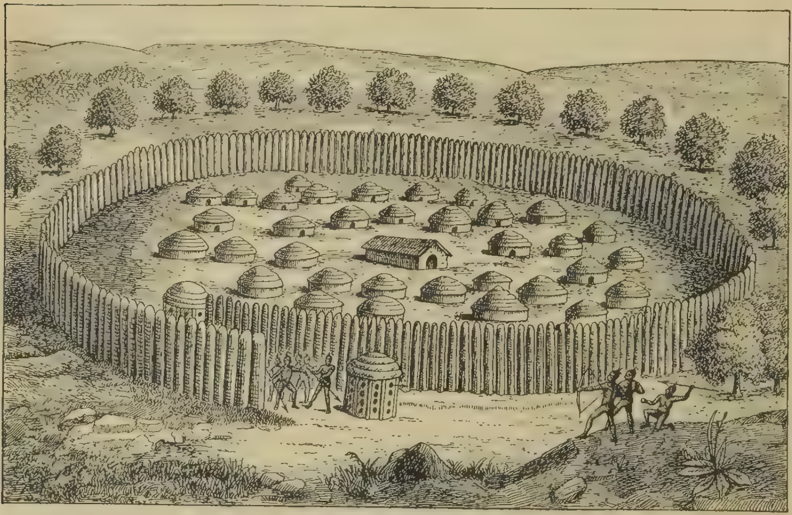


Indian Tools and Weapons

The stone axe was chipped and ground out at the expense of great labor. The flint spear head was shaped and pointed with much skill. The hammer head cost considerable effort; all were securely joined to handles by means of thongs of rawhide.

In some cases the Indian smoked his meat or dried it in long strips in the sun. This he later pounded up and mixed with fat for relish. He also smoked or dried his fish when he was lucky enough to have an extra supply. He liked the taste of salt and sometimes went long distances to get a supply from springs or mountain sides.

Weapons. The Indian was very skillful in making simple tools and weapons. Perhaps his most useful weapon was the bow. This he made from tough elastic wood or from the horn of a buffalo or mountain sheep. He shaped the arrow of hard wood or reed, tipped it with eagle feathers, and pointed it with flint. Sometimes he dipped the point into deadly poison so that the slightest scratch would kill his foe.

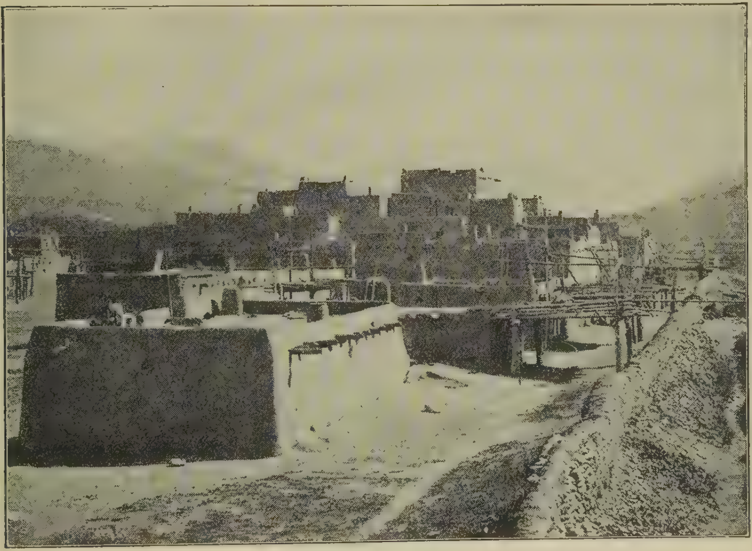


An Early Drawing of an Indian Village

He made constant use of the hatchet or tomahawk both in warfare and the chase. It played an important part in all of the hand-to-hand fights in the forest. He also made frequent use of long lances, stone war clubs, and the scalping knife.

Warfare. The Indian was not always "on the warpath," but much of the time was fighting either against some other tribe or against the whites. Many times he was stirred to war by the wrong and injustice he suffered from the settlers. The whites could not make slaves of the Indians as they did of the blacks. The whites tried to do so, but the Indian was not teachable and meek; he had a vengeful and fighting spirit, and seldom forgave an injury.

In time of war the Indians were in the habit of surprising the enemy by sudden attacks. Whenever they could they also led their foes into ambuscades, concealed places in which Indians were hiding ready to make a surprise attack. Indian warfare was made up of unexpected raids, bloody massacres, scalping, hand-to-hand fighting, burning and plundering. They seldom fought in the open, but preferred to conceal themselves in the tall grass or to attack from behind trees. They carried on war for defense, for revenge, for plunder, and sometimes merely for the love of fighting.



INDIAN PUEBLO, OR VILLAGE, IN NEW MEXICO

Some of the Indians of the Southwest lived in large houses made of sun-dried bricks.

The Indian warrior looked down upon manual labor; that was for women. While the man went on the war-path or on the hunt, the woman did the work at home. She tilled the fields, and when the tribe moved, she was the one who tore down the tepee or wigwam, and carried the burdens on her back to the new home. The big brave marched along, carrying only his bow and quiver of arrows or his gun.

Indian Wigwams

These are modern wigwams, but they do not differ materially from those of three or four hundred years ago. To the wigwam the Indian brave returned from his fishing and hunting expeditions, while the patient squaw remained at home and did the work. The village was often a busy scene, especially when a company of braves returned from a successful foray. Children, dogs, ponies, scalps, feathers, pipes, and weapons abounded.

Amusements. All nations have their amusements and the American Indian was no exception. He ran footraces and played lacrosse and other athletic games. He also enjoyed football. He made a large cover of buffalo skin, stuffed it with hair, and kicked it about upon the ground.

The children about the wigwam were a happy group. They had bows and headless arrows and practiced shooting at marks. Sometimes they hunted squirrels, birds, rabbits, and prairie chickens, and even ducks and geese. They played at sham battles, and were very fond of swimming, diving, and wrestling. They enjoyed coasting down hill upon sleds with runners made of buffalo ribs. They often made clay images of dogs, horses, and other animals. The girls had their dolls and delighted to make moccasins and other clothing for them. They also built play-houses. The girls as well as the boys played a kind of football and took part in foot-races.

AN INDIAN SNAKE DANCE

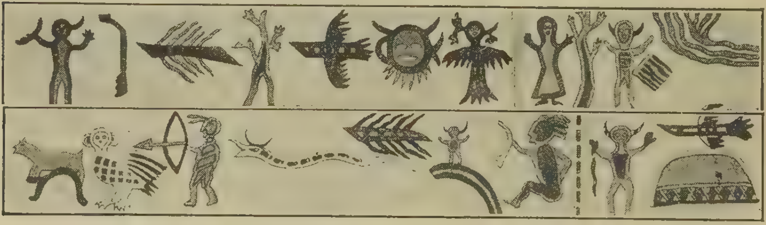
These are Indians of our own time, in the State of Arizona, repeating the ceremonies of their ancestors.

The dance was almost universal among the Indians. Before starting out upon the war-path, the braves put on their paint and war-feathers and danced in order "to inflame their passion and increase their enthusiasm." Upon their return from a successful raid they danced again and often went through wild revelries. For music they had whistles and rattles and many kinds of drums.

SAMPLES OF INDIAN WORKMANSHIP

These beautiful pieces of decorated pottery were made by Indians in New Mexico.

Numbers and Influence. When Columbus came, in 1492, there were probably about 500,000 Indians in North America. At the present time there are nearly 400,000. As we travel in America, we are reminded of the Indian on every hand. Indian languages have given musical names to many of our States, counties, cities, mountains,



SAMPLES OF INDIAN PICTURE-WRITING

Writing by means of pictures preceded the alphabet which we now use. In this way the red man recorded his ideas on birch bark, wood, and the skins of animals.

lakes, and rivers. Indian trails can be traced, and in many instances have been widened and made into turnpike roads. "Their name is on your waters—ye may not wash it out."

Sometimes the Indian was a friend to the early colonist, and sometimes his deadly foe. At one time he would set fire to the settler's cabin, and torture, murder, and scalp its inmates; at another he would help the colonist over a famine by giving him corn, beans, pumpkins, and jerked meat. Again and again we shall see the influence of the Indian upon the establishment of the American colonies, and upon the settlement of the West.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. Why do we need to know about the Indians in order to understand American history? List what we need to know about them. Compare the items in your list with the contents of the chapter, noting any points left out of the chapter. Find information on such omissions in the Readings in the Class Library given below.

2. What sort of people were the Indians at the time of Columbus? Describe their appearance and character.

3. How did the Indians make a living? It is estimated that at the time of the explorers an average of one square mile of land in Virginia was needed to support one Indian. Today Virginia supports almost sixty people to the square mile. How do you account for the difference?

4. Describe Indian tools and weapons and tell how they were made.

5. What kinds of amusement did the Indians have? Tell how the play of the children helped to prepare them for their later work. Do any of the games you play help to prepare you for the occupation you may take up in later years? Explain.

6. Mention ways in which the Indians helped the early explorers and settlers; ways in which the Indians injured the whites.

7. Would the early settlers in America have had a harder or an easier time if America had contained no human inhabitants? Give reasons for your opinion.

THINGS TO DO

1. Make a list of the traits, customs, and activities of the Indians that would most impress the whites who first came to the New World. Make a similar list of the characteristics of the whites that would most impress the Indians.

2. Two Boy Scouts show how the Indian obtained fire.

3. Bring to class Indian relics you may have at home and have an exhibit for the pupils in your school. Be prepared to tell about the relics you bring — how obtained, how made, and how used.

4. Begin to make an historical collection or museum for your school. Perhaps the Principal will provide cases for your exhibits, or maybe several of the boys can make cases in the manual training shop or at home. Perhaps you will be able to have a History Room later on. Build a model wigwam or tepee for the collection. Perhaps pupils will be willing to donate some of the Indian relics mentioned above (No. 3). Be sure that all objects in the museum are properly described on labels.

5. Make a list of the lakes, rivers, mountains, counties, and cities in your State that have Indian names.

6. Arrange for a class visit to a museum that contains Indian relics. Look for objects that illustrate details in this chapter, take notes on what you see, and talk over the visit later on in the class period.

7. Tell about poems or stories you have read that describe the manners and customs of the Indian.

8. Report to the class all you can find out about the Indian tribes that used to occupy the region where you live. See F. W. Seymour, *The Story of the Red Man* (Longmans).

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. " The Indians," *The Book of the United States,* 21–28.
2. " Indian Life," *Source Book of American History,* 23–26.
3. " The French Trade with the Indians," *ibid.,* 100–103.
4. " The First Americans," *America the Great Adventure,* 10–21.
5. " The American Indians," *The Book of Knowledge,* 1: 160–165.
6. " The Story of the American Indian," *The World Book Encyclopedia,* 6: 3401–3414.

CHAPTER IV

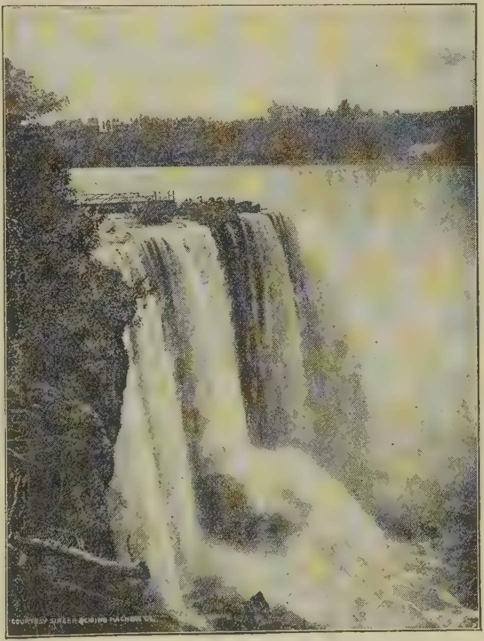
THE PHYSICAL FEATURES OF NORTH AMERICA

Importance of Geography. If an intelligent traveler could have carefully studied the physical features of the United States before a single colony was founded, he would have been able to foretell, to some extent, what the future history of the country would be. It would have been plain to him that New England, with its swift rivers

YOSEMITE VALLEY

Yosemite (yȯ sĕm′ĭ tē) Valley is now a National Park. It is located in California about 150 miles east of San Francisco, and is about 4000 feet above sea level. It is a chasm seven miles long, a mile wide in some places, and nearly a mile in depth. It contains several beautiful waterfalls.

and good water power, would be a manufacturing district; and that much of the South, with its broad valleys and sluggish navigable rivers, would be an agricultural region. He could have seen that the Mississippi valley would raise grain and cattle, and that the Rocky and Appalachian Mountains would be the scenes of great mining activity. He would have known that important cities would be built where New York, Boston, Chicago, Duluth, and San Francisco now stand. In short, he would have seen the effect that the mountains, plains, rivers, and seacoasts would have upon the life of a people.



NIAGARA FALLS

Niagara Falls, near Buffalo, is one of the most famous and impressive spectacles on the North American continent. A tremendous volume of water plunges down 160 feet upon the rocks below.

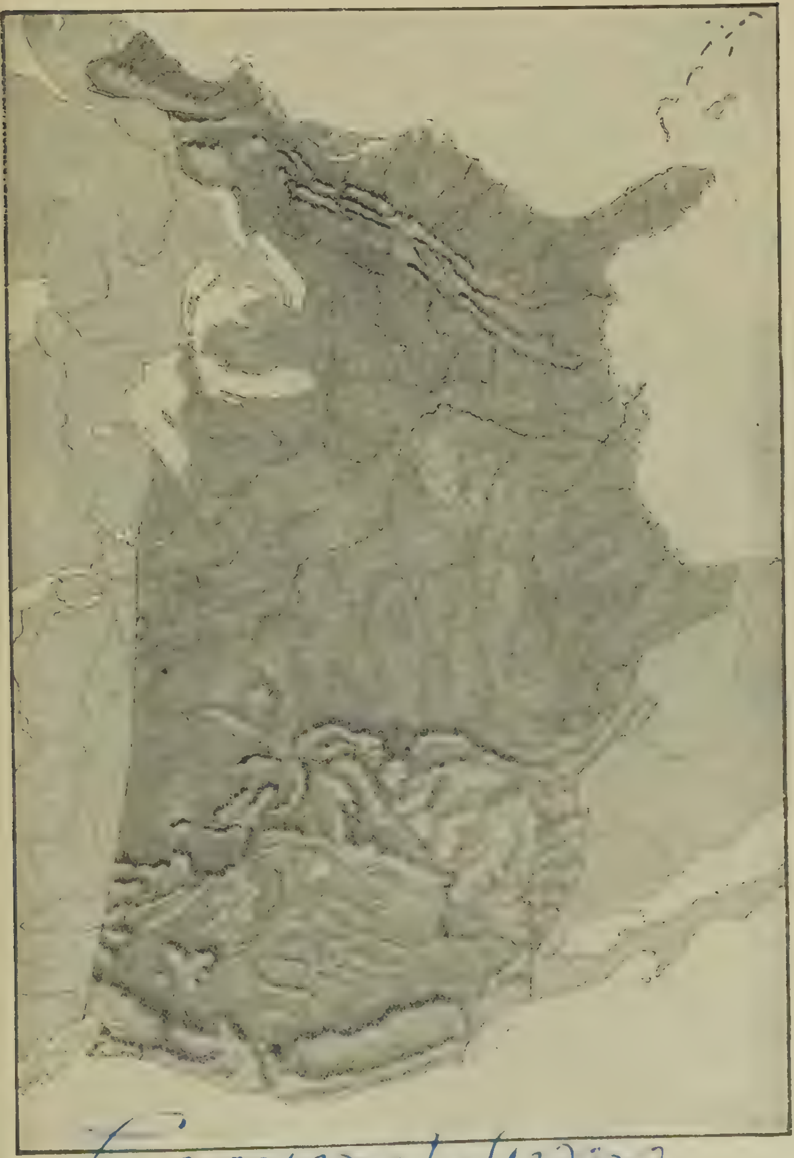
The Atlantic and Pacific Coasts. By referring to the map you will see that the high land of the United States is for the most part west of the Mississippi River. The Pacific coast, which is high and steep, has few good harbors or landing places. The eastern coast is very different. The Atlantic seaboard extends inland a distance of about one hundred miles and slopes gently up to the mountains. In addition many excellent harbors are scattered along the coast from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Rio Grande (rē′ō grän′dā). On the Pacific coast there are few navigable rivers, while there are many upon the Atlantic.

"OLD FAITHFUL" GEYSER

The geysers are one of the wonders of the continent. Among the most noted of these is "Old Faithful" in Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming. "Old Faithful" is so called because it erupts a column of hot water to the height of 125 to 150 feet, at intervals of about 65 minutes.

Routes of the Explorers. From what has been said and from a study of the map you will see that the exploration and settlement of North America were much easier from the east to the west than they would have been in the opposite direction. If Columbus had discovered the Pacific instead of the Atlantic coast, the early explorer would have had a difficult time in making his way into the interior of the continent. On the other hand, the explorers from Europe easily got a foothold upon the Atlantic coast; they discovered safe and inviting harbors; and they found it easily possible to get into the interior by sailing up the St. Lawrence, the Hudson, the Potomac (pō tō′măk), or the James. These rivers led them to the headwaters of other streams or to the Great Lakes, and enabled them to reach all parts of the continent.

The explorer, for example, might ascend the St. Lawrence River, pass on to the Great Lakes, and, by carrying his canoe for short distances over portages to the



Physical Map of the United States

headwaters of the streams that flow into the Ohio and the Mississippi, might reach the upper part of the Mississippi. By going down the Mississippi to the present site of St. Louis, he could reach the mouth of the Missouri. By going up this river to its headwaters, and by carrying his canoe again for a short distance, he could reach the upper course of the Columbia. By paddling down this stream he could reach the Pacific, having crossed the continent almost entirely by water.

THE GRAND CANYON

The Grand Canyon of the Colorado River, located in Arizona, is one of the most sublime scenes on the globe. The river has cut a chasm more than a mile in depth, in some places, through solid rock. Spanish explorers gazed with awe upon this Canyon in the first half of the sixteenth century.

On the map you will be able to trace other routes which the early explorers might, and actually did, take into the interior or even across the continent. No part of our history is more picturesque and interesting than the story of these explorers who pushed their way on foot, on horseback, and in canoes from ocean to ocean, and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico.

We have studied the story of the discovery and exploration of the United States. We have seen the Indian in his forest home, and have noted the physical features of North America. Let us now turn our attention to the planting of colonies in the New World.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. How do the surrounding geographic conditions explain the location and growth of one of the cities named on page 47?

2. Tell how the work of the early explorers and settlers would have been affected if the Atlantic coast had been like the Pacific.

3. From the point of view of establishing settlements, which offers the greater advantages — the Atlantic coast or the St. Lawrence? From the point of view of exploring the interior rapidly, which is to be preferred? Give reasons in each case.

4. Tell how the Indian fur trade would affect the location of American settlements.

5. What is a portage? Look up the word in the dictionary. Were there any portages near your home? How did they influence exploration?

6. Mention geographic features in your State that affected its early history.

THINGS TO DO

1. Read the first paragraph of the chapter again. As you read, prepare to explain how an intelligent traveler could have foretold the developments mentioned there.

2. Bring to class pictures that show the character of the country along the Atlantic seaboard and along the Pacific seaboard.

3. By a study of the map (see page 49) find what would have been the easiest way for an early explorer to take the following trips:

   a. From the mouth of the Hudson River to the source of the Mississippi.
   b. From the site of Philadelphia to the place where Louisville now stands.
   c. From Lake Huron to the mouth of the Mississippi.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "No Land," *The Book of the United States,* 13–21.
2. "The Northern Half of the New World," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia,* 6: 2514–2517.
3. "North America Before White Men," *The Book of Knowledge,* 1: 153–160.
4. "From Frozen North to Tropic Lands," *The World Book Encyclopedia,* 7: 5044–5051.

LOOKING BACKWARD

A. FINDING A NEW WORLD

Copy the following story and fill the blanks in the sentences so as to give a brief narrative of Finding a New World.

The New World is a name given to ______________, while ______________, ______________, and ______________ are called the Old World.

The first white man to set foot on American soil was ______________. However, the greater credit for the discovery of America belongs to ______________.

Several events in the world worked together to open the way for Columbus's great discovery in ______________. The most important of those events were:

1. ____
2. ____
3. ____

Columbus claimed the land he discovered in the name of ______________ because ____

____.

By the end of the ____________ century, three great European nations, ____________, ____________, and ____________, had made explorations in the territory of the present United States. Spain claimed territory in ____________; France claimed the region around ____________; and England claimed ____________.

Man's knowledge of the world was greatly increased during the years of exploration. Vasco da Gama found a way to the East around ____________. Magellan proved that ____________. He also found a way to the East through ____________, but the way was of no practical value. The ____________ had explored much of the interior of the continent.

The Indians lived mostly by ____________ and by ____________. However, an examination of the physical features of the country even at that early time would have shown:

1. That the eastern coastal plain would become ____________.
2. That the southern region was suited for ____________.
3. That the valley of the Mississippi River was a region where ____________ and ____________ would thrive.
4. That the Rocky and Appalachian Mountains were regions well suited for ____________.

B. HISTORICAL TERMS

The list of terms given below appear in the story, Finding a New World.

ancestors
exploration
discovery
mariner's compass
astrolabe
prophecy
century
Norsemen
crusades
continent
ambuscade
portage
found a colony

Fill the blanks in the following sentences with the correct words from the list given above.

1. An ____________ is an instrument formerly used for obtaining the latitude of a ship at sea.
2. Our ____________ are our forefathers.

3. A ______________ is one hundred years.

4. The act of traveling over new lands or waters to find out facts about them is ______________.

5. A ______________ is a great body of land.

6. Places between waterways over which boats have to be carried are called ______________.

7. The expeditions to the Holy Land for the purpose of rescuing the tomb of Christ from the Turks are known as ______________.

8. A statement foretelling what is going to happen is a ______________.

9. A place of hiding from which a surprise attack is made upon an enemy is called an ______________.

10. The people from Norway and Sweden were called ______________.

11. A ______________ is something new which is brought to the knowledge of the world.

12. An instrument used by sailors to determine direction is called a ______________.

13. To ______________ is to build or establish a new settlement.

C. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Copy the statements given below in the order in which the events took place:

Balboa discovered the Pacific Ocean.

America was named in honor of Americus Vespucius.

The Northmen came from Norway to the Atlantic coast of North America.

Columbus tried to reach India by sailing west.

Crusaders made expeditions to the Holy Land to rescue the tomb of Christ from the Turks.

Marco Polo gave accounts of his travels in the East.

John Cabot explored the Atlantic coast and gave England a claim to North America.

PART TWO
SETTLING NORTH AMERICA

SETTLING NORTH AMERICA

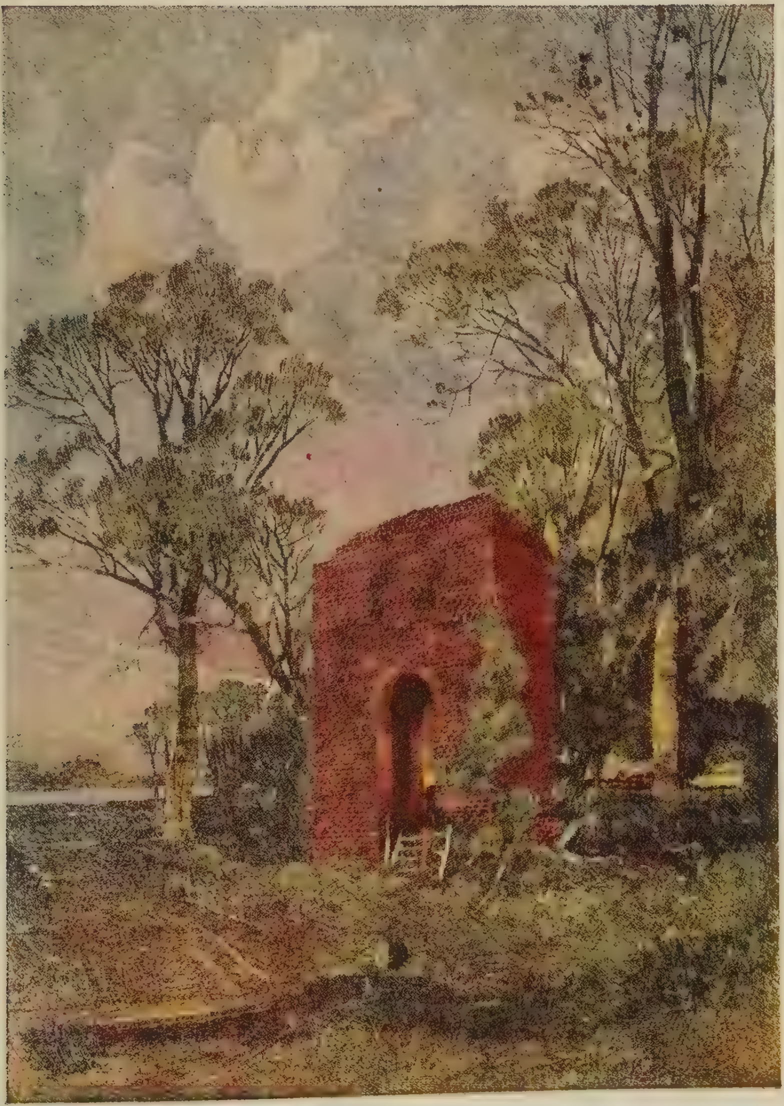
The early Europeans who came to North America were searching for gold. They had no intention of spending the rest of their lives in the wilderness. But, as gold was scarce, they began slowly to realize that forests and rich soils were as valuable as precious metals. Most of the settlers therefore gave up their hope of easy riches and decided instead to build homes in the New World.

Slowly and laboriously the colonists cut their plantations and villages out of the forests. As time went on, the settlements in Virginia extended over the surrounding territory, and those in Massachusetts spread over the Northeast. Later another group of incomers arrived in the Middle Colonies, connecting the settlements in the South with those in the North. English colonies then occupied the region from Maine to Georgia.

The oppressed peoples of Europe soon learned of the opportunities afforded by the New World. They began to cross the Atlantic in a steady stream. The hardships of pioneer life did not prevent their coming, for here they found freedom and a chance to improve their condition in life. With occasional exceptions they were allowed a voice in the government and were permitted to worship God as they thought right.

As their numbers grew the settlers in the English colonies needed more land and commenced to move westward over the Allegheny Mountains. Here they met trouble, for another nation — the French — had reached the interior before them. And the French had no intention of giving up these rich lands to the English.

A long struggle followed. Both sides fought desperately, but at last England won. In the years that followed, English ways of living spread over most of the continent. As a result, American people today express their thoughts in the English language and, in many cases, have institutions that are English in origin.



Courtesy of United States Historical Society.

RUINS OF THE OLD CHURCH TOWER AT JAMESTOWN, VA.

PART TWO
SETTLING NORTH AMERICA

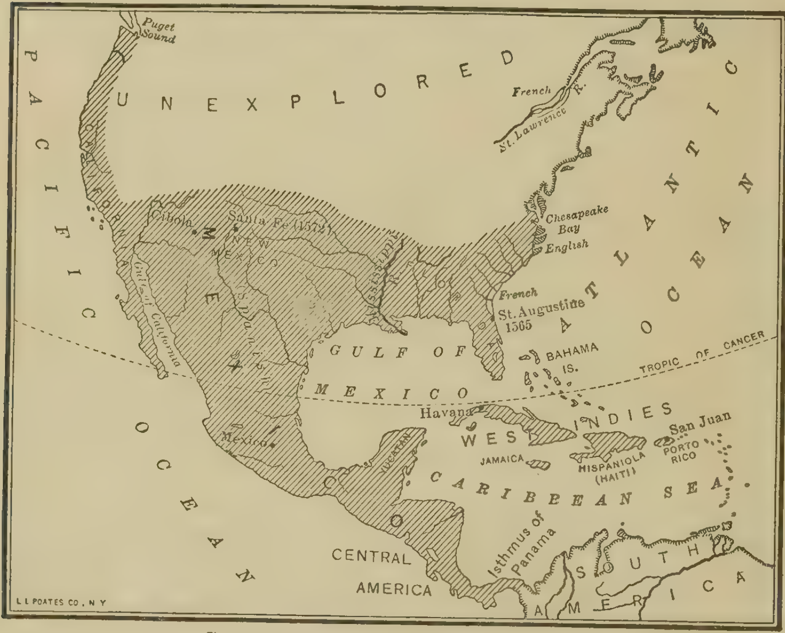
CHAPTER V

THE PLANTING OF THE COLONIES

For many years after the coming of Columbus, explorers wandered in the forests of North America and paddled their canoes up and down its great rivers without thinking seriously of making settlements. They were looking for gold and silver and for fountains and streams which would give them renewal of youth. They searched the continent for wealthy cities which they might plunder, and bought valuable furs from the Indians for bits of colored glass and other trinkets. They wanted to become rich quickly.

After a time, however, the Europeans saw that the real wealth of the American continent lay in its forests and mines, and, most of all, in the fertility of its soil. They then turned their attention to agriculture and to the planting of colonies.

Colony. A colony is composed of a number of people who leave their native land to make homes in a new country. Sometimes the settlers remain under the control of the mother country and sometimes they do not. The English colonies at first were under the control of trading companies in England. These companies hoped to make profits by shipping goods to the colonies and buying their valuable products in return. Later the colonists were governed by the King and the home Government, but they claimed all the rights and privileges of Englishmen, just as if they still lived in England. The colonies were allowed to govern themselves in all internal matters and they were left to take care of themselves against the Indians, the French, and the Dutch. After the colonies had grown in numbers and wealth the home Government began to interfere more in their affairs.


Puget Sound
PACIFIC OCEAN
UNEXPLORED
French
St. Lawrence R.
Chesapeake Bay
English
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Cibola
Santa Fe (1572)
NEW MEXICO
MEXICO
Gulf of California
Mississippi R.
French
St. Augustine 1565
GULF OF MEXICO
BAHAMA IS.
TROPIC OF CANCER
Havana
WEST INDIES
San Juan
PORTO RICO
JAMAICA
HISPANIOLA (HAITI)
YUCATAN
Mexico
CARIBBEAN SEA
Isthmus of Panama
CENTRAL AMERICA
SOUTH AMERICA
L. L. POATES CO., N. Y.

Spanish Explorations Before 1600

To plant a colony in a new country is a difficult task, and the life of the pioneer is hard. The early settler was forced to brave the dangers of the ocean and the forest, to fight wild beasts and savage men, as well as to face hunger, cold, and disease. It was not easy to build a log cabin and to make a living on the shores of the North American continent in the seventeenth century.

This being true, strong inducements were necessary to cause the early colonists to come to the New World. There were, in fact, several reasons for their coming. Some newcomers wished to escape from an oppressive and tyrannical government. Some desired religious freedom; some sought to convert the Indians to Christianity; some came to make money, or to satisfy a love for adventure and enterprise.

THE SPANISH COLONIES

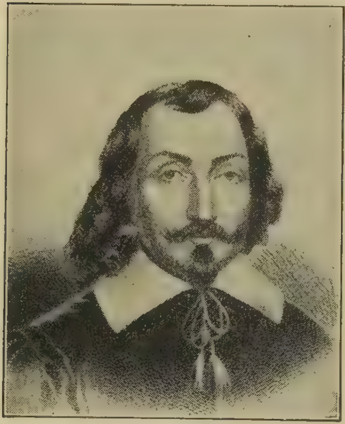
Most of the European nations were eager to establish colonies in the New World in order to increase their strength and extend their power. The Spaniards, who were the first to come to America, were also the first to establish colonies here. In 1565 Menendez (mā nĕn′-dāth), a Spanish soldier, founded St. Augustine in Florida—*the first permanent colony on the mainland of what is now the United States.* Forty years later the Spaniards, coming from Mexico, founded Santa Fé (sän′-tä fā′) and pushed on to the Pacific coast, going as far north as Puget Sound.

THE FRENCH SETTLEMENTS

Champlain. The French were also early settlers in America. One of the greatest of their explorers and colonizers, and the founder of New France in America, was the resolute and dauntless Samuel de Champlain (shăm plān′). This skillful navigator and daring explorer sailed from France in the spring of 1603. His company sailed up the St. Lawrence in a single ship and landed near the present site of Quebec. Six of the men pushed on in a canoe to Lachine Rapids, a few miles above Montreal.

After returning for a brief visit to France, Champlain spent three more years about the coasts of New England and the St. Lawrence region. In 1608 he founded a settlement — *the first permanent French colony in Canada* — which he named Quebec, from an Indian word meaning "the narrows." The site was a beautiful one, since it overlooked the magnificent river and picturesque country. Champlain was also quick to see that the heights about Quebec would be important from a military standpoint and that the place could be easily defended from the attacks of a hostile army.

For many years Champlain continued to be the leading man in New France. In 1609 he discovered the lake which now bears his name, and by 1615 he had pushed as far west as the Ottawa River and Lake Huron.

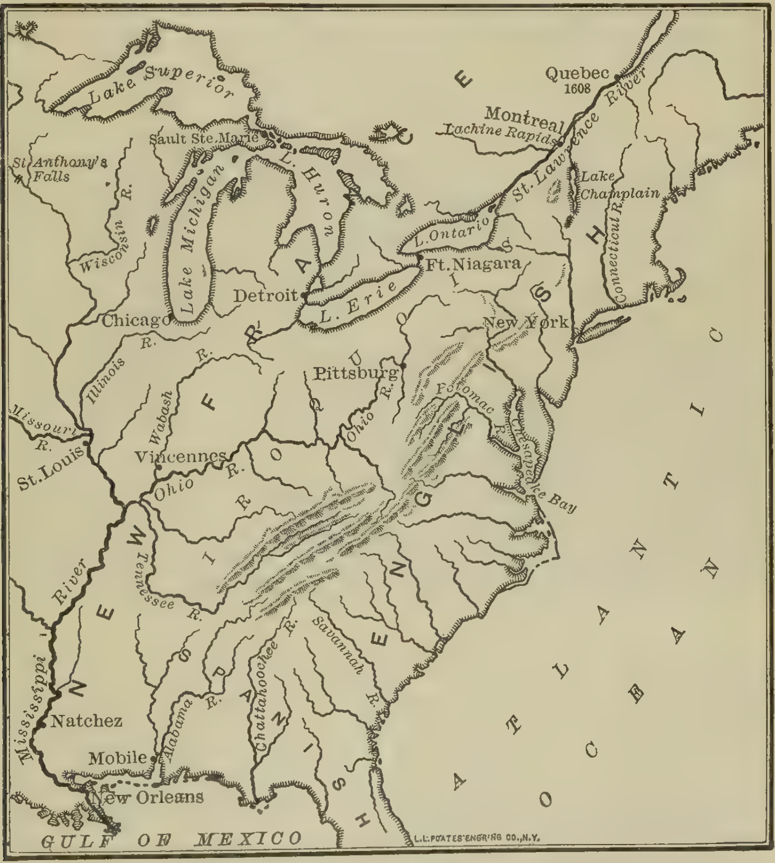


CHAMPLAIN

Champlain came from a family of fishermen and sailors. In 1599 he went to Mexico with a Spanish fleet and commanded one of the vessels. He was a masterful leader and a devout Christian. He wished to have the Indians taught the Christian religion.

After Champlain had opened the way, other Frenchmen followed in his trail. Soldiers, daring adventurers, enterprising fur traders and trappers, pious priests, and lawless wood-rangers, pushed into the interior of the continent where the face of a white man had never been seen before. These hardy explorers broke the stillness of the forest with the splash of their canoe paddles and the crack of their guns. They also brought the Christian religion to the New World. In 1641 Jesuit priests said Mass in the presence of 2000 Indians where Sault Ste. Marie (sōō sânt mā′rĭ) now stands.

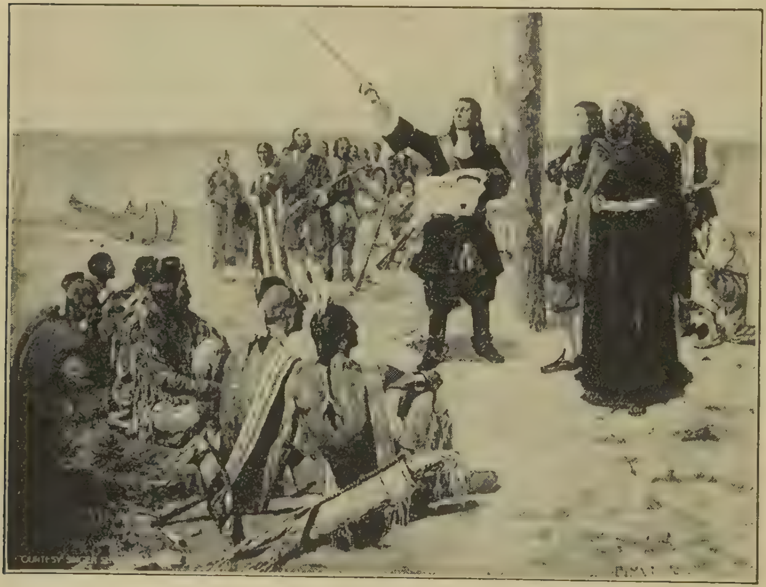
The French had been told by the Indians that a great river lay farther west; and in 1673 Father Marquette (mär kĕt′) and Joliet (zhō̊′lyā′), a French trader, started in search of it. They paddled down the Wisconsin River and finally came to the Mississippi. They were the first


Lake Superior
Sault Ste. Marie
St. Anthony's Falls
Wisconsin R.
Lake Michigan
L. Huron
Detroit
L. Erie
Chicago
R.
Illinois R.
R.
Missouri R.
St. Louis
Wabash R.
Vincennes
Ohio R.
Pittsburg
Ohio R.
L. Ontario
Ft. Niagara
Quebec 1608
Montreal
Lachine Rapids
St. Lawrence River
Lake Champlain
Connecticut R.
New York
Potomac R.
Chesapeake Bay
Tennessee R.
Mississippi River
Natchez
Mobile
Alabama R.
Chattahoochee R.
Savannah R.
New Orleans
GULF OF MEXICO
NEW FRANCE
IROQUOIS
ENGLISH
SPANISH
ATLANTIC OCEAN
L.L.POATES ENGR'NG CO.,N.Y.

French Explorations and Old French Trading Posts

white men to set eyes upon the upper part of the great river which De Soto had discovered in 1541, almost one hundred and fifty years before. About the same time (1680) Father Hennepin (hĕn′ē pĭn), another Jesuit priest, pushed his way up the Mississippi as far as St. Anthony Falls, where the city of Minneapolis now stands.

During this same period La Salle, a man of iron will, explored the Mississippi valley from the Illinois River to the Gulf of Mexico (1679–1682). He had heard of the great river and was anxious to plant the flag of his



LA SALLE AT THE MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI

Imagine, if you can, the scene which greeted the eyes of La Salle as he approached the Gulf of Mexico. The historian Parkman describes it as follows: "As he drifted down the turbid current, between the low and marshy shores, the brackish water changed to brine, and the breeze grew fresh with the salt breath of the sea. Then the broad bosom of the great Gulf opened on his sight, tossing its restless billows, limitless, voiceless, lonely as when born of chaos, without a sail, without a sign of life." Assembling his party on a spot of dry land La Salle made ready for the ceremonies. After chanting of anthems and volleys of musketry, followed by the shouting of "Long live the King," La Salle, sword in hand, read his proclamation taking possession of the land in the name of the King of France. The picture gives an artist's conception of La Salle as he read this proclamation.

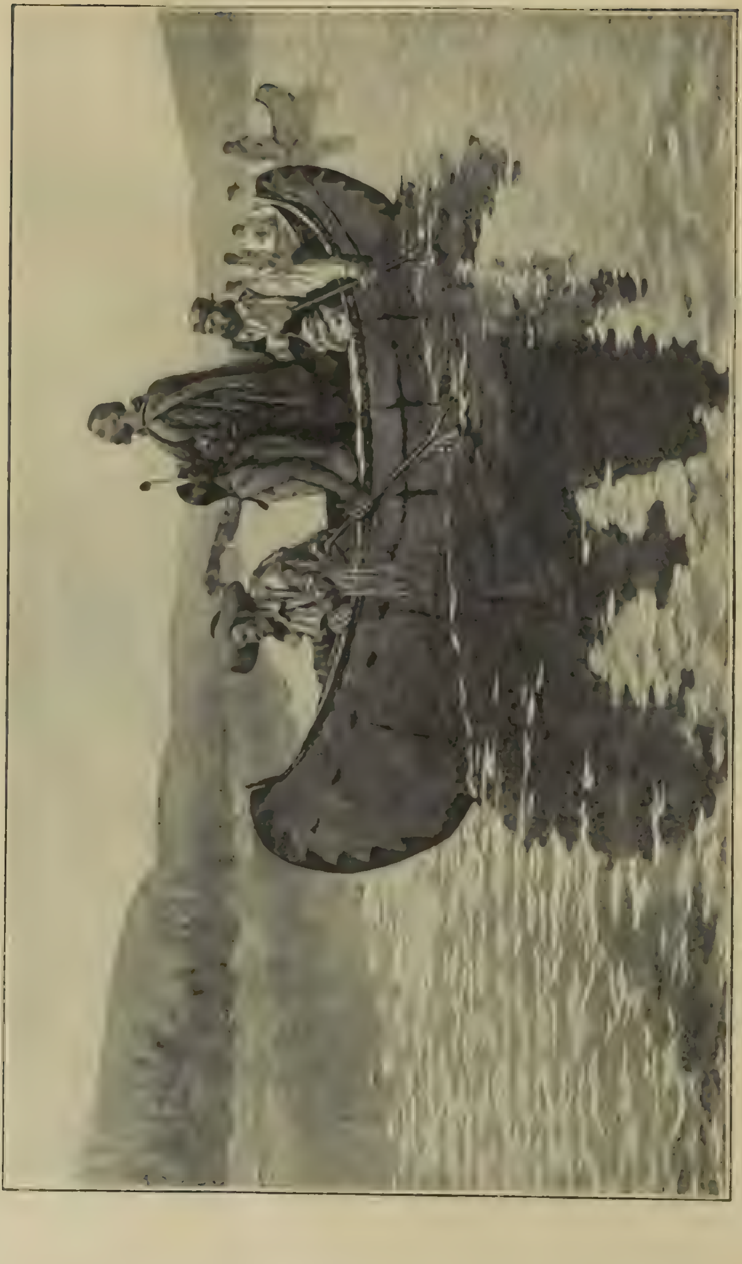
country at its very mouth. When he reached the end of his journey, in 1682, he set up a rude flag pole, unfurled the banner of France, and took possession of all the land drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries in the name of the King of France. He built a fort near the mouth of the Mississippi and, in honor of King Louis XIV, gave the name Louisiana to the land lying along both banks of the stream.

The Objects of the French. The French thus spread over an immense territory, but they did not take possession of the land for immediate colonization. They wished to hold the country for future occupation by their countrymen. To do this, they built forts at important points along the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi.

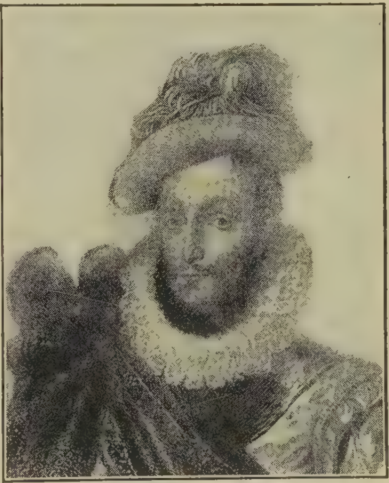
These posts were centers of activity for the priest and the trader. In order to make their claim to the land more secure, the French buried plates of lead with inscriptions upon them, laying claim to the region in the name of the King of France. Thus New France was founded, as someone has said, with one end in the canebrakes of Louisiana and the other in the snows of Canada.

THE ENGLISH COLONIES

Beginning of English Colonization. The first permanent English settlement in America was made at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607. This was more than one hundred years after John Cabot made his famous voyage to the Atlantic coast. During this time, however, England was not idle. Her daring seamen were to be found in every part of the globe. Sir Francis Drake sailed around the world (1577–1580) and Frobisher and Davis carried the English flag to the extreme north and west. These bold sea-rovers, however, were intent upon exploration, gold hunting, and the plundering of Spanish ships, and



Father Marquette as the Artist Imagined Him, Floating Down the Mississippi had little thought of colonization. For them adventure was the spice of life. They loved to chase, capture, and plunder a rich treasure-ship, but did not care to build log huts and plant corn and beans in the wilderness.



SIR WALTER RALEIGH

Raleigh was a famous sea-rover, soldier, colonizer, and adventurer. He was also an able writer and wrote a history of the world. He disobeyed the King of England, was convicted of treason, and beheaded in the London Tower, the famous old prison on the Thames (tĕmz) River.

Gilbert and Raleigh. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a member of Parliament, was the first Englishman to try to found a colony in the New World. In 1579 he and his stepbrother, Walter Raleigh (ra̤'lĭ), went to Newfoundland and attempted to establish a colony on the island. They had heard of the large number of fine fish which were caught in the vicinity, and thought the island a good place for a profitable settlement.

But they failed in their effort. Four years later (1583) Gilbert again went to Newfoundland. Soon afterwards he loaded one of his two ships with rock supposed to contain silver ore and set out for home. The ship upon which he sailed, the *Golden Hind,* was lost on the voyage and Gilbert went down at sea. Amid the storm Gilbert attempted to comfort his men by saying "we are as near heaven on sea as on land." The vessel bearing the worthless rock came to port in safety.

Raleigh would not give up his idea and spent a fortune of 40,000 pounds ($200,000) in an attempt to found a colony in America. He abandoned the icy banks of Newfoundland and turned to the milder climate of the South. In 1584 he sent two vessels to the south Atlantic coast. His men named the country Virginia in honor of Elizabeth, the virgin queen of England. They made no settlement, but they became acquainted with the Indians and reported them to be "people most gentle, loving, and faithful." The English colonists of a later time had a very different story to tell.

Raleigh made several other attempts to found settlements, as, unlike most men of his time, he thought that America was worth colonizing. In 1585 he sent about a hundred colonists to Roanoke (rō′à nōk) Island. But they were a shiftless lot. They could play the pirate or hunt for gold, but tilling the soil was too hard for them. Becoming homesick they returned to England the following year. A little later fifteen men were sent to the place and given the lonesome task of holding the site of the colony.

Although Raleigh was discouraged, he persevered and in 1587 sent John White with another band of colonists to the Carolina coast. They came to Roanoke, but could find no trace of the fifteen men who had been left there the year before. The fort was in ruins and deer were quietly grazing upon the spot where the colony once stood. White left a company of eighty-nine men, women, and children and returned to England in the same year (1587). When he came back to Roanoke, three years later, he found that all the colonists had disappeared. They had probably been massacred or had gone to live with the Indians. To this day they are spoken of as "Raleigh's Lost Colony."

Trading Companies Organized. Raleigh had spent his own fortune and all the money he could get from the Queen as well, but he had failed. It was now plain that the planting of colonies in America was too large and too costly an enterprise for individuals to undertake. Accordingly, companies were organized to do what Gilbert and Raleigh had failed to accomplish.

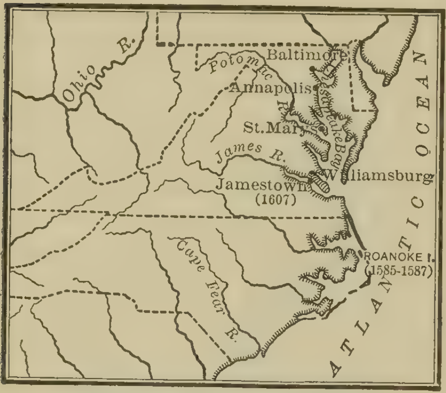
On April 10, 1606, King James I granted a charter to a company consisting of two branches or parts. The branch with its headquarters in London was known as the London Company. To this body of men the King gave the right to occupy a tract of land 100 miles square situated anywhere between 34° and 41° north latitude. The other branch, with headquarters in Plymouth, was called the Plymouth Company. To this company the King gave a similar grant of land between 38° and 45° north latitude. The land of the London Company thus extended from Long Island on the north to the mouth of the Cape Fear River on the south, while that of the Plymouth Company stretched from the northern boundary of New York to the Potomac River.

The two grants overlapped by three degrees. In order to prevent a quarrel between the two companies, the King decreed that within this overlapping territory settlements should be made at least 100 miles apart. This plan, he hoped, would hasten the establishment of colonies.

The charters provided that the government of all the colonies which the companies might found should be in the hands of the King. Each colony was to be managed by a council of thirteen men, but these men were to be appointed by the King from among the members of the company, and were to obey any rules which he might see fit to make. Accordingly, when the London Company sent a band of colonists to America, the King sent rules and instructions with them. He said that his own power and that of the Church of England should always be maintained in the colony. In addition he set forth the way in which land should be held and owned. The charter further provided that the profits from the colonies were to go to the company for twenty-one years, and then to the King.

VIRGINIA, 1607

Jamestown. The London Company was the first to act under the new charter. On December 19, 1606, 143 colonists set sail in three small ships for the New World under the command of Christopher Newport. After a weary voyage lasting about four months, land was sighted, and soon afterwards the settlers sailed up the river which they named the James, in honor of the King. On the 13th of May, 1607, they landed on the north bank of the river about thirty-five miles above its mouth, and there selected a site for their new home, which they named Jamestown.



The First English Colony

Things did not go well. The site selected was infested with mosquitoes, and soon the people were shaking with chills and burning with fever. The colonists were lazy and quarrelsome. About half of them were "gentlemen," so called, who had never done any work with their hands. They looked upon labor as beneath their dignity, and apparently thought that all they had to do in America was to hunt for hidden treasure.

But they soon found themselves sadly mistaken. Within two weeks from the time of landing the Indians made a savage attack upon the settlement. Disease lurked in the swamps, the water was bad, the heat intense. Half of the colonists died during the first summer and the outlook for Jamestown was a gloomy one.

John Smith, the Savior of the Colony. In the little company there was a man named John Smith. He was a braggart, and did not always tell the truth. He was also vain, boastful, and deceitful, but at the same time he was a brave soldier and a man of courage, energy, and ability. Smith was made president of the colony and immediately set the idlers to work. "He that will not work shall not eat," he declared. He drilled the men, repaired the fortifications, and explored the surrounding country. For two years Smith was the mainspring of the Jamestown colony and undoubtedly saved it from failure. He was shrewd enough to see the real difficulty and begged the company to send him carpenters, blacksmiths, and gardeners instead of "gentlemen" and idlers, of whom he already had too many.

Laziness and Hardships. The severest blow which the colony suffered in these early days was the departure of Smith for England in October, 1609. The strong arm was taken away and was not returned. After his departure the colony sank into a wretched condition. It suffered from hunger, disease, Indian attacks, and, worst of all, from laziness.

The colonists were so shiftless that they chopped up their houses for fire-wood, although they were living in a dense forest. They allowed the planting season to go by without putting in crops, although the Indians near by had fields of corn, peas, beans, and squashes. They did little hunting, although the forests contained an abundance of game — wild turkey, deer, squirrels, and rabbits. The bays and lakes were also dotted with ducks and geese, while oysters, fish, and crabs abounded in near-by waters and could be easily obtained. Yet the colonists neither hunted, trapped, nor fished, but bowled upon the green, or sat idly by and waited for food supplies to come from England.

Affairs were soon in a desperate condition, and in 1610, the year after Smith's departure, the colonists were on the point of giving up the whole project. In fact, in June of that year they went on board their vessels, which were small open boats, and started down the river with the intention of going to Newfoundland. Near the mouth of the stream they met Lord Delaware, the new governor, who arrived just in time to save the colony. Delaware took the settlers back to Jamestown and set them to work.

Delaware and Dale. Lord Delaware was an able and energetic man who gave life and hope to the colony. He found Jamestown "a forlorn ruin full of dead men's bones," but soon brought about great changes. The little church which had been abandoned was enlarged and repaired, and religious services were again held in the building. Many drones became busy workers and the colony began to wake up. Fresh misfortunes, however, came upon the distressed settlement, for the well from which the people obtained their water was shallow and foul and caused much sickness.

Lord Delaware, smitten with fever, left the colony a few months after his arrival. His successor, Sir Thomas Dale, was vigorous and even harsh, and the colonists soon saw that he meant to govern in earnest. "He ruled the men of Jamestown as a master rules his slaves." He reduced them to order and then got other colonists of a more useful class to come to Virginia. Servants and workingmen were among the newcomers and the colony prospered more than before.

Dale was followed by Argall (är′gâl), a worse tyrant than Dale. Then came Sir George Yeardley (yärd′lĭ), who abolished Dale's harsh laws and gave the settlers a share in the government.

Yeardley and the House of Burgesses. A very important step was taken in the summer of 1619 by Governor Yeardley. Yeardley came from England with instructions to call a general assembly for the making of laws. He did so, and on July 30, 1619, the Virginia House of Burgesses was assembled in the little church at Jamestown:

This assembly was the first representative legislature that ever met in America. It was made up of twenty-two burgesses or representatives, two from each of the eleven boroughs or towns. This House of Burgesses, together with the governor and his council of advisers, made the laws for the colony, subject to the approval of the company in London. This was also the year in which slavery was introduced into Virginia and a shipload of women came to Virginia.

Homes Established, 1619. In spite of hardships, the little colony continued to grow. When it was thirteen years old it contained about 4000 people. Many of the men now worked in earnest tilling the soil. Agricultural implements as well as farm animals — horses, cows, and hogs — were brought over. Tobacco was the principal crop and was used as money at one time.

The early colonists were all men. In 1609 and later a few women came to the colony, and in 1619 — a memorable year — a shipload of them arrived in Jamestown. They became the wives of the settlers and real homes were established in Virginia.

The Indians of Virginia lived a more comfortable life and were far less savage than those of many other parts of North America. Powhatan (pou′hȧ tăn′), the famous Indian chief who lived near Jamestown, was kind to John Smith and the colonists, but Powhatan's brother, who succeeded him in power, was not so friendly. In 1622 a fight between a settler and a red man brought on an Indian attack. About 370 of the whites were slain, some of them while at work in the fields, and the very life of the colony was in danger. Such an attack would probably have been fatal during the " starving time " which followed the departure of John Smith.

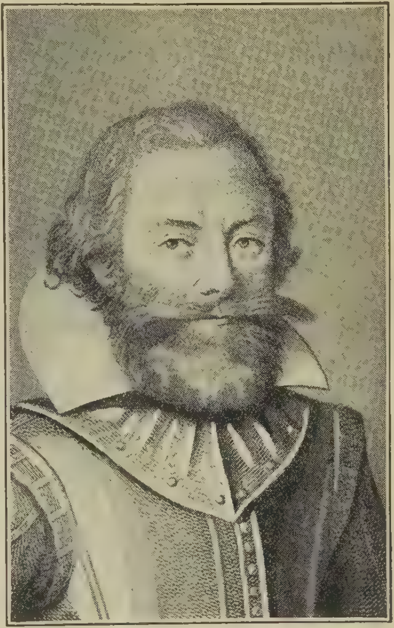
It is not possible to tell the story of all the governors of Virginia, but a word should be said about Sir William Berkeley (bûrk′lĭ), one of the most noted of the later governors. He was a man of great ability, yet narrow-minded. He was opposed to education for the common people. He said: "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy into the world and printing has divulged them." He thought that it was easier to govern ignorant men than those who were educated.

The colony grew steadily in spite of occasional misfortunes, and by 1700 about 100,000 people lived in Virginia. In spite of what Governor Berkeley had said, education was not entirely neglected. William and Mary College was founded at Williamsburg, a short distance from Jamestown, in 1693. This was the second college founded in America, Harvard being the first, in 1636.

The success of the colony was no longer in doubt, as the people had now settled down to agriculture and the gold-hunting fever had largely passed away.

The Coming of the Cavaliers. One of the most important events in the history of the colony was the coming of the " Cavaliers " (kăv′ȧ lērs′). The Stuart Kings, who reigned in England at the time, were exceedingly headstrong and tyrannical, and the people under the leadership of Oliver Cromwell rose against one of them (Charles I), drove him from the throne, and beheaded him. The supporters of the King were known as Cavaliers, and many of them, fearing the hostility of Cromwell and disgusted with the new government, came to Virginia.

Many of the Cavaliers were men of culture, wealth, and refinement, and came from some of the best families in England. They formed a striking contrast to the "gentlemen" of the early days of the colony. They became leaders in politics, and from their ranks came many of the great statesmen and soldiers for whom Virginia has since been noted. Although they were loyal supporters of the King, many of their descendants fought valiantly with pen and sword against another King (George III) in the American Revolution.



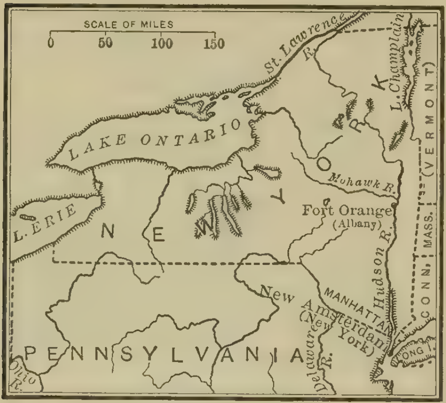
Captain John Smith

Jamestown is usually spoken of as the first permanent English settlement in America. As a matter of fact, there is no such place at the present time. The town was burned in 1676 and was never rebuilt. The ruins of a brick church tower and a few gravestones are all that now remain to mark the site of Jamestown.

NEW YORK, 1614

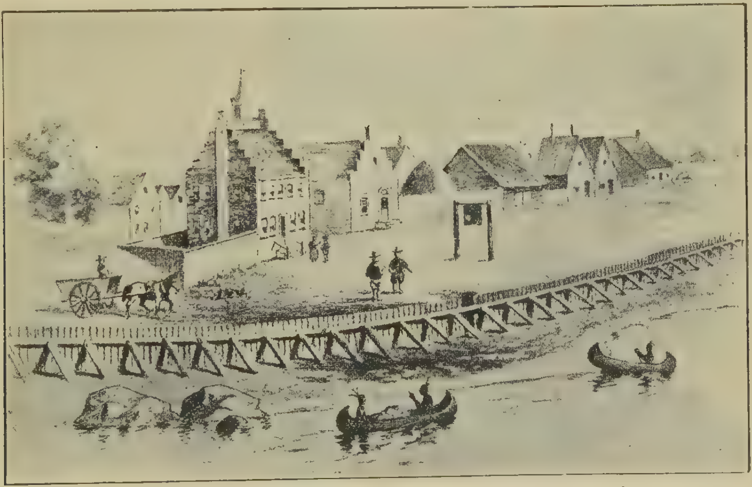
The Jamestown colony was but two years old when a company of men from Holland in a queer little ship appeared in what is now New York harbor. They came under the command of Henry Hudson, a famous English navigator and explorer, who was in the employ of the Dutch East India Company. This company was interested in trade with the East, and, like many others, wished to find a water route to India.

On April 4, 1609, Hudson sailed from Amsterdam in his famous ship, the *Half Moon*. He had received a letter from his friend, Captain John Smith of Jamestown, in which the statement was made that a passage leading to India might be found somewhere to the north of Chesapeake Bay. Accordingly Hudson sailed in that direction, and in September, 1609, anchored in New York Harbor. He then sailed up the beautiful river, which now bears his name, as far as the present site of Albany. He was delighted with the beauty of the region, and any one who has visited the famous Hudson River highlands will agree with him that the land is "as beautiful as the foot of man ever trod upon." He traded with the Indians and had many friendly visits with them. He tells us that in one instance they prepared a feast for him consisting of two pigeons and a fat dog, but that he did not accept the invitation to dine.


SCALE OF MILES
0
50
100
150
St. Lawrence R.
L. Champlain
(VERMONT)
LAKE ONTARIO
L. ERIE
NEW YORK
Mohawk R.
Fort Orange (Albany)
MASS.
CONN.
Hudson R.
MANHATTAN
New Amsterdam (New York)
LONG I.
PENNSYLVANIA
Delaware R.
Ohio R.

EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN NEW YORK

Fort Nassau, New York, 1614. The first settlement in what is now the State of New York was made in 1614 by the Dutch at Fort Nassau (năs′sạ), a few miles south of the present city of Albany. In the following year a trading post and a few cabins were built on Manhattan Island, which the Dutch bought from the Indians in 1626 for $24. This sum would now be equal to about $120. In many parts of Manhattan this amount of money would not purchase enough land today for a man to stand on.

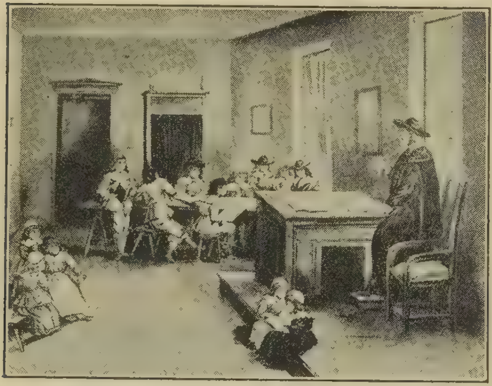


THE SHORE OF EAST RIVER WHEN NEW YORK WAS NEW AMSTERDAM

This spot of land has undergone a marvelous change since the days of New Amsterdam. Only a short distance from this scene "the primeval forest resounded nightly with the growl of bears, the wailing of panthers, and the yelps of wolves, while serpents lurked in the dense underbrush." Note the quaint, Dutch aspect of the whole scene. At a later time the Indians were not so companionable.

The little group of settlements was called New Netherland in honor of the home land, and a trading post which stood on the present site of New York City was known as New Amsterdam.

The Patroons. The Dutch had selected a good location on a fine harbor and a great river, but their colony did not make satisfactory progress because the people paid too much attention to trade and too little to agriculture. In order to encourage the colonists to till the soil, a plan was tried in 1629 by which any member of the Dutch West India Company who should found a settlement anywhere outside Manhattan of fifty or more persons above fifteen years of age should be given a tract of land on the Hudson River extending for sixteen miles on one side or for eight miles on both sides, and as far into the interior as the situation of the occupiers would permit. The founder of the colony was called the "patroon," or patron, and the people living on his immense plantation were to be under his control. At a later time (1640) the estate of the patroon was limited to one mile of river front and extended two miles back from the water.

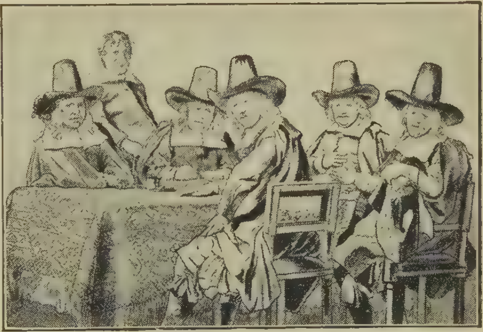


Interior of a Dutch School in New Amsterdam

The people of Holland thought education important and the patroons were instructed "to find speedy means to maintain a clergyman and a schoolmaster." In addition to giving instruction, the teacher was sometimes expected to serve as choir-leader, grave-digger, and court bell-ringer.

The patroon system soon brought many more settlers to the new colony. People who had been persecuted because of religion sought a home in New Netherland. While no public religious meetings were allowed there, except those of the Dutch Reformed Church, yet men of many nations came to New Netherland to better their condition. In 1643 eighteen different languages were spoken on the streets of New Amsterdam.

Peter Stuyvesant. Many of the Dutch rulers were odd and interesting characters. In 1647 Peter Stuyvesant (stī′vĕ sȧnt), strutting "like a peacock," came over as governor. Stuyvesant was a gruff but able man, and a strange mixture of good and bad qualities. He has been described as a noble, honest, headstrong, lion-hearted old soldier. He wished to have entire control of the colony and would not give the colonists their proper share in the government. On one occasion he said to a man who had been sentenced to banishment: "If I thought there was any danger of your trying to appeal [to the legislature of Holland], I would hang you this minute to the tallest tree on the island."



Peter Stuyvesant and His Council Preparing the Charter for the City of New Amsterdam, 1652

New Amsterdam then had about 800 inhabitants and was incorporated as a city. The meetings of the governing body were held on Monday mornings in the City Tavern, on Pearl Street. From that time on the building was called the Stadt Huys, or City Hall. Governor Stuyvesant often expressed his displeasure by pounding on the floor with his wooden leg when things were not going to his liking.

The people, however, were not much afraid of Stuyvesant and quietly asked for a share in the government. They saw that other American colonies had representative governments and they wished to enjoy similar rights. The old governor stormed around a great deal, but finally granted a small part of their request.

Capture of New Netherland, 1664. The rapid growth of the colony aroused the envy and jealousy of the English. By this time, they had planted colonies on both sides of New Netherland, so that the Dutch settlement was like a wedge between the English possessions in

New England and their territories in the South. There could be no unity among the English colonies until this wedge was removed. Moreover, the Dutch and the English had for years quarreled over boundary lines. In addition, the Dutch had possession of the best harbor on the Atlantic coast; and the Hudson River, also under their control, was an important highway for the Indian fur trade.

Under such conditions it was not difficult for the King of England to convince himself that the Dutch were intruders and that the land which they occupied rightfully belonged to the English. He therefore made up his mind to send out an expedition to capture New Netherland, although he really had no good reason for doing so. In August, 1664, an English fleet appeared before New Amsterdam and demanded its surrender. Gruff old Governor Stuyvesant stumped about fiercely on his wooden leg and said that he would rather be carried to his grave than haul down the flag. He was finally obliged to yield, however, as he had only a few soldiers. In the next two months the English seized the other Dutch towns. New Amsterdam was now named New York, in honor of the King's brother, the Duke of York, and New Netherland was no more.

The people were given a greater share in the government than before, and the colony prospered greatly under the rule of the English. When New Netherland was captured in 1664, there were about 10,000 people in the colony, about 1600 of whom were in New Amsterdam. At the close of the century (1700) the population of the New York colony numbered about 25,000.

MASSACHUSETTS, 1620

√Colonization increased rapidly. In the same year in which the Dutch established Fort Nassau (1614), John

Smith of Jamestown fame returned to America. He explored the northeastern coast of what is now the United States and gave to the region the name which it still bears, "New England."

The Pilgrims. The first permanent settlement in New England was made at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620. This was thirteen years after the founding of Jamestown and eleven years after Hudson dropped anchor in New York Harbor.

In order to understand clearly the causes which led the Pilgrims to come to America we should note briefly the various sects or divisions into which the Protestants of England were divided at this time. Many of the Protestants were members of the Church of England, or the Protestant Episcopal Church, as we call it in America. This church was the "Established Church" and was approved and supported by the Government.

A large number of English Protestants, however, were opposed in some respects to the Church of England. Some of these wished to remain in the church, but desired to "purify" it, as they said, and hence were called "Puritans." In addition to the Puritans there was another body of Protestants who looked upon the purification of the English Church as a hopeless task, and who, therefore, determined to separate themselves from it. These were called "Separatists," or "Independents." It was a company of Separatists, as we shall see, who founded the first permanent colony in New England.

It makes very little difference to us now what church our neighbor attends. We feel that he has a right to belong to whatever church he chooses. All denominations are upon the same footing. We recognize the rights of each individual to his own opinions and practices in matters of religious worship. In other words we have complete religious toleration. But this was not true in England at the time of the Puritans. One King would persecute the Roman Catholics, another the Protestants, while a third would punish all who did not belong to the Church of England.

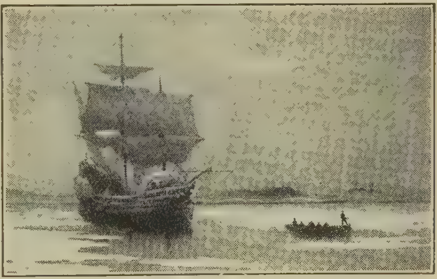
James I, who became King in 1603, was especially harsh toward all who would not worship in the Established Church. "I will make them conform," he exclaimed in anger, "or I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse." He did not succeed in making them join the Church of England, but he did drive thousands of men, women, and children to the bleak coast of New England.

In their distress the people hardly knew which way to turn. Finally, in 1608, some of them determined to seek religious freedom in Holland. In that year a little group from the town of Scrooby (scrōō′bĭ) in north central England went to Amsterdam under the leadership of their beloved pastor, John Robinson. This little flock was a sincere, devoted, and industrious band — quite different from the gentlemen and idlers who had gone to Jamestown the year before.

After remaining in Amsterdam a short time they went to Leyden (lī′dĕn). Here they found the religious freedom which they sought, but were not contented. They were "strangers in a strange land." Their children were slowly adopting the Dutch language and customs. They disliked this because they were Englishmen and dearly loved the country from which they had been driven. They did not wish to remain in Holland and they could not return to England. Accordingly they determined to go to America where they might worship in their own way and still live as Englishmen. They then made arrangements to start a colony near the present location of New Jersey.

A part of the congregation left Holland in 1620 and stopped in England on the way to America. After some delay the *Mayflower* set sail on her memorable voyage with about one hundred persons on board. The little vessel was beaten about by storms and narrowly missed going to the bottom of the sea.

On November 19, 1620, the Pilgrims, as they have since been called, came in sight of the Massachusetts coast. The captain had lost his reckonings, and fierce winds had driven the ship farther north than the Pilgrims wished to go. Instead of landing they turned toward the south, but being unable to make much headway against the gales, they returned to the Massachusetts coast and late in December, 1620, landed at the spot which John Smith had called Plymouth — tradition says on Plymouth Rock.



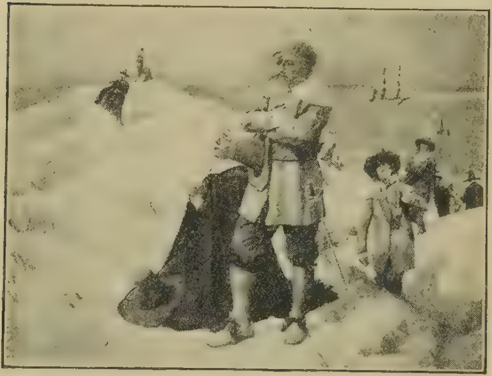
THE *Mayflower* IN PLYMOUTH HARBOR
The passengers are going ashore in a small boat in the midst of floating ice.

About a month before landing, the Pilgrims gathered in the cabin of their ship and signed the famous *Mayflower Compact.* They felt that they would need a government of some kind when they landed, and in this compact, or agreement, they declared that they would set up a government and make just laws for the general good.

Suffering and Thanksgiving. Building homes on the bleak New England coast in mid-winter was no easy task. The trials of the colonists were severe. At one time only six or seven of the entire company were able to care for the sick and bury the dead. When spring came, half of the whole number were in their graves

Yet the brave hearts of the Pilgrims did not fail them. When the *Mayflower* returned to England in the spring of 1621 not a single colonist returned with her.

During the summer they put in crops, built better houses, and made ready for the second winter. After the harvest of the first year had been gathered they appointed a day of thanksgiving and prayer—*the first Thanksgiving Day ever observed in America.* Captain Miles Standish, a sturdy soldier, was the leader in defending the colony from the Indians, and William Bradford proved a splendid governor for thirty years.



Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers

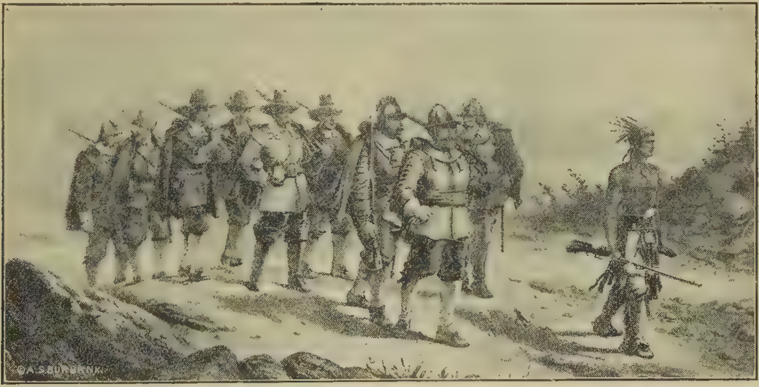
The breaking waves dashed high
  On a stern and rock-bound coast,
And the woods against a stormy sky
  Their giant branches tossed.

And the heavy night hung dark
  The hills and waters o'er,
When a band of exiles moored their bark
  On the wild New England shore.
— Mrs. Hemans.

Massachusetts Bay Colony. In 1628, John Endicott made a settlement on the Massachusetts coast at a place which he called Salem, meaning *peace.* In the following year the Massachusetts Bay Company got a charter from the King and did great things in the way of founding colonies. The charter was granted at a favorable time. A new King (Charles I) had come to the throne of England in 1625, but he was just as oppressive as his father, James I, had been. He also drove many good people from their homes and in ten years about 20,000 persons left England and came to

America. This is called the "Puritan Exodus" or "Puritan Migration," and was the most important attempt yet made to colonize the New World.

In April, 1630, John Winthrop, one of the best of men, sailed for Salem, but left that place almost immediately and went to the present site of Boston. The tide of immigration rapidly increased, eight settlements being made in a single year.

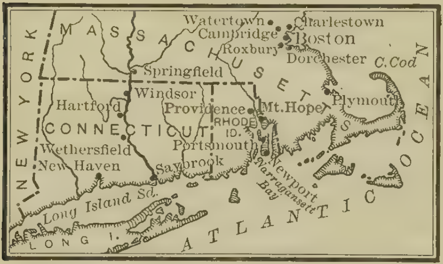


Miles Standish and His Sturdy Men

Captain Miles Standish was the strong defender of the Plymouth Colony. This bold soldier, as shown in this imaginative picture, often started on an important military expedition with a mere handful of men and a friendly Indian acting as guide.

As time passed, people moved inland or up and down the coast and made other settlements or towns — Watertown, Salem, Malden, Roxbury, and Concord. These towns governed themselves. To attend to interests which they had in common they sent representatives to a General Assembly of the Colony and through this legislative body the colony gradually extended its authority over all the towns. A large measure of local self-government, however, was left to them. Boston was made the capital in 1630. When the colony was four years old it contained 4000 people scattered in twenty towns.

The Puritans had come to America to find religious freedom for themselves, but they had no thought of granting the same privilege to others. None but church members were allowed to vote. Quakers and others who differed from the Puritans in religious belief were not permitted to remain in the colony. Some of them were imprisoned, a few were hanged on Boston Common, and others were driven with lashes out of the colony and warned not to return.


NEW YORK
MASSACHUSETTS
Watertown
Charlestown
Cambridge
Boston
Roxbury
Dorchester
C. Cod
Springfield
Windsor
Hartford
Providence
Mt. Hope
Plymouth
CONNECTICUT
RHODE ID.
Portsmouth
Wethersfield
New Haven
Saybrook
Newport
Narragansett Bay
Long Island Sd.
LONG I.
ATLANTIC OCEAN

The Beginnings of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island

In educational matters the Puritans showed greater wisdom and foresight. Many of their leaders were university graduates and favored the establishment of schools and colleges. In 1636 the legislature of Massachusetts voted 400 pounds (about $2000) for the establishment of a college at Newtown. Two years later the Reverend John Harvard died and left his library and one-half of his estate (about $4000) to this college. The legislature then decided that the college should be called Harvard and that the name Newtown should be changed to Cambridge in honor of the famous English university. This was the beginning of the oldest American college. ✓

NEW HAMPSHIRE AND MAINE

A few years after the founding of Plymouth, colonies were established in New Hampshire and Maine. In 1622 Ferdinando Gorges (fĕr dĭ năn′dō gôr′jĕz) and John Mason obtained a grant of land between the Merrimac and the Kennebec Rivers, and colonies were planted in that territory soon after. Independent settlements were made in New Hampshire at the time that Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island were settled. These independent towns were joined to Massachusetts soon after their establishment and so remained until made a royal province in 1679. In 1685 New Hampshire was again made part of Massachusetts.

The early history of Maine is similar to that of New Hampshire. As a result of the grant to Gorges and Mason, settlements were made in what is now Maine and these were afterward joined to Massachusetts. Thus Massachusetts came into control of all the English settlements north of Plymouth.

CONNECTICUT, 1635

Connecticut was settled by colonists from Massachusetts. In 1635–1636 a large number of Massachusetts people sought homes in the inviting valley of ~~the~~ Connecticut River. There were several reasons for this change of residence. In the first place the land in the Connecticut valley was better than that on the Massachusetts coast. In the second place, the Puritans had gone into the business of cattle raising and wanted more land for pasture. But probably the most important reason lay in the fact that many of the people were dissatisfied with the religious test for voting.

These people, upon leaving Massachusetts, went southwest and settled at Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield. The trip was not easy. In one instance it took a company of people under the command of their pastor, Rev. Thomas Hooker, more than two weeks to make the journey of about 100 miles. In some cases they had to cut a way through the woods for their cattle and the household goods which they brought with them. Two years later (1638) a company of men of high standing came from England and founded New Haven, later the seat of Yale University.

The Form of Government. The Massachusetts government exercised almost no control over the people who went to Connecticut. This suited the independent Connecticut men exactly and, in 1639, Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield set up a form of government for themselves in which they made no mention of the power of the King of England or of that of Massachusetts. They adopted a written constitution which made them practically an independent republic.

This constitution, called the *Fundamental Orders of Connecticut,* is notable as being the first written constitution in the history of the world which was drawn up by the people themselves for their own government. As might be expected it gave the right to vote to every man, whether a church member or not. This was an excellent form of government and remained in force for many years after the American Revolution.

RHODE ISLAND, 1636

Rhode Island was another offshoot from Massachusetts. The founder of the colony was Roger Williams. He was a man who meant well, but he must have been a very uncomfortable neighbor. He was always ready to protest against anything which did not seem to him to be exactly right, and he got into a great deal of trouble.

Williams declared that the land upon which the Massachusetts people were living rightfully belonged to the Indians, and that the King of England had no right to give it away to any one. He also disagreed with his neighbors on matters of religion, declaring that the Church and the Government should be independent of each other and that every man should have the right to worship as he saw fit. Here was religious freedom and the separation of Church and State, new ideas for those times. These ideas offended the Massachusetts men and Williams was brought to trial in 1635 and sentenced to be banished.

In January of the following year Williams fled through the cold wintry blasts and took refuge in the wigwam of Massasoit (măs′ȧ soit′), the chief of an Indian tribe living in the Narragansett Bay country. Here he purchased a tract of land from the Indians and founded a town which he called Providence, in recognition of divine guidance to the site. He set up a very simple kind of government in which the people governed themselves. Two years later he founded the first Baptist Church in America. Providence is now the seat of Brown University, one of our leading institutions of learning. More important still is the fact that Providence is the birthplace of complete political and religious liberty in the United States.

The New England Confederation, 1643-1684. Many settlements had now been established in various parts of New England. Before 1643 these colonies had very little to do with one another. There were almost no neighborly dealings. The time had now come, however, when the colonists thought that a union of some kind should be formed. They might be called upon to defend themselves at any time and they felt that in such a case they should act together. They might have to oppose the King — he was not altogether pleased at their independent spirit; they might have to fight against the Dutch, who were growing strong in New Netherland; they might be called to arms against the French, who were taking possession of the North and West; and they might be awakened any night by an Indian war-whoop at their doors. In any case, the colonists felt that union would give them strength.

Accordingly, the people of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven united under the name "United Colonies of New England." They drew up a plan of co-operation and placed the power in the hands of eight men, called commissioners — two from each colony. These commissioners had charge of all matters of common interest, such as the carrying on of war, while each colony managed its own local affairs as it saw fit.

The formation of this confederation was an important step in developing the idea of union and a spirit of independence among the people. The Confederation lasted for forty-one years. The crushing of the Indians in King Philip's War, the union of New Haven with Connecticut, and the conquest of the Dutch by the English removed most of the causes that had brought it into existence. These events, as well as the numerous quarrels that had occurred among the members, brought the union to an end in 1684.

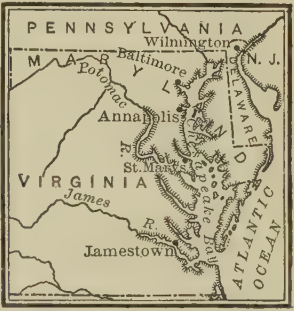
MARYLAND, 1634

We must now turn our attention to the Roman Catholic colony of Maryland. Four years after the founding of Boston, the first settlement was made in what is now the State of Maryland.

The founding of the colony came about in this way: George Calvert, later named Lord Baltimore, had watched the development of early Virginia very carefully and had come to the conclusion that no colony on a purely commercial basis could succeed. He therefore concluded to found one based partly on religion.

Calvert was a Roman Catholic and a great favorite of the King. He succeeded in getting a large grant of land lying north of the Potomac River. For the region he was to pay a yearly rent of two arrow heads and to give the King one-fifth of all the gold and silver which he might find. The land in the grant was named Maryland, at the King's request, in honor of the Queen, Henrietta Maria.

Soon after the grant was obtained, Calvert died, and in November, 1633, his son Cecil sent 200 colonists to the New World. In the following March they founded St. Mary's on the Potomac River.



Early Settlements in Maryland

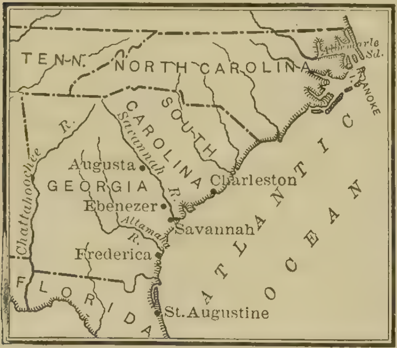
Religious Toleration, 1649. Although the proprietor was a Roman Catholic, many of the colonists were Protestants. These, however, were granted the right to worship as they pleased. The result was that they were contented and the colony prospered. Persecuted religious sects soon came from all quarters to seek religious freedom in the new colony. They were not disappointed. In 1649, the famous Toleration Act was passed which provided that no Christian should be interfered with in any way in the practice of his religion. This provision was a great improvement over the Puritan plan, but it was defective in not granting religious liberty to Jews or to others who were not members of a Christian church. In Maryland, therefore, the people did not have complete religious toleration such as Roger Williams had established in Rhode Island.

Maryland, a Royal Province, 1691. At first the government of the colony was entirely in the hands of the proprietor. At a later time the people obtained a share in the government and elected a representative legislature. In 1691 Maryland became a royal province, and the government was placed in the hands of the King. In 1715 the colony was restored to the third Lord

Baltimore, in whose family it remained until the American Revolution.

THE CAROLINAS, 1663

In 1663 the King of England gave a large tract of land lying south of Virginia to a small group of his personal friends. Before this grant was made, however, a colony had been established on Albemarle Sound—the first permanent settlement within the present boundaries of North Carolina. This settlement was made by a small band of colonists who had migrated from Virginia. North Carolina was thus a branch from Virginia, as Connecticut was from Massachusetts.


TENN.
NORTH CAROLINA
Sd.
SOUTH CAROLINA
Savannah R.
R.
Augusta
GEORGIA
Charleston
Ebenezer
Altamaha R.
Savannah
Chattahoochee
Frederica
FLORIDA
St. Augustine
ATLANTIC OCEAN

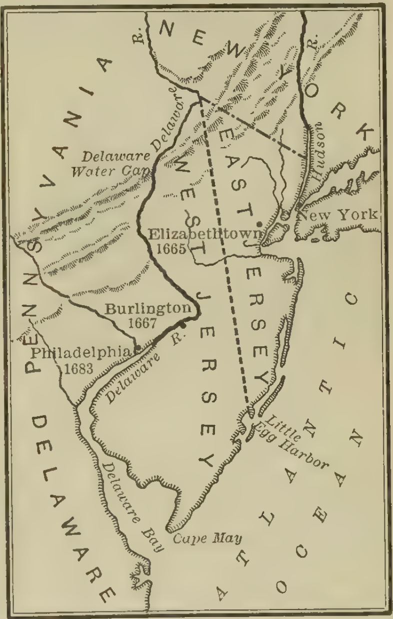
Early Settlements on the South Atlantic Coast

A few years later a town was started where Charleston now stands. The site was excellent, and the place soon became the most important city on the south Atlantic coast.

These settlements mark the beginnings of North and South Carolina. The proprietors had no thought of establishing two separate colonies, but Albemarle and Charleston were so far apart that in 1729 they were made separate colonies and became royal provinces under the control of the King.

NEW JERSEY, 1664

Colonization began in Carolina and New Jersey at about the same time. Before the conquest of New Netherland by the English, Dutch settlers had wandered down into what is now New Jersey. The real establishment of the colony, however, did not begin until 1664. In that year the Duke of York gave a grant of land lying between the Delaware and the Hudson Rivers to two of his friends, and the English soon came to the region. Bergen (bĕr′gĕn) became the most important settlement in New Jersey.


NEW YORK
PENNSYLVANIA
Delaware R.
Hudson R.
Delaware Water Gap
EAST JERSEY
WEST JERSEY
New York
Elizabethtown 1665
Burlington 1667
Philadelphia 1683
Delaware R.
Little Egg Harbor
Delaware Bay
Cape May
DELAWARE
ATLANTIC OCEAN

EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN EAST AND WEST JERSEY

After a few years, William Penn and other Quakers bought the western part of New Jersey. Here they set up an excellent government and granted religious freedom to all peaceable citizens. Three years later, the Quakers and several other men purchased East Jersey and the two parts were thus united under one head and both prospered. In 1702, after many quarrels, the proprietors, weary of discord, gave over their rights to the King, and New Jersey became a royal province.

PENNSYLVANIA AND DELAWARE, 1681–1682

Pennsylvania is one of the most interesting of the American colonies, largely because its history is connected with William Penn, a brilliant and warm-hearted man. When a boy, Penn was sent to Oxford University, where he became famous as a scholar and athlete. He was a powerful oarsman and a master of many languages.

He could read and write Latin, Italian, French, German, and Dutch, and had a good knowledge of Greek. In addition, we know from his letters and other writings that he had a very good command of the English language.

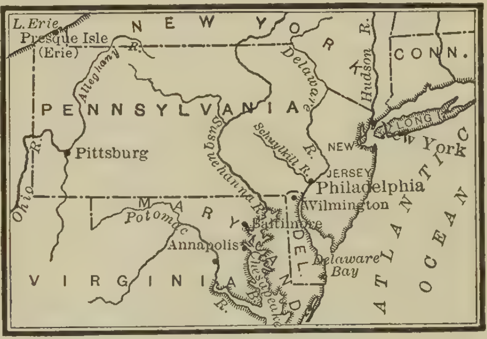
William Penn

William Penn was a very religious man. He was arrested while preaching in the streets of London. He was charged with disturbing the peace and was imprisoned in the Tower. Here he wrote his principal work, "No Cross, No Crown."

While at Oxford, Penn was converted to the teachings of George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, or Quakers. This displeased his father very much. The older Penn, an admiral in the King's navy and a fighter by profession, was much displeased when his son adopted a religion which forbade all fighting. Accordingly, Admiral Penn took his son out of college and sent him to Paris in the hope that he might forget his new religious ideas in the gayeties of the French capital. It did not turn out so, however, for Penn clung to his religious beliefs to the day of his death.

Land Grant, 1681. Penn, as we have seen, had made a success of colonization in New Jersey and he now wished to get more land in America and continue his efforts on a larger scale. The King owed him a large sum of money, but being unable to pay his debts in cash, he offered Penn a tract of land in the New World amounting to 40,000 square miles of territory (1681). To this tract of land, Penn gave the name *Sylvania,* meaning the woodland, but the King prefixed the word Penn, thus forming the name Pennsylvania. When Penn objected to the new name, saying that he feared the people would think him vain if the land bore his name, the King replied: "Don't flatter yourself; we will keep the name to commemorate the admiral, your noble father."

Penn was now ready to enter upon what he called his "holy experiment." He advertised his plans widely and offered small tracts of land for sale at very low rates. He also promised self-government and religious freedom to all Christians who came to the colony. Many accepted his offer, and in the fall of the same year in which the grant was obtained (1681), three shiploads of people set out for Penn's forests under the command of his cousin, William Markham, and founded Pennsylvania.


L. Erie
Presque Isle
(Erie)
NEW YORK
Allegheny R.
Delaware R.
Hudson R.
CONN.
PENNSYLVANIA
Susquehanna R.
Schuylkill R.
Pittsburg
Ohio R.
NEW JERSEY
Philadelphia
Wilmington
Long I.
New York
MARYLAND
Potomac R.
Baltimore
Annapolis
DEL.
Delaware Bay
Chesapeake Bay
VIRGINIA
ATLANTIC OCEAN

Pennsylvania and Delaware

In the following year (1682) Penn came to America in person to look after the interests of his new undertaking. He was delighted with the beauty and repose of the woodland and exclaimed: "Oh, how sweet is the quiet of these parts!" The site for the capital had already been chosen and Penn proceeded to lay out its streets, in regular order, between the Delaware and the Schuylkill Rivers. The place was named Philadelphia, or the city of brotherly love. The first streets of this famous city were named after the various trees which grew in great abundance in places now covered with hard pavements.

Within a few years a serious dispute arose over the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland.

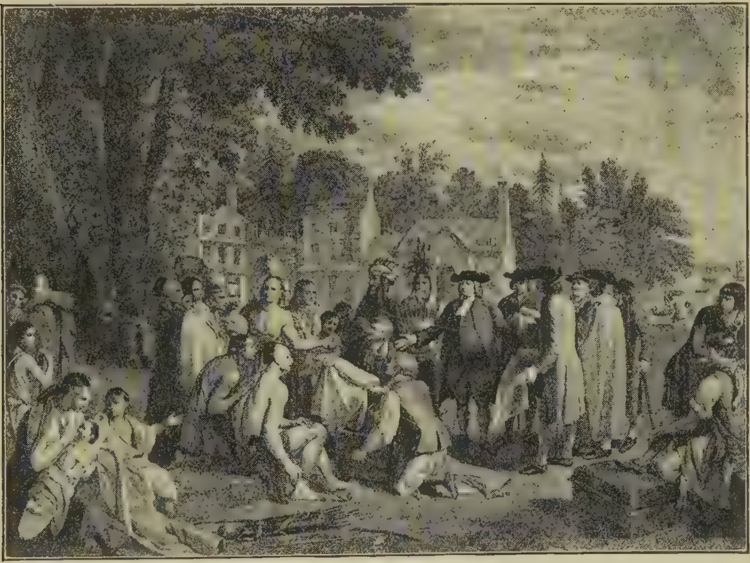
Not until 1767 was this dispute settled and the boundary line finally fixed by two English surveyors, Mason and Dixon.

Delaware. In order to have a better outlet to the sea, Penn obtained the land which is now known as Delaware (1682). Pennsylvania was called the " province " and Delaware the " territories," but both were under the rule of Penn until 1703. In that year Penn set up " the territories " as a separate colony.

The Form of Government. Penn kept his word, as he always did, in regard to self-government and religious freedom. He set up a liberal form of government, much like that which he had established in New Jersey. Good laws were also made soon after his arrival in the colony. These provided, among other things, for the care of the poor and the humane treatment of prisoners. Up to this time, little thought had been given to the care of the poor; prisoners had been cast into foul dungeons and had been generally treated in a brutal way.

Dealings with the Indians. Penn was most successful in his dealings with the Indians. It has been said that he knew just what chords of the Indian's nature to touch. He understood the feelings and character of the red man, and, what is more important, he was always fair and honest in his dealings with the natives. He never tried to cheat the Indian and always kept his promises. Neither did he drive the Indian from his hunting-grounds nor burn his wigwam, as many other colonists had done. He told the Indians about the principles of his religion and asked them to live in peace and friendship with him and his people. He paid them for their lands, and, they, in turn, promised to " live in love with William Penn and his children while grass grows and water runs."

The Shackamaxon (shăk′à măk′sŭn) treaty, made by Penn with the Indians in 1682, under the famous old elm which stood until the nineteenth century, is a splendid example of fair and honest dealing. On the spot where this treaty elm once stood a monument has since been placed bearing the words, "Unbroken Faith." Penn's pledge to the red man was never broken, and never in Penn's lifetime was a Quaker killed by an Indian.



PENN MAKING A TREATY WITH THE INDIANS

Penn's colony was a success from the very start. It had no such trials and hardships as the Jamestown and Plymouth settlements were compelled to undergo. A writer whose book was published in England in 1698 speaks of the stately houses of Philadelphia and the extensive trade and commerce of the colony. "Of lawyers and physicians," he says, "I shall have nothing to say because the country is very peaceable and healthy. There are no beggars to be seen nor indeed have any here the least temptation to take up that scandalous lazy life.'' Apparently people were prosperous in Penn's colony.

GEORGIA, 1733

Georgia was the last of the English colonies to be established on the coast of North America. The colony had a peculiar origin; for its founding was due not to commerce, trade, adventure, or religion, but to charity. The founder, General James Oglethorpe (ŏ′g'l thôrp), was one of the best men of his time. He had no thought of making money for himself, but held the land, as he said, ''in trust for the poor.'' ''Not for self, but for others,'' was the motto he placed upon the colony's seal.

Oglethorpe visited English jails and was greatly touched by the terrible punishments which were inflicted upon the unfortunate prisoners. The jails were filthy and unhealthful, and men were cast into them to serve long terms for slight offenses. In those days people were imprisoned for debt, and Oglethorpe pitied especially the unfortunate debtors. He made up his mind to found a colony in America where the best of these men might go and begin life anew. He also decided to place his colony south of those already established to serve as a defense against the Spaniards in Florida.

The Land Grant and the Settlement. Before Oglethorpe could carry out his plans, he needed to raise a large sum of money. The prisoners could not be taken out of jail until their debts were paid and it would cost a great deal to send the colonists to America and to get them well settled in their new homes. Oglethorpe gave a large part of the money himself and obtained the remainder from a number of wealthy friends. He then got a grant of land from the King. This grant, which extended from the Savannah to the Altamaha River, was named Georgia in honor of King George, the ruler of England at the time.

In November, 1732, Oglethorpe set sail for America with thirty-five families, and in the following February founded Savannah. This was the starting-point of the new colony. Oglethorpe did not take the land from the Indians by force, as many others had done, but made an agreement with them and treated them justly and fairly, after the manner of Roger Williams and William Penn.

It was soon seen that the unfortunate debtors were not good material for a colony. They had failed in England and most of them failed also in America. Accordingly, Oglethorpe began to look for better colonists. Soon German Protestants and Scotch Highlanders came to Georgia, and greatly strengthened the settlement. They also furnished an excellent example to the shiftless debtors. By introducing successful methods of raising rice, indigo, and tobacco, they contributed much to the prosperity of the colony.

But the colony was only partly successful. In 1752 its charter was given back to the King, and Georgia, like most of the colonies, became a royal province.

It should be remembered that Georgia was a barrier or buffer state between Spanish and English settlements. In 1739 England and Spain were at war. Oglethorpe attacked St. Augustine, but was unsuccessful. The Spanish attacked Frederica, but were defeated. Oglethorpe again tried to take St. Augustine, but failed. After this show of force the Spanish never again disturbed the Southern colonies.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. What is a colony? Mention the chief problems faced by the people who wished to plant colonies in America. Are colonies ever founded today? Explain.

2. Name and locate the oldest settlement in what is now the United States. Find out why it was founded.

3. Describe the work of Champlain, Marquette, and La Salle. Tell the main results that came from the discoveries of each man. Which man seems to have had the greatest influence on later events? Give reasons.

4. What seems to have been the chief reasons for the failure of the colonizing attempts of Gilbert and Raleigh? Explain the change in the methods of planting colonies that followed their efforts.

5. How did Captain John Smith save Jamestown? Compare his work with that of Captain Miles Standish in Plymouth. Which man rendered the most valuable service to his colony?

6. What was the House of Burgesses? What did it do? Why is it memorable? Mention two other events of importance that occurred in Virginia the same year the House of Burgesses met.

7. Who were the Cavaliers and why did they come to America? What movement of a similar character took place at an earlier time in New England?

8. In what important ways does the story of New Netherland differ from the story of the other colonies?

9. Tell the story of the Pilgrims and the founding of Plymouth. Why did they go to Holland and then leave for America? How is their work important?

10. Were the Puritans unfair in refusing to newcomers the right to freedom of worship when the Puritans themselves had come to America to find religious freedom? Explain.

11. Point out the most notable incident in the settlement of Connecticut; in the settlement of Maryland.

12. What was the New England Confederation? Tell why it was formed. How was it managed? Why did it die?

13. Compare the religious tolerance granted in Rhode Island, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. In which colony was the religious

situation most like the situation in your community today? Explain.

14. Name three respects in which the settlement of Pennsylvania differed from the settlement of most of the other colonies.

15. Why did William Penn get along so well with the Indians? What other colonial leader had equal success? Why?

16. Explain the two main reasons for the founding of Georgia. Were the hopes of the founder realized?

THINGS TO DO

1. Members of the class volunteer to make special studies of the histories of the various colonies and give floor-talks upon their investigations, one pupil to a colony. Secure material in the Class Library or in other books in your school or public library.

2. Draw or suggest three pictures to represent important events in the story of one of the colonies.

3. List the motives that caused settlers to come to America, giving examples that illustrate each motive and naming the colony in which the example occurred. Copy the form shown below, filling the blanks:

Motives	Examples	Colonies

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4. Make a list of places that have been named after the persons mentioned in this chapter. Mention any streets or parks in your community that are named after any of the early explorers or colonial leaders.

5. Locate on a map the first permanent settlement in the present States of Florida, Virginia, New York, Massachusetts, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Georgia.

6. Bring postcards or pictures from newspapers or magazines that illustrate any of the events described in this chapter.

7. Tell about a trip you once made in one of the States whose founding you have studied, and tell about the historic places you saw.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "The Settlers," *The Book of the United States*, 55–69.
2. "A French Exploration," by Samuel de Champlain, *Source Book of American History*, 14–17.
3. "Reasons for Emigration," *ibid.*, 21–23.
4. "Settlement of Virginia," by Captain John Smith, *ibid.*, 33–37.
5. "Foundation of Government in Connecticut," by Thomas Hooker, *ibid.*, 51–52.
6. "Pocahontas," *Women in American History*, 1–17.
7. "Anne Hutchinson," *ibid.*, 18–29.
8. "The Mayflower Compact," *Readings in Community Life*, 446.
9. "The Pilgrim Quest for Religious Freedom," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia*, 5 : 2175–2178.
10. "A Band of Exiles on the Wild New England Shore," *ibid.*, 6 : 2841–2843.
11. "William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania," *ibid.*, 6 : 2716–2717.
12. "Many-Sided Raleigh and His Visions," *ibid.*, 6 : 2974–2976.
13. "Sir Walter Raleigh," *America First*, 23–27.
14. "The Lost Colony of Roanoke," *ibid.*, 27–31.
15. "Adventures of John Smith," *ibid.*, 32–39.
16. "William Penn and the Quakers," *ibid.*, 63–67.
17. "The Netherlands in America," *America the Great Adventure*, 76–88.
18. "English Colonies in America," *ibid.*, 94–105.

19. " The Thirteen Colonies," *ibid.*, 109–122.

20. " The French Attempt to Plant Colonies," *This Country of Ours*, 44–84.

21. " Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh," *ibid.*, 85–101.

22. " Stories of Virginia," *ibid.*, 102–150, 155–160.

23. " Stories of New England," *ibid.*, 175–229.

24. " Stories of the Middle Colonies," *ibid.*, 241–296.

25. " Building Homes in the New Land," *The Book of Knowledge*, 2: 543–555.

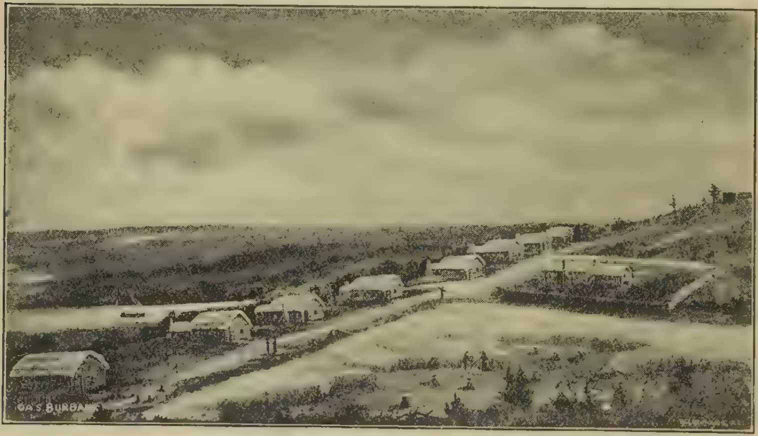
26. " The Lost Colony of Roanoke," *ibid.*, 17: 6333–6337.

27. "Anne Hutchinson," *The World Book Encyclopedia*, 6: 3299–3300.

CHAPTER VI

COLONIAL LIFE, INDUSTRY, AND GOVERNMENT

Life in the colonies was very simple — a life without many of the conveniences and with few of the luxuries which we enjoy today.

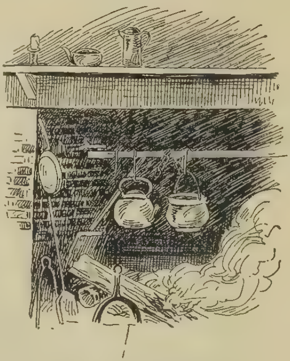


Plymouth Colony, 1622

This picture gives a fair idea of the actual appearance of the houses in the Plymouth Colony. The building within the inclosure was Governor Bradford's home. The homes of the other colonists are shown on the side hill. The fort was at the top of the hill.

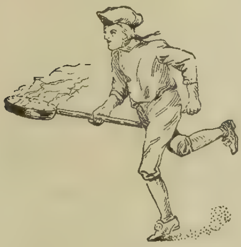
Houses. The homes of most of the first settlers were rude sheds made of bark, bushes, dirt, and sod. Then log cabins were built, with no floors except the earth.

At a later time floors of hewn or sawed boards were made and the houses became much more comfortable. Windows were made of cloth or oiled paper. Chimneys for the large fireplaces were built of poles covered with mud.



Colonial Fireplace

At a later time, when the colonists became richer, the famous old colonial mansion, with its large rooms and rich furniture, appeared in Virginia, New York, and elsewhere. Some of these were built of brick and are still standing. Most of the colonial houses, however, were made of wood, because there was splendid building timber on every hand, and brick was very expensive. Sawmills of a rude kind were set up in America before they were known in England.

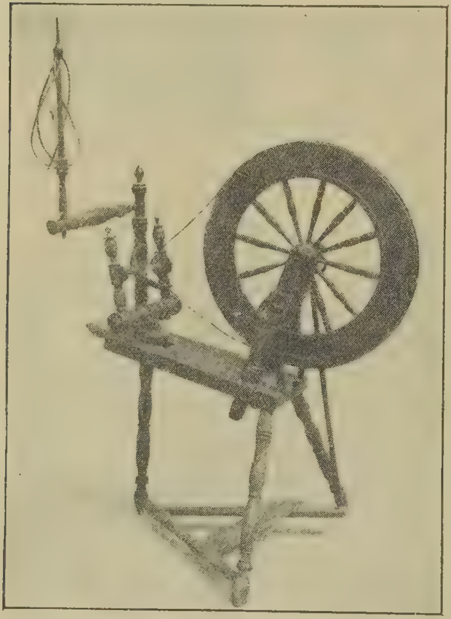


Carrying Coals of Fire from a Neighbor's House

The houses were heated in a very simple way. There were no stoves or furnaces in early colonial days, and the huge fireplace was used for heating and cooking. The large bright fires also lighted the room and in many instances made candles and lamps unnecessary. The part of the room near the fire was often burning hot, while a short distance away the biting wind rushed in through openings in the walls. In New England the ink would sometimes freeze on the quill pen of a writer only a few feet away from the fire.

The first stove ever used in America was invented by Benjamin Franklin. This was a great improvement over the fireplace, and was soon widely used. Franklin refused to have the stove patented, as he wished every one to have the free benefit of its use.

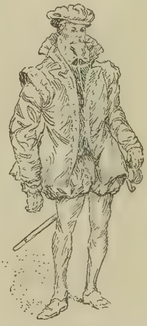
The people had no matches in colonial days. They banked up the fire with the ashes to keep it over night. When the fire went out, the colonist was compelled to go to a neighbor's house to get a few coals. This was not a pleasant journey on a cold, frosty morning, especially when the nearest house was several miles away. Candles were in general use for lighting, and each family had its own candle-mold and made its own supply. Some of the wealthier colonists had lamps in which they burned whale oil or melted lard. Kerosene oil was unknown. In many instances, in the remote parts of the colonies, the pine knot and the fireplace were the only means of lighting.


An Old Spinning Wheel

Dress. The dress of the colonists, as a rule, was plain and simple. Many of the people wore garments of linen or woolen cloth made at home. This was the famous homespun which is referred to so often. In the more remote parts, and especially in the early days of the colonies, the men wore trousers and jackets of deerskin.

At a later time, the wealthy planters and merchants wore gorgeous suits of rich broadcloth, velvet, or silk, adorned with brass buttons, gold embroidery, and fine lace. Powder, wigs, gold chains, and silver buckles were added to complete the dress of the colonial gentleman.

The men and women were apparently equally vain. Since there were no fashion plates, the city dressmakers brought dolls over from England, dressed in the latest style, and women came from all parts of the colonies to study and to admire these models.



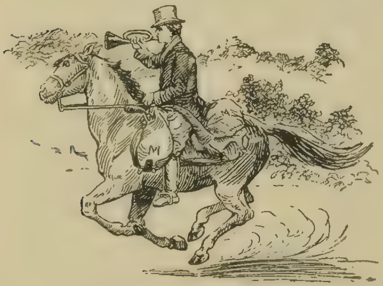
AN EARLY HUGUENOT GENTLEMAN

The Huguenots were French Protestants who came to America in fairly large numbers. Some of them who had been persecuted in their native land on account of their religion founded colonies in what is now South Carolina and Florida, but the colonies did not long survive.

Cities. The colonist, as a rule, lived in the country. There were very few cities of any considerable size. Philadelphia was the largest. Boston and New York were the leading cities in wealth and commerce; Baltimore was important commercially and socially; Charleston was the most important city of the South. These places had no pavements, sewers, or water systems worthy of the name.

Transportation. When the early colonist wanted to make a journey, he walked, rode on horseback, or paddled in a rude boat. There were few good roads and almost no wagons or carriages. When the colonist in his rude carriage came to a stream, he was obliged to take his vehicle apart and carry it across in a boat, while the horse waded or swam. At a later time, when roads were better and bridges more plentiful, the planter's carriage and the stagecoach were much used. Travelers stopped over night at a wayside inn, a large private house that had been turned into a tavern with stable room for the horses; oftener the traveler found lodging and meals at a private home.

Although the facilities for travel were poor, many people moved frequently from place to place. They pushed farther and farther west, in search of new homes. Some of them seemed to take delight in getting away as far as possible from their fellowmen. It is said that Daniel Boone, one of the early pioneers, moved away because a man had built a hut as near as twelve miles to his own; the population, apparently, had become too dense in that locality to suit the restless and daring pioneer.

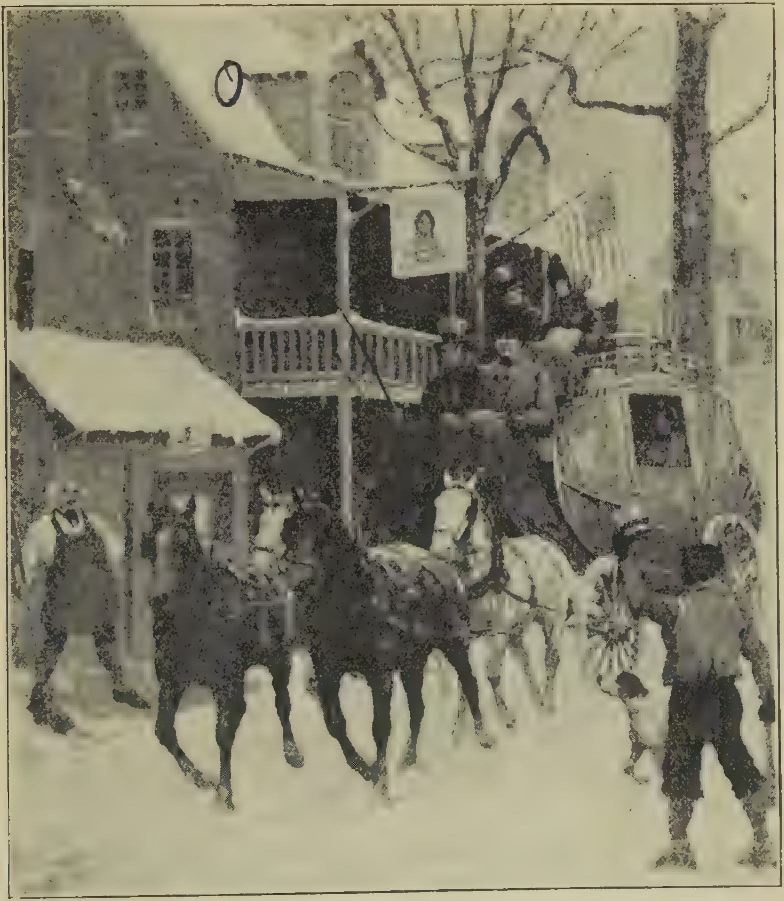


A Colonial Mail Carrier

Health. We usually think of the pioneer as a sturdy man of robust health and great endurance, and many of the early colonists were men of good health and great physical strength. On the whole, however, health conditions in the colonies were not good. Men of that day knew little about the laws of health and cleanliness, and we sometimes wonder that they got along as well as they did.

In the first place, the country was not cleaned and drained as it is now. Fever and ague and other kinds of malaria lurked in the swamps. Frequent mention is made in colonial records of yellow fever, ship fever, break-bone fever, and smallpox. The physicians of the time were ignorant. Vaccination had not been discovered and smallpox carried off large numbers of the colonists every year. Doctors bled their patients or gave them heavy doses of medicine.

The cities were dirty and unhealthful. There were no pavements in any colonial city, aside from a small area of cobblestone which Franklin succeeded in having laid in Philadelphia. The streets were dirty and the roads sometimes deep in mud. The cities had no sewers; and

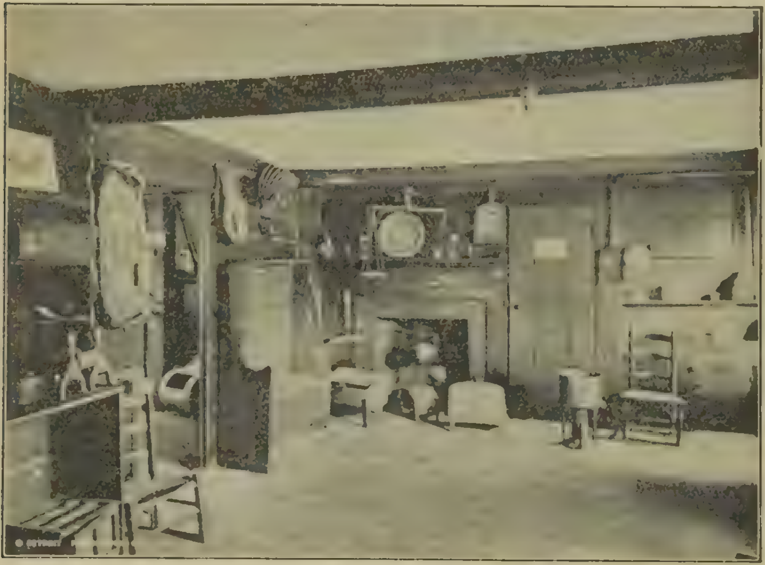


Before the Coming of the Railroad

The artist has shown a stagecoach leaving "The Sign of the Indian Queen," a famous old tavern on the National Pike at Washington, Pennsylvania. That this was later than the Colonial period is shown by the American flag.

garbage, ashes, decaying meats and vegetables, and other rubbish were dumped in the streets, alleys, and vacant lots. The Dutch in New York, it should be said, were somewhat better in this respect than their neighbors, but they kept their street neat from motives of cleanliness rather than health.

Philadelphia brought its water supply in wooden pipes from outside the city, but no community had a water system similar to those in use today. The water supply came from wells which were often unhealthful. Ice was never stored for summer use and food often became unwholesome.

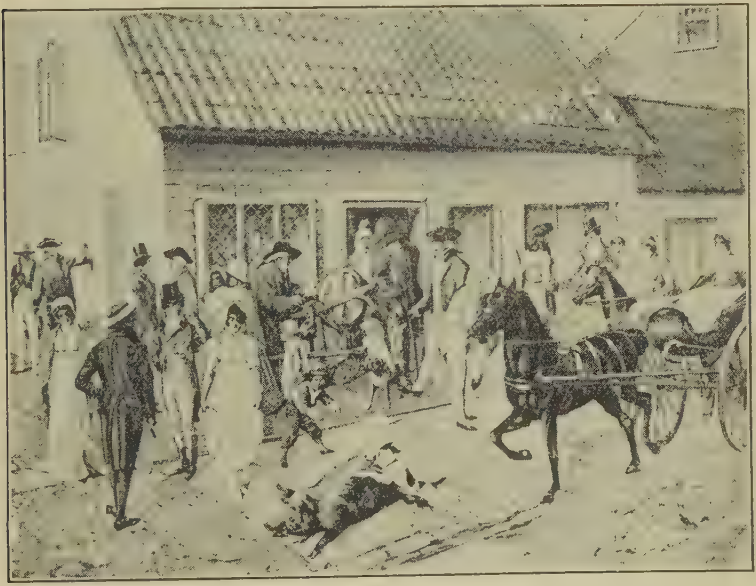


THE INTERIOR OF A COLONIAL HOME

There was a marked difference, naturally, between a colonial and a modern home. Note the absence of windows. How many of the articles in this picture do you recognize?

Our colonial forefathers did not know the value of pure fresh air. The houses, and particularly the sleeping-rooms, were never properly ventilated. In many cases the houses were so loosely built that there was too much ventilation, but usually the colonist shut himself in, especially at night. All the windows and doors were closed to shut out the "bad night air." The colonist did not know that "night air" was as pure and as necessary to health as "day air."

Medical education, in comparison with that of our own day, was very slight and poor. Sometimes a young man read medicine in a doctor's office, rode about the country with the doctor for a few months, and then set up in practice for himself. The physicians knew almost nothing of the causes of disease, and some of them put great faith in charms.

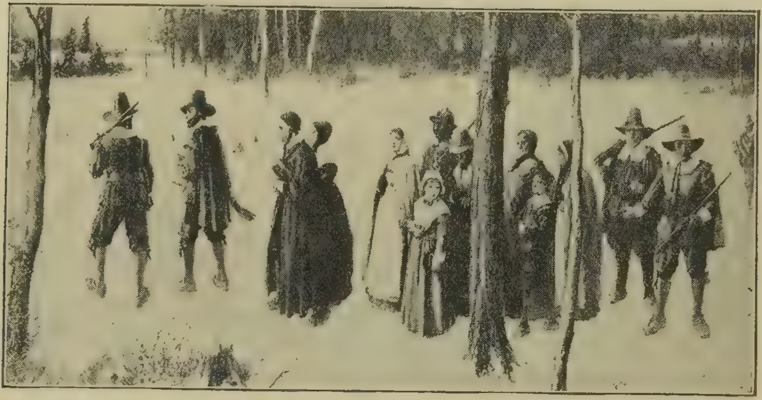


A SCENE FROM COLONIAL LIFE

Social life was gay in many of the older colonies. The wealthy colonists had beautiful carriages and spirited horses and gave brilliant parties in the old colonial mansions. Hospitality was lavish and servants were numerous.

Religion. The influence of the church in colonial times was very great. The Congregational Church was strong in New England, and the English Church in the South.

In Maryland the Church of England was established by law and supported by the Government. All of the people, whether members of this church or not, were obliged to pay taxes for its support. In Virginia and the Carolinas the arrangement was much the same. The Congregational Church bore about the same relation to New England that the Church of England did to the South.



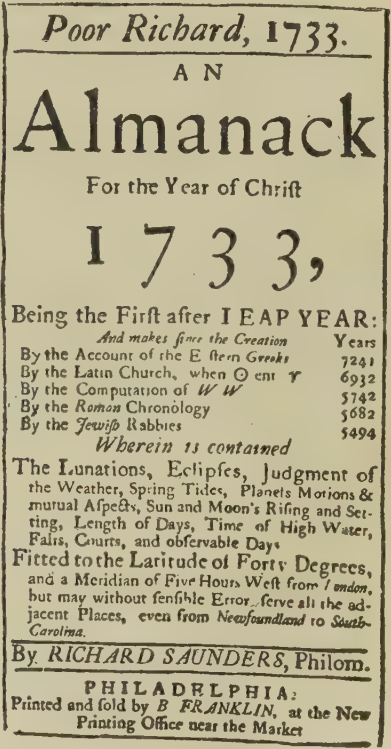
Pilgrims on Their Way to Church

The Pilgrims were very regular in their church attendance and often carried guns for defense against the Indians. Point out the minister in this picture.

In New England the people were compelled to attend church services, and pews were allotted to them according to their social standing. The poor man, without influence in the community, was compelled "to take a back seat." The congregation usually listened to two or three long, dry, and learned sermons on each Sunday, often with the temperature at zero in unheated churches.

The Sabbath was rigidly observed. Work on that day was forbidden by law. On Saturday enough wood was chopped and sufficient cooking was done to last until the following Monday. The boys and girls had a school holiday on Saturday in order that they might assist in the preparations for the Sabbath. This was the origin of the custom which still prevails in our schools and colleges. In Massachusetts the law forbade people walking upon the streets or along the ocean beach on Sunday, except while going to or returning from church In spite of these rigid laws the moral tone of the colonies was not high. Drinking was common, and there was much drunkenness and fist fighting in colonial taverns.

Education. Although public schools were started at an early date, they were both poor and scarce in colonial days. Many children were educated in private schools. Some of the wealthier planters and merchants had their children educated by private teachers in the household; or sent them to England for that purpose. Reading, writing, and arithmetic were the most important studies. In early times English grammar, geography, and history were



Poor Richard, 1733.

AN

Almanack

For the Year of Chriſt

1733,

Being the Firſt after LEAP YEAR:

And makes ſince the Creation	Years
By the Account of the Eaſtern *Greeks*	7241
By the Latin Church, when ☉ ent. ♈	6932
By the Computation of *W. W.*	5742
By the *Roman* Chronology	5682
By the *Jewiſh* Rabbies	5494

Wherein is contained

The Lunations, Eclipſes, Judgment of the Weather, Spring Tides, Planets Motions & mutual Aſpects, Sun and Moon's Riſing and Setting, Length of Days, Time of High Water, Fairs, Courts, and obſervable Days.

Fitted to the Latitude of Forty Degrees, and a Meridian of Five Hours Weſt from *London*, but may without ſenſible Error, ſerve all the adjacent Places, even from *Newfoundland* to *South-Carolina*.

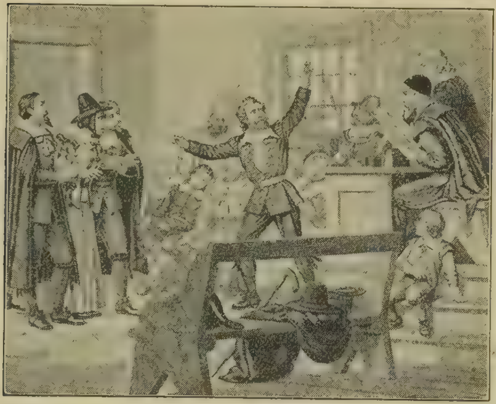
By *RICHARD SAUNDERS*, Philom.

PHILADELPHIA:
Printed and ſold by *B. FRANKLIN*, at the New Printing-Office near the Market.

FRANKLIN'S POOR RICHARD'S ALMANAC
(From the original)

Poor Richard was a fictitious name assumed by Benjamin Franklin. Under it he published his almanac for twenty-five years, inculcating principles of honesty, sobriety, industry, and frugality, in quaint maxims and proverbs that made him famous for his wit and wisdom He knew the causes of success in life. "It is hard for an empty sack to stand upright," he said, meaning that a boy should try to have some sense in his head and money in his pocket.

not taught. There were no readers used in the earliest of the colonial schools, and many years passed before the quill pen was replaced by pens made of steel or gold. In a few of the larger towns there were academies which prepared students to enter college. There were few books for general reading, but the books which the colonists had were often very carefully studied.



A Trial for Witchcraft

In these trials a peculiar frenzy seemed to seize the judge and prosecutors. Persons were accused of having bewitched small children and the deluded judges convicted them on the most flimsy kind of evidence. Many of the children afterwards admitted that their testimony was false. Notice the little boy sitting on the steps at the left of the judge. He probably does not know what it all means. Do you think that the accused woman in the picture obtained a fair trial at the hands of the deluded judge and the excited prosecutor?

The first American newspaper was published in Boston in 1704. Benjamin Franklin published the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for thirty-six years (1729–1765) and his *Poor Richard's Almanac* for twenty-five years, following 1732. He founded the first public library in America and did much in other ways to educate the people.

Witchcraft. There was not education enough, however, to banish the superstitions of the time. Most of the people believed in all sorts of signs, omens, and charms. Almost everything was looked upon as a sign of good or bad luck. When butter would not form, the cream was thought to be bewitched, and red-hot horse-shoes were dropped into the churn to drive out the witches.

It was thought that certain elderly women were possessed of evil spirits and brought all sorts of misfortune upon the colony. The people of Salem, Massachusetts, believed that these women, whom they called *witches*, were the cause of Indian attacks, smallpox, and various other diseases. They acted upon the command which they found in the Bible, " Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," and before the false belief had passed away a large number of unfortunate but innocent persons had lost their lives.

Such, then, was the rude and simple life which our forefathers lived in colonial days. They did not have the advantages which we now enjoy, yet many men of sturdy character came from the ranks of the homespun colonials. They were men " with blood in their veins, and iron in their blood."

Agriculture. Agriculture was the principal occupation of the colonists and most of them depended upon the farm for a living. In Virginia tobacco was the leading crop. Large quantities of rice were raised in the swamps of South Carolina. Indigo also became an important crop in some parts of the South. Lumbering and fisheries gave employment to many. Cotton was raised, but was not a great success until the invention of the cotton-gin. (See page 357.)

Farming was, of course, carried on in a very crude way. Trees were girdled Indian-fashion; that is, a ring of bark was cut away around the tree near the ground in order to kill the tree and thereby let the rays of the sun reach the ground. Crops were then planted among the dead trunks. At a later time the dead trees were cut down, chopped up, and rolled into piles to be burned, in order to get them out of the way. Agricultural implements were of the simplest and rudest kind; farm work was hard and poorly done.

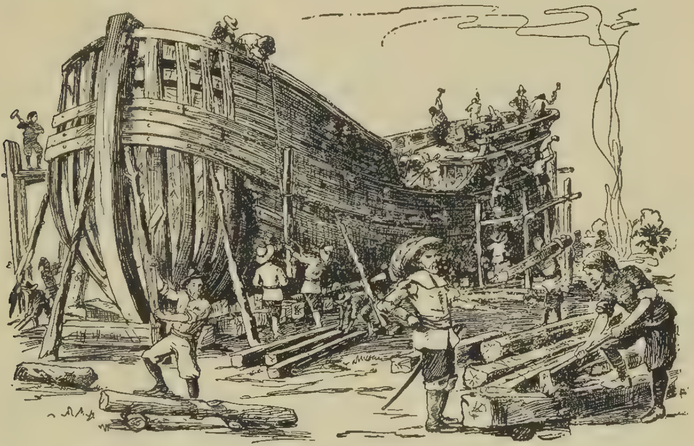
Since there were not enough free laborers to till the fields, the colonists imported *indentured servants.* Many people in the Old World who wished to come to America did not have enough money to pay for the sea voyage. Someone advanced the money or the ship-owner brought them free, on the promise that the immigrants would bind themselves out to labor for a period of years. The ship-owner, or the one who had advanced the money, would sell the immigrant's time to some one who wanted a laborer. The laborer then became an "indentured servant," and was not free to shift for himself until he had served out his time. He was not a slave, but he was bound out to labor for a period of years.

Manufacturing. England tried to prevent manufacturing in the colonies. She wanted the settlers to sell their agricultural products to her and to buy her manufactured goods in return. This would have been a profitable arrangement for the English merchant and manufacturer, but not for the colonist, and he would not have it so. As time passed, he made more and more of his own cloth, shoes, clothing, nails, ships, and implements, and thus became increasingly independent of the mother country.

Commerce. A vigorous commerce sprang up in colonial days. The early colonist built ships and sent his tobacco, rice, indigo, wheat, corn, lumber, furs, fish, tar, pitch, and turpentine to all quarters of the globe. Commerce was a profitable business, but at times a dangerous one as well. At this time, piracy upon the seas was common. These were the days of Captain Kidd, Blackbeard, and other pirates who terrorized sailors and ship-owners.

Slavery. Slavery existed in all of the English colonies, but was much more profitable and widespread in the South than in the North. Slave labor was not profitable on small farms or in manufacturing establishments of

New England. Accordingly slavery gradually died out in that locality. In the South, on the other hand, slave labor was profitable. The slave could be used to advantage on the large southern plantations, and was especially helpful in the tobacco fields of Virginia and the rice swamps of South Carolina.



A COLONIAL SHIP YARD

The colonists had splendid materials for ship building and made good use of them. They found oak and fir almost at the water's edge, and pitch pine from which tar and turpentine were made abounded everywhere.

In the middle colonies, slaves were not so numerous as in the South. In Pennsylvania the Quakers were opposed to slavery, because they thought it was wrong for one man to be the owner and master of another. In South Carolina there were more slaves than free persons, and ship-loads of slaves were constantly brought from the wilds of Africa. In the rice swamps the life of a slave was very short, and new supplies were necessary. Many of these slaves were savages, fresh from the jungles of Africa, and in some places the people lived in constant dread of slave rebellions.

Colonial Government. The government of the colonies was modeled, in a general way, after the government of England. In England governmental power was placed in the hands of the King and a legislative or law-making body called Parliament, composed of two houses or branches — the House of Commons and the House of Lords. Laws were passed by the two houses and approved by the King.

Sometimes the King refused to agree to measures passed by Parliament. Such measures were then said to be "vetoed" or "forbidden," and could not be put in force. In colonial times the King of England had vastly more power than he has today. The King of England has not used the veto power for more than two hundred years.

The House of Lords, sometimes called the *upper house,* is made up of nobles and certain clergymen, archbishops and bishops, most of whom hold their places for life. The House of Commons, sometimes called the *lower house,* is made up of men chosen by the people. They are elected to serve, not for life, but for a term of years. A new election must be held once in five years and may be held oftener.

When the English colonists came to America they naturally brought their forms of government with them. In other words they set up little English governments along the Atlantic coast.

The Kinds of Colonies. There were three kinds or classes of English colonies in America. The *charter,* or *corporate,* colonies were governed in accordance with the provisions of charters granted by the King; the *proprietary* colonies were under the control of the proprietor; and the *royal* colonies were under the control of the King. In the charter colonies the people usually had a large part in the government, but in the proprietary and royal colonies they had at first only as much self-government as the proprietor or the King saw fit to grant. As years passed, the charter and the proprietary colonies were in most instances turned into royal colonies or royal provinces.

Although there were three kinds of colonies, the form of government was much the same in all. At the head of the colony was the governor. He was the chief executive officer, and it was his duty to see that the laws were enforced. He was like the King in the English Government, and in some of the colonies was looked upon as the King's representative. In some colonies the governor was appointed by the King, in some by the proprietor, and in others he was chosen by vote of the people.

The colonial legislature, similar to the English Parliament, was at first composed of one house, but later generally of two. The upper house was made up of a small body of men, sometimes appointed by the King or governor, and sometimes elected by the people. The members were frequently looked upon as the special advisers of the governor. The lower house was generally made up of representatives elected by the people. The governor and the two houses made laws for the colony, subject to the approval of the authorities in England. Since the colonial legislature had control of the governor's salary, it could usually compel him to carry out its wishes.

Local Government. In addition to the general or central government for the entire colony, there were local forms of government for counties and towns. The main object of local government everywhere is to allow the people of a neighborhood to manage their local affairs in their own way. The forms of local government were also brought over from England. There were three systems or kinds of local government in the English colonies, each of which should be described separately.

(1) *Town, or Township, System.* The town system of local government developed in the New England colonies. The early Puritans built their houses in clusters or groups around the church, or "meeting house." This arrangement was convenient for worship and for defense against the Indians. These settlements, each of which usually included a village and the farmlands that were in its immediate vicinity, came to be called towns, or townships,[1] and each managed its own affairs.

At least once a year the male citizens, twenty-one years old or over, met to transact the business of the township. There was a full and free debate upon all matters which came up. Laws were passed for the town and provision was made for schools, roads, taxes, the poor, and a large number of other local matters. At the annual meeting officers were chosen for the coming year. The selectmen, who were the chief executive officers, had the duty to enforce the laws and to call the town meeting. In addition to the selectmen, a clerk, a treasurer, and a whole host of other officers were chosen, including constables, overseers of the poor, pound-keepers, and fence-viewers. The fence-viewers decided disputes which arose over boundary lines of land.

Counties were also established in New England for judicial purposes, but the township was much the more important part of the local government.

(2) *County System.* The county system was found in the Southern colonies. Here the people lived on vast estates or plantations, and were spread out over large areas instead of being huddled together around a meeting-house, as in New England. Towns and villages were slow to spring up. For this reason the county — a large unit of local government — was established in Virginia and other parts of the South.

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[1] Outside of New England the towns were called townships.

The county was to the South what the town was to New England. Local affairs were managed by county officers. Under the county system, however, the people did not have the direct control of their affairs that they had under the township system. There were no town meetings in the South, and county officers were appointed by the governor and not elected by the people.

(3) *The Mixed, or Township-County, System* was found in the middle colonies. New York, for example, had both kinds of local government, the township and the county, but the township was not so strong as in New England nor the county so important as in the South. Local government was divided between the township and the county, with the county somewhat more important.

Our present forms of local government in the United States are derived from these three systems. As the people moved west, they naturally took with them the forms of local government with which they were familiar in the East and set up these forms in their new homes.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. What was the most pressing problem faced by the first colonists when they came to settle in the New World? Give reasons for your opinion.

2. If you were suddenly forced to live in an early colonial home, what feature of your present home would you miss most?

3. Mention the chief things for which the colonists would be compelled to depend upon themselves. What effect would such experiences have upon their characters? Explain.

4. Mention ways in which religion influenced the lives of the colonists. How were most of the churches supported in colonial days? Why?

5. What were the chief ways of making a living in the colonies? What were *indentured servants?* How did they differ from slaves?

6. Explain colonial government in the three kinds of colonies. In what respects were the governments of the colonies alike? In what ways were they different? In which did the people have the most power?

7. How were the colonial legislatures usually able to force the governors to approve measures the governors did not like?

8. What sort of local government, outside of the cities, exists in your vicinity? Which of the three colonial types of local government does it most resemble?

THINGS TO DO

1. From the Readings in the Class Library given below, select one for a special report to give to the class. Write out a plan, or outline, of your talk.

2. Copy the form that follows and draw as many comparisons as possible between colonial life and life today.

Items	Colonial Times	Present Day
1. Houses		
2. Dress		
3. Transportation		
4. Health		
5. Cities		
6. Religion		

3. Have a Colonial Exhibit. For the purpose secure such articles as spinning wheels, samplers, pewter dishes, andirons, candle-molds, and colonial text books. Perhaps some persons in the community may be willing to present a number of colonial articles to the school for your Historical Museum. (See page 44.)

4. A committee volunteer to prepare and act out before the class a trial for witchcraft as conducted in colonial days. See references 7, 15, and 18 below.

5. Tell about stories or novels you have read that picture colonial days.

6. Have a town meeting and take up several questions that might have come before the town meetings of Plymouth or Boston about 1700. For helpful suggestions on the way to conduct a town meeting, see McPheters, Cleaveland, and Jones, *Citizenship Dramatized* (Holt), 1–10.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. " Life in the English Colonies," *The Book of the United States*, 70–82.
2. " Benjamin Franklin, the Many-Sided," *Makers of Our History*, 3–18.
3. " Some Rarities of New England," *Source Book of American History*, 29–31.
4. " New England Life," by John Winthrop, *ibid.*, 74–76.
5. " Church Services," *ibid.*, 77–79.
6. "A Quaker Warning," *ibid.*, 80–82.
7. "A Witch Trial," *ibid.*, 82–85.
8. " Social Life in Philadelphia in 1744," *ibid.*, 115–117.
9. " New York in 1748," *ibid.*, 117–119.
10. "A Colonial Boy," *ibid.*, 122–123.
11. "A Colonial Town-Meeting," *ibid.*, 132–136.
12. " The First Public School in America," *Readings in Community Life*, 87–90.
13. " Blackbeard, the Pirate," *America First*, 118–120.
14. " Sunday in the Colonies," *ibid.*, 125–129.

15. "The Salem Witches," *ibid.*, 129–133.

16. "Traveling by Stage-Coach," *ibid.*, 134–139.

17. "How Englishmen Fought a Duel with Tyranny," *This Country of Ours,* 151–154.

18. "The Witches of Salem," *ibid.*, 236–240.

19. "From Printer Boy to Scientist and Statesman," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia,* 3: 1357–1359.

20. "Child Life in Colonial Days," *The Book of Knowledge,* 3: 965–976.

21. "Colonial Life in America," *The World Book Encyclopedia,* 3: 1545–1555.

CHAPTER VII

THE STRUGGLE FOR A CONTINENT

The French, the Spanish, and the English were the leaders in the settlement of North America; of the three nations, the English proved the most successful colonizers. With them originated our language and most of our manners and customs. But the English did not gain control of the continent without a struggle.

Aims of the French. We have seen how the French discovered the St. Lawrence River and explored the region of the Great Lakes and the valley of the Mississippi as far south as New Orleans. They planned to hold North America by controlling the mouths of its two great rivers, the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, and by building a string of forts between these points. French statesmen dreamed of a great colonial empire to be known as New France, and to include the whole of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi valleys. About the same time English settlers began to push beyond the Allegheny Mountains into the fertile valley of the Ohio, thus causing a clash between the two nations.

The Westward Movement of the English Colonists. As long as the English remained on the Atlantic coast,[1] and the French confined their efforts to the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi, there was little danger of a conflict. When the English began to move west, however, trouble was sure to arise between the two nations.

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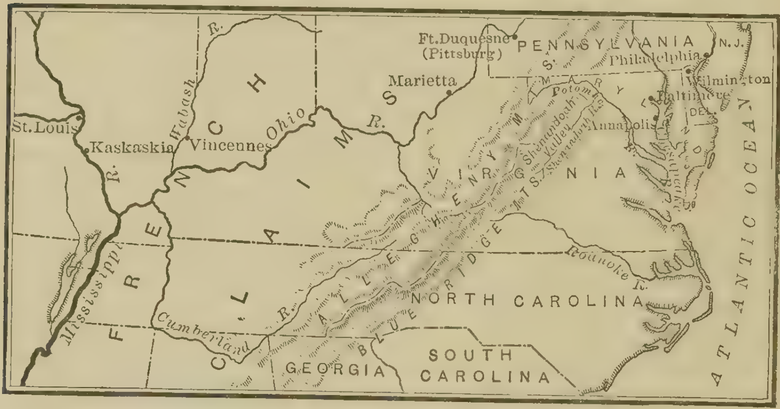
[1] The total population of the English colonies in 1750 was about 1,370,000. Virginia was the largest colony, having about 300,000 people. Many of these, however, were Negro slaves. Massachusetts was second in size and Pennsylvania third. Georgia, the youngest colony, was also the smallest; it did not have more than 5000 inhabitants in 1750.

The westward movement began in 1716. In that year Governor Spotswood of Virginia, with a party of men in hunters' costume, crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains and entered the Shenandoah valley, later made famous in the Civil War. Up to this time this beautiful valley had been veiled in mystery, but soon after Governor Spotswood's expedition many immigrants came to the region to make their homes because of the great fertility of the valley.


St. Louis
Kaskaskia
Vincennes
Wabash R.
Ohio R.
Mississippi R.
Cumberland
FRENCH CLAIMS
Ft. Duquesne (Pittsburg)
Marietta
PENNSYLVANIA
Philadelphia
N. J.
Wilmington
Baltimore
Annapolis
DEL.
MARYLAND
Potomac
Shenandoah
VIRGINIA
ALLEGHENY MTS.
BLUE RIDGE
Roanoke R.
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
ATLANTIC OCEAN

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT

In 1748 another band of hunters and adventurers crossed the Blue Ridge and laid claim to land in what is now Kentucky and Tennessee. During the following year the Ohio Company was formed for the purpose of making settlements in this promising western country. Many leading Virginians, including two brothers of George Washington, were members of the company which obtained a grant of 500,000 acres of land from the King.

The westward movement opened the way for the settlement of that immense area west of the Allegheny Mountains, and also brought the English into contact with the French forts and claims in the interior. A series of conflicts for the control of the region then took place.

The final struggle between the two countries began in 1754, in what is known as the *Seven Years War,* called in America the "French and Indian War." Before it started three wars had been fought in America between the French and the English. The first of these is known as "King William's War" (1689–1697); the second as "Queen Anne's War" (1702–1713), and the third as "King George's War" (1744–1748). So far as America is concerned, these wars decided very little and are of no great importance to us, except as they paved the way for the last great conflict.

Claims of the French and English. By 1750 the English had actual possession of the Atlantic coast from Nova Scotia to Florida, while the French claimed the region from the Alleghenies on the east to the Rockies on the west and from Lake Superior and the Lake of the Woods on the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south. It should be remembered also that the English claimed the continent of North America on account of the discovery of John Cabot, and also that some of their charters gave grants of land "from sea to sea."

In order to fence off the English from this vast inland territory the French had begun to build a line of forts from Lake Erie to the Ohio River. A rude log fort was built where the city of Erie now stands. Forts were also established at other points in western Pennsylvania.

Governor Dinwiddie Warns the French. The building of these forts aroused Robert Dinwiddie, the Governor of Virginia, who was interested in the matter for two reasons. In the first place the Virginians claimed the Ohio valley because their charter of 1609 gave them all the land "from sea to sea, west and northwest." In the second place Dinwiddie was a member of the Ohio Company which, as we have seen, had recently obtained a grant of 500,000 acres in the Ohio valley.

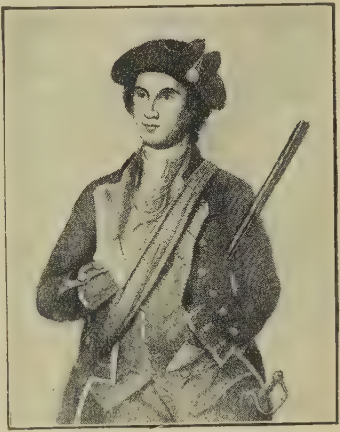
Governor Dinwiddie decided to send a messenger to the French to warn them to keep off English territory. He looked about for the best man to carry the message to the French commander through the hundreds of miles of unbroken forests. He chose George Washington, then a young man of twenty-two, who later became the foremost leader in American history.

Washington's Perilous Journey. On the very day Washington received his instructions, he set out upon his difficult and dangerous journey. For weeks he pushed on with his little band of four white hunters and two Indian guides, over mountains, through forests, and across rivers filled with floating ice. Washington finally found the commander of the French at Fort Le Boeuf (lẽ bûf′), and there delivered to him the letter of Governor Dinwiddie.

After receiving the reply Washington set out for home. It was now winter and he soon found that he could go no farther on horseback. Consequently he and a companion set out on foot for Virginia. They suffered terrible hardships. When crossing the swift Monongahela (mȯ nŏn′gȧ hē′lȧ) on a rude raft, their lives were in great danger. Once they barely escaped death at the hands of hostile Indians. Washington finally arrived at Williamsburg, Virginia, in mid-winter, 1754, after an absence of nearly three months and a journey of 750 miles. This was Washington's first public service, but it was by no means his last.

The reply which Washington brought back to Governor Dinwiddie was unsatisfactory, as had been expected. The French paid no attention to the warnings and demands of the English. They had no thought of turning their backs upon the fertile valley of the Ohio. On the contrary, they pushed on southward to the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers, drove the English from the place, and built a fort where the city of Pittsburgh now stands.

Both the French and the English saw that this point was the key to the Ohio valley and also "the gateway to the West." The French fort, named Duquesne (dụ kān′) in honor of the governor of Canada, was built in the spring of 1754, only a few weeks after Washington's return from his famous journey. The great struggle was on, although war was not really declared until 1756.



George Washington as a Young Man

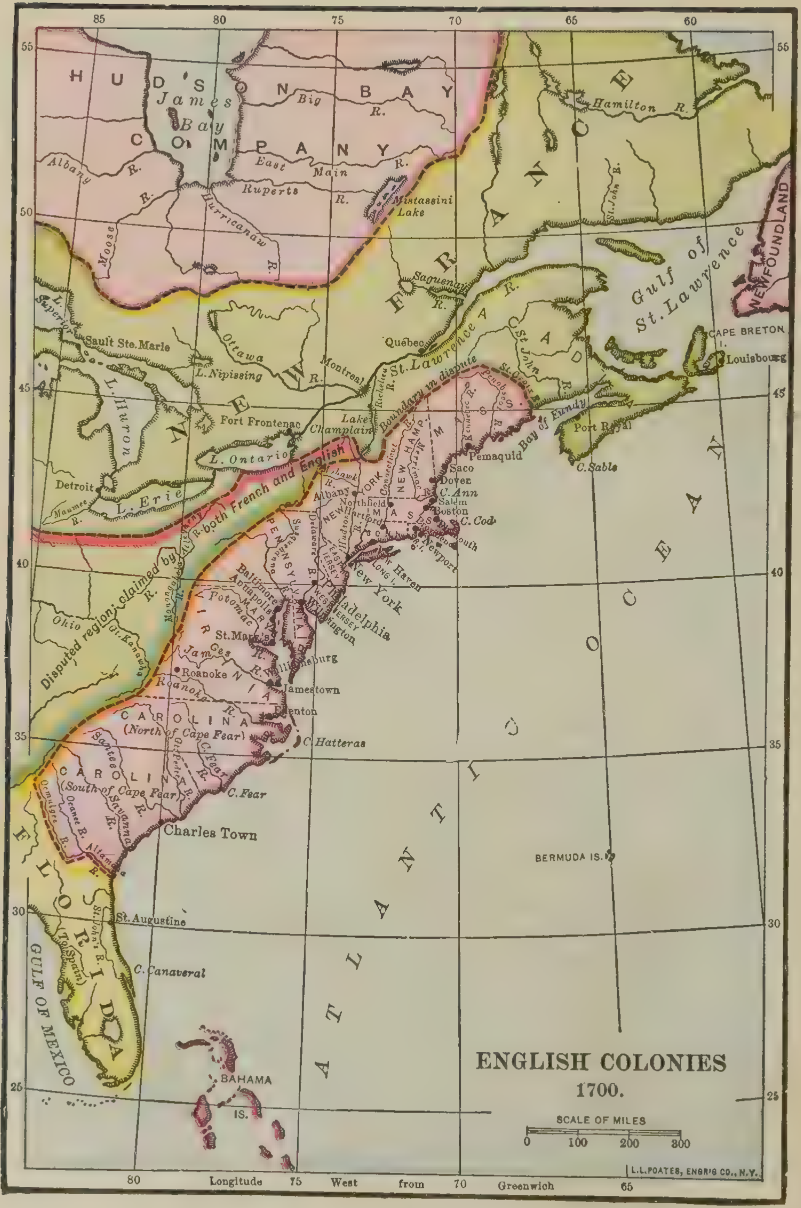
Washington, when only twenty-two years of age, was at the head of the Virginia troops in the old French War.

Washington's Expedition. When Governor Dinwiddie read the reply of the French commander, it was plain to him that the time had come to put an army in the field. Preparations were hastily made. The legislature of Virginia voted money for the support of the troops and in the early spring a small company of seventy-five men set out for the headwaters of the Ohio, with Washington in command. While on his way, he received information that the English had been driven out and that the French were building Fort Duquesne.

This news caused Washington to change his plans. Instead of pushing on to Fort Duquesne, as he had intended, he built a rude breastwork in southwestern Pennsylvania, which he appropriately named Fort Necessity. While he was thus engaged, the French appeared in the neighborhood. Washington, taking the enemy by surprise, was the first to strike. The fight was soon over and Washington had won. Only one Frenchman escaped. Soon afterwards, however, a larger French force came and forced Washington to surrender Fort Necessity, although he and his men were allowed to march away with their arms. This ended Washington's first campaign, and is the first and only time that he ever surrendered to an enemy.

War Plans: Braddock's Defeat, 1755. The English now began in earnest to map out their campaigns against New France. The task was not easy. The French were surrounded by dense forests through which it was difficult for an army to hew its way. Nature had left three great openings, however, and the English planned to make use of them. They determined to send an army into New France by way of Lake George, Lake Champlain, and the St. Lawrence River. Another army was to go up the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers and pass along the southern shore of Lake Ontario, then across the Niagara River into Canada. The third army was to go up the Potomac River and then cut its way across the country to Fort Duquesne.

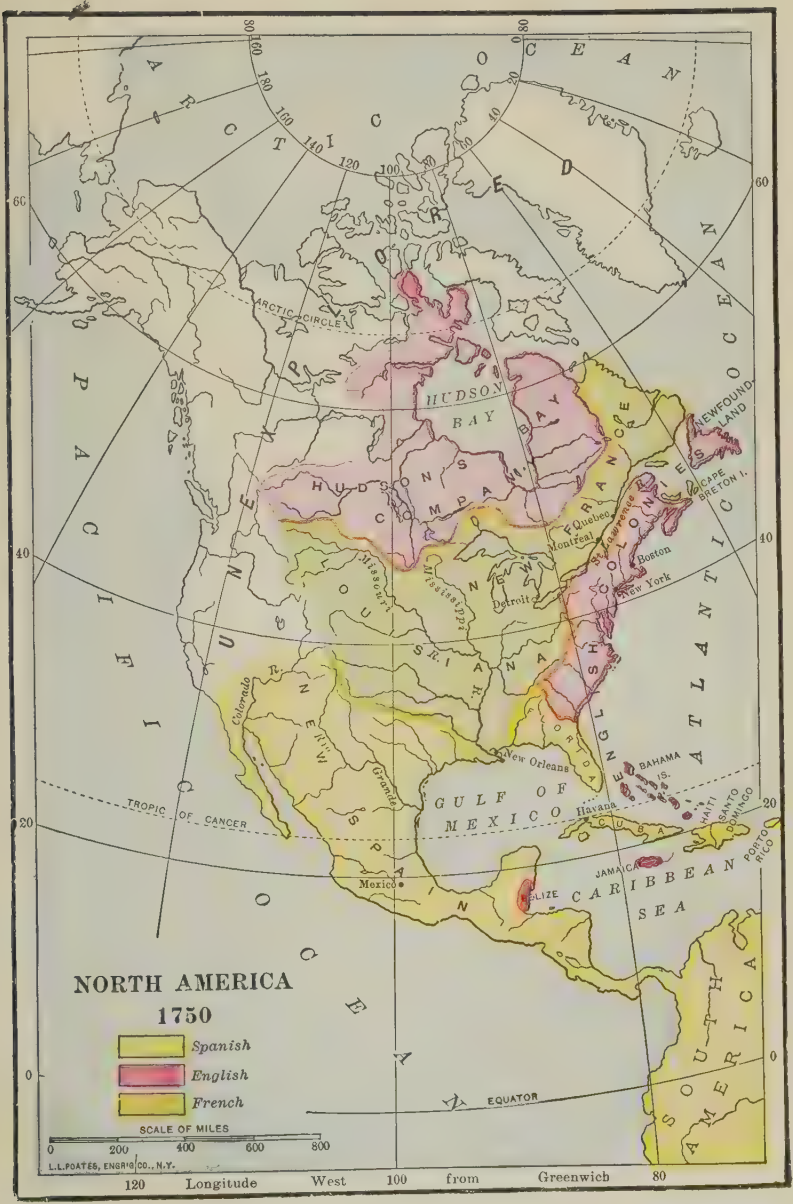
In the spring of 1755 General Edward Braddock led the latter army toward Fort Duquesne. Braddock had come over from England to be commander-in-chief of the English forces in America. He was a brave soldier, but he knew almost nothing of forest fighting and Indian warfare. His military tactics, successful on European battlefields, failed utterly in the wilderness of the New World.


HUDSON BAY COMPANY
James Bay
Albany R.
Moose R.
Big R.
East Main R.
Ruperts R.
Hurricanaw R.
Mistassini Lake
NEW FRANCE
Hamilton R.
St. John R.
NEWFOUNDLAND
Gulf of St. Lawrence
CAPE BRETON I.
Louisbourg
ACADIA
St. John R.
St. Croix R.
Bay of Fundy
Port Royal
C. Sable
Saguenay R.
Québec
St. Lawrence R.
Montreal
Ottawa R.
L. Nipissing
L. Superior
Sault Ste. Marie
L. Huron
Fort Frontenac
L. Ontario
Lake Champlain
Richelieu R.
Boundary in dispute
Detroit
L. Erie
Maumee R.
Region claimed by both French and English
Allegheny R.
Monongahela R.
Disputed region; claimed by
Ohio R.
Gt. Kanawha R.
Penobscot R.
Kennebec R.
Pemaquid
Saco
Dover
C. Ann
Salem
Boston
C. Cod
Plymouth
Newport
R.I.
MASS.
N.H.
NEW HAMP.
Merrimac R.
Connecticut R.
NEW YORK
Mohawk R.
Albany
Northfield
Hartford
CONN.
New Haven
Long I.
New York
Hudson R.
NEW JERSEY
EAST JERSEY
WEST JERSEY
Delaware R.
Susquehanna R.
PENNSYLVANIA
Philadelphia
Wilmington
DEL.
Baltimore
Annapolis
MARYLAND
Potomac R.
St. Mary's
VIRGINIA
James R.
Williamsburg
Jamestown
Roanoke
Roanoke R.
Edenton
C. Hatteras
CAROLINA (North of Cape Fear)
C. Fear R.
C. Fear
Great Pedee R.
Santee R.
CAROLINA (South of Cape Fear)
Savannah R.
Charles Town
Ocmulgee R.
Oconee R.
Altamaha R.
FLORIDA (To Spain)
St. John's R.
St. Augustine
C. Canaveral
GULF OF MEXICO
BAHAMA IS.
BERMUDA IS.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Longitude West from Greenwich
85
80
75
70
65
60
55
50
45
40
35
30
25

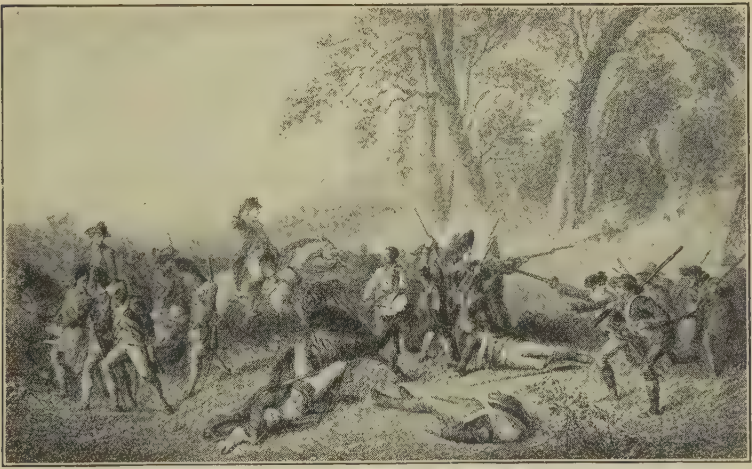
ENGLISH COLONIES
1700.

SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300

L.L. POATES, ENGR'G CO., N.Y.


NORTH AMERICA
1750
Spanish
English
French
SCALE OF MILES
0
200
400
600
800
L.L.POATES, ENGR'G CO., N.Y.
120
Longitude
West
100
from
Greenwich
80
ARCTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ARCTIC CIRCLE
TROPIC OF CANCER
EQUATOR
HUDSON BAY
HUDSON BAY
HUDSONS BAY COMPANY
GREENLAND
UNEXPLORED
NEW FRANCE
LOUISIANA
FLORIDA
ENGLISH COLONIES
NEW SPAIN
NEWFOUNDLAND
CAPE BRETON I.
Quebec
Montreal
St. Lawrence
Boston
New York
Detroit
Missouri
Mississippi
Colorado R.
Rio Grande
Red R.
New Orleans
GULF OF MEXICO
Havana
CUBA
BAHAMA IS.
HAITI
SANTO DOMINGO
PORTO RICO
JAMAICA
BELIZE
CARIBBEAN SEA
Mexico
SOUTH AMERICA
60
40
20
0
80
160
180
140
100

A tiresome march of twenty-seven days brought Braddock to Fort Cumberland in western Maryland in May. After drilling the colonial troops at this place for a time he set out on his march of 130 miles through dense forests to Fort Duquesne. The journey was exceedingly difficult and painfully slow, the army making on an average only a little more than three miles a day. Much time was spent in chopping down trees, making bridges, and constructing roads over marshy ground for the passage of the troops. Braddock led the army over a very difficult course, taking almost no advantage of the natural waterways. Washington, who knew the country well, was a member of the company, but the confident and headstrong commander rarely asked his advice in regard to the best route to take. "Could a young buckskin teach a British general how to fight?" he asked.



Braddock's Defeat, 1755

Braddock pushed on by main strength. By the 9th of July he reached a point on the Monongahela River about eight or ten miles from the fort which he intended to attack. On this spot, still called Braddock's Field, there occurred one of the worst massacres in all our colonial history.

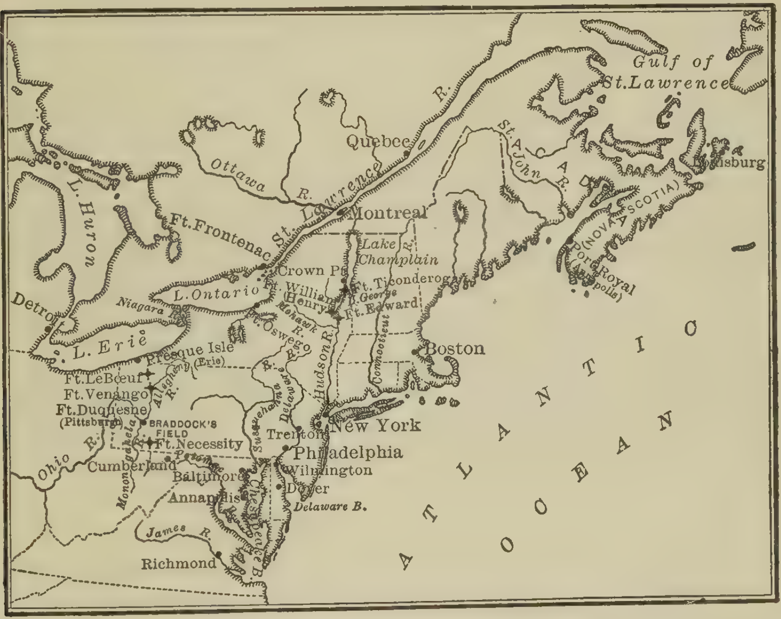
While Braddock was cutting his way through the forests, there was dismay within the walls of Fort Duquesne. The French commander had made up his mind that he could not hold out against Braddock's army, and was about to abandon the fort. In this desperate situation a reckless adventurer, Beaujeu (bō′zhû″) by name, proposed that a trap be set for the English in a ravine through which their course would lead them. This was done.

The rest is soon told. Without any warning the attack came. The French and the Indians, hiding behind trees and rocks, poured a deadly fire into the ranks of the English as they marched along in regular order. Braddock had forbidden his men to break ranks and to seek the shelter of the trees as the French and the Indians were doing. Consequently there was little that Braddock's men could do except furnish a mark for the enemy to shoot at. "We would fight," they said, "if we could see anybody to fight with." Failing to find their opponents, they at last broke ranks and fled, and the battle was lost.

Both the regulars and the colonial troops displayed the highest bravery. Two horses were shot under Washington and four bullets pierced his coat. Braddock, too, fought well, if not wisely. He lost five horses in battle, was wounded himself, died two days later, and was buried close by. Washington placed him in his forest grave and read over his silent form the burial service of the Church of England.

War Declared, 1756. This fighting had all been done without a declaration of war, but in 1756 the English formally declared war against France. The war was now fought on both sides of the Atlantic, and also in India.

At first the English were inactive, while Montcalm (mŏnt käm′), the alert French commander, captured Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario and then proceeded to drill not only his own men, but some of the neighboring Indians as well. About the middle of 1757 he gathered at Ticonderoga a strong force of 6000 French and Canadians and 2000 Indians.


Gulf of St.Lawrence
R.
Quebec
St. John R.
Louisburg
Ottawa R.
St. Lawrence
Montreal
Ft.Frontenac
L. Huron
Lake Champlain
Crown Pt.
Ft.Ticonderoga
Ft. William Henry
L. George
Ft. Edward
(NOVA SCOTIA)
Port Royal (Annapolis)
L. Ontario
Niagara
Detroit
Oswego R.
Mohawk R.
Hudson R.
Connecticut
Boston
L. Erie
Presque Isle (Erie)
Ft.LeBœuf
Ft.Venango
Ft.Duquesne (Pittsburgh)
Allegheny R.
BRADDOCK'S FIELD
Ft.Necessity
Monongahela R.
Ohio R.
Cumberland
Potomac
Baltimore
Annapolis
Susquehanna R.
Delaware R.
Trenton
New York
Philadelphia
Wilmington
Dover
Delaware B.
Chesapeake B.
James R.
Richmond
ATLANTIC OCEAN

The French and Indian War

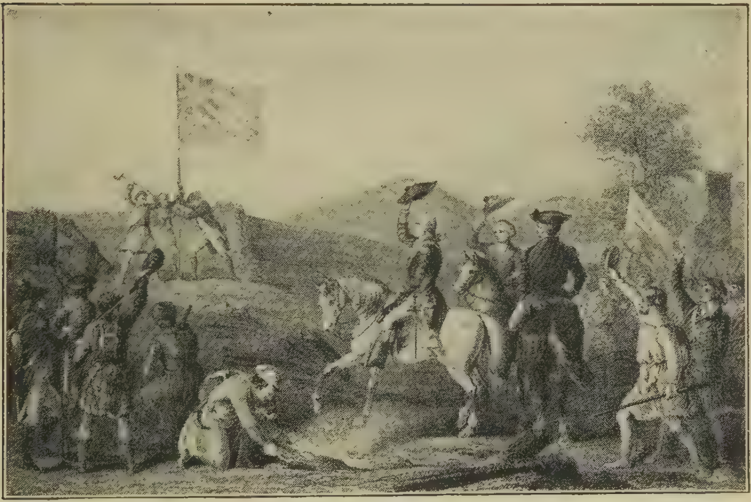
Montcalm then bore down upon the English at Fort William Henry at the southern extremity of Lake George. The fort was taken after a fierce fight of five days, and many of the prisoners were cruelly massacred by the Indians, against the protests of Montcalm.

New English Commanders. The English had made a poor start in the war, largely because they were poorly commanded. An important change now took place. William Pitt, a great English statesman, became Prime Minister. One of his first acts was to send new commanders to America. Among the ablest of these was General James Wolfe, a man who had won honor on many battlefields, although now but thirty years of age. The situation looked brighter for the English and, within a few months, one English victory after another was reported on land and sea.

The Fall of Louisburg. There was new life in the English army in the following spring. In June 10,000 men under the command of Amherst and Wolfe sailed to Louisburg, a strong fort which the French had built to guard the southern entrance to the St. Lawrence, and demanded its surrender. The reply was a galling fire, but the gallant Wolfe, wading in the shallow water, led his men in a terrific attack upon the fortifications. The place was taken and about 6000 prisoners were sent to England.

Then followed one of the tragedies in American history. The French had settled Acadia (Nova Scotia) in 1604. These innocent and rural Acadians were now deported from their homes and scattered into various parts of the English colonies. Some of them wandered as far away as French Louisiana. Their sufferings form the basis of Longfellow's tragic poem, *Evangeline.*

Capture of Fort Duquesne. In November, 1758, Washington, in command of a Virginia regiment, joined with English troops in an attempt to capture Fort Duquesne. When they reached the place they found nothing but smoking ruins, as the French had set fire to the fort and had departed the day before the arrival of the English. The successful army hoisted the British flag and a day of thanksgiving was observed. A small body of men was left to hold the place, and its name was changed to Pittsburgh, in honor of William Pitt, England's great statesman.



Washington Raising the British Flag at Fort Duquesne

Fall of Quebec. The English were fast pushing on to the crowning glory at Quebec. Pitt mapped out the campaign for the year with great skill, but Wolfe stands out most prominently in the military operations. It was he who took Quebec and practically ended the war.

The story is a thrilling one. Wolfe was frail of body, but alert of mind; his greatest wish, he said, was to be without pain for a few days and be able to do his duty. His task was difficult. Quebec was the strongest fortified place on the American continent, and was defended, moreover, by the gallant commander, Montcalm, at the head of a fine body of men. Located on a high place, the fortifications were far above the river, and were thus very difficult to reach. But the shrewd and dashing

Wolfe determined to lead his men under cover of the darkness up a steep, winding, narrow path to the plains above.

At two o'clock in the morning the signal was given for the army to move. Wolfe and a strong force of picked men slipped along the water's edge in small boats until a good landing place was found. Wolfe had just received from his fiancée in England a copy of a poem that had lately appeared, Gray's *Elegy in a Country Church Yard.* Wolfe in one of the boats was now heard to repeat solemnly a stanza from this famous poem:

> The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
>   And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
> Await alike th' inevitable hour:
>   The paths of glory lead but to the grave.

A midshipman who was present reported that Wolfe remarked that he would rather have written this poem than to take Quebec on the morrow.

The men crept noiselessly up the steep bank of the river, being compelled to clamber up on hands and knees where the hill was almost perpendicular. They reached the top, and at dawn Wolfe, with 5000 men, was in possession of the now historic Plains of Abraham.

Montcalm was completely surprised at the sight of the English army and saw at once that he must either fight or surrender. He was not the kind of man to surrender, unless compelled to do so, and immediately gave battle. In the fierce conflict which followed Wolfe was wounded twice, and a third time fatally. He was carried to the rear, refused surgical assistance, and died giving his commands to the army. He took Quebec, but the "path of glory" led him to his grave.

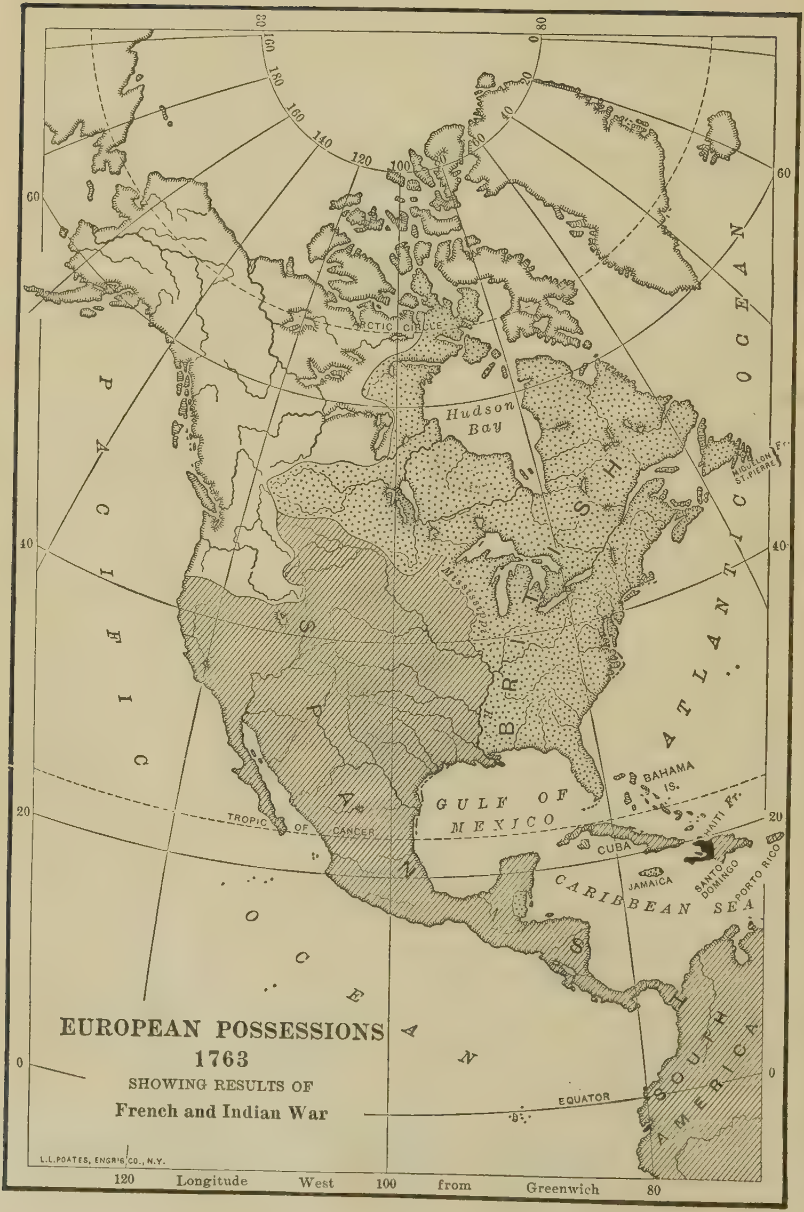
Montcalm also fell fighting bravely. He was wounded, but did not withdraw, and while rallying his troops was struck by the fatal bullet. He died on the day after the battle and was buried in a convent chapel in the city which he defended so well. It is said that his grave was made for the most part by the bursting of a shell during the bombardment. In the governor's garden at Quebec there is a fitting memorial to the two men. A monument bears the name of Wolfe on one side and that of Montcalm on the other, with the inscription: " Valor gave a united death, history a united fame, posterity a united monument." Wolfe won the day; Quebec fell on the 18th of September, 1759, and the fate of the French was practically decided a year later.

Montreal was also captured, and New France was no more. The English were supreme on the continent of North America.

Quebec was one of the decisive battles in the history of the world. Green, an English historian, said that with the capture of Quebec " the history of the United States began."

The Treaty of Peace, 1763. The war went on in Europe for three years longer, and the treaty of peace was not made until 1763. By this treaty France surrendered to Great Britain all of her possessions on the continent east of the Mississippi River, except New Orleans. All of Canada and the eastern half of the great Mississippi valley thus fell into the hands of the British. France was permitted to retain only her possessions in the West Indies and two small islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, for fishing purposes. Spain, which had been induced to come into the war to assist France, surrendered Florida to England and received Louisiana from France in return.

The treaty, which was signed at Paris (February 10, 1763), is an important landmark in the history of the American colonies. It ended the struggle between


EUROPEAN POSSESSIONS
1763
SHOWING RESULTS OF
French and Indian War
BRITISH
SPAIN
SPANISH
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Hudson Bay
GULF OF MEXICO
CARIBBEAN SEA
ARCTIC CIRCLE
TROPIC OF CANCER
EQUATOR
Mississippi R.
BAHAMA IS.
CUBA
JAMAICA
HAITI Fr.
SANTO DOMINGO
PORTO RICO
MIQUELON ST. PIERRE Fr.
SOUTH AMERICA
Longitude West from Greenwich
L.L.POATES, ENGR'G CO., N.Y.

France and Great Britain for the possession of North America, which had been going on for three-quarters of a century.

The war decided that the manners and customs of the Americans were to be English in origin, that their language and laws should be English, and that their political and constitutional ideas and forms of government should have an English basis. In the great contest for the continent the English won against the French chiefly for two reasons: (1) The English colonists, who had come to America to establish permanent homes, were stronger and more numerous than the French traders and forest rangers, who usually moved about from place to place and seldom had settled abodes; (2) England had the greater sea power. Her navy defeated the French fleets in European waters, captured French merchant vessels, and hindered the sending of French troops and supplies to America.

When French power was removed from America, the English colonists were well able to take care of themselves. They also learned from the war a great deal about military tactics and the planning of military campaigns. The war showed them their strength, made them self-reliant, and prepared them for the struggle with the mother country which was soon to follow.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. Explain the main differences between the way in which the French and the English colonized North America. Point out the advantages and disadvantages of each in case of war.

2. What were the main causes for the struggle between the French and the English? Can you suggest any way by which the conflict might have been avoided?

3. Upon what did the English base their claims to North America? What was the basis of the French claims? Which nation in your judgment had the stronger claims? Give reasons.

4. How did the westward movement lead to the war?

5. Tell about Washington's journey to see the French commander. Why did he go and what did he accomplish? Tell about his activities later in the war.

6. Why did Braddock's expedition fail? Point out the place of the battle on the map.

7. Explain the main causes of the defeats of the English during the first part of the war, and the chief reasons for their later brilliant victories.

8. Find out what part the Indians played in the war.

9. Give the terms of the treaty of peace. How did the capture of Quebec *begin* the history of the United States? Did the French settlers leave Canada at the end of the war? Explain.

10. Mention ways in which you think life in your community would be different today if the French had won the war.

THINGS TO DO

1. On an outline map of North America show (1) in yellow the territorial possessions of the Spanish; (2) in brown the possessions of the French; and (3) in red the territories of the English in 1750.

2. Use another map to show in a similar way the territorial possessions in North America of the same three countries in 1763.

3. Make a careful study of one of the campaigns mentioned in this chapter and give a floor-talk upon it to the class. Use maps and drawings to help make the story clear. Consult the Readings given below for additional information.

4. One or two pupils volunteer to make for your historical collection a clay model showing Quebec and the Plains of Abraham.

5. For a volunteer: Give a special report on the victories won by the British on the seas and in India.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. " The Colonies in Danger," *The Book of the United States,* 83–92.

2. " Braddock's Defeat," by George Washington, in *Source Book of American History,* 103–105.

3. " Capture of Quebec," *ibid.,* 105–107.

4. " The Adventures of Young Washington," *America First,* 99–104.

5. " The War for America," *America the Great Adventure,* 72–75.

6. " George Washington and the War with France," *ibid.,* 156–170.

7. " The War Between the English and the French for North America," *This Country of Ours,* 308–313, 321–343.

8. " The Struggle for the Continent," *The Book of Knowledge,* 3: 777–784.

9. " When England and France Fought for North America," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia,* 3: 1362.

10. " The Story of the French and Indian Wars," *The World Book Encyclopedia,* 4: 2607–2609.

LOOKING BACKWARD

A. SETTLING NORTH AMERICA

Copy the following sentences and fill in the blanks so as to give the story of Settling North America.

Conflicting claims to territory growing out of the work of the discoverers and colonizers caused European nations to engage in a series of wars for the occupation and control of North America. The chief nations in the contest were ____________, ____________, ____________, and ____________.

The English colonies started with settlements in ____________ and in ____________. Other English settlements were made in

____________, ____________, ____________, ____________,
____________, ____________, ____________, ____________,
____________, ____________, ____________.

The settlers faced the following hardships and dangers:

1. ______________________________
2. ______________________________
3. ______________________________

Different motives prompted colonists to come to America Chief among the motives were:

1. ______________________________
2. ______________________________
3. ______________________________

The English colonies were established as (separate, united) settlements. Some of the settlements were ____________ colonies governed by ____________; others were ____________ colonies governed by ____________; and still others were ____________ colonies governed by ____________.

The government in the English colonies was modeled after ____________. There was a ____________ government for the whole colony, and ____________ governments for counties and towns.

Conquest of the Dutch settlement gave England control of ____________. England also took ____________ from Spain, and ____________ and ____________ from France. The English possessions then extended from the ____________ on the east to the ____________ on the west, and from ____________ on the north to ____________ on the south.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, therefore, England controlled all of North America except ____________. Her colonists had developed a strong independent spirit.

B. IMPORTANT FACTS ABOUT THE MAIN ENGLISH COLONIES

Make a chart with these headings so as to show the main facts about the four most important English colonies:

Name of colony	First settlement	Date of settlement	Reasons for settlement	Names of prominent persons

C. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Arrange the statements given below so as to show the order in which the events took place. Number the event which happened first 1, the one which happened next 2, and so on.

Champlain founded a colony at Quebec, Canada.
The English captured New Netherland.
The Spanish founded a colony at St. Augustine.
Raleigh sent colonists to Roanoke Island.
The French and English wars ended in a victory for the English.
The English founded a colony at Jamestown, Virginia.
A shipload of women reached Jamestown.
Penn secured a grant of land called Pennsylvania.
La Salle built a fort at the mouth of the Mississippi River.
General Oglethorpe founded Georgia as a place of refuge for debtors and poor people.

D. A COMPREHENSION TEST

Choose the correct ending for each of the following statements. Copy on your paper the numbers of the statements. After each number write the letter to indicate the correct ending for the statement. In the case of No. 1, for example, you should write 1 — *a*.

1. European countries wanted to establish colonies in America in order to
   - *a*. extend their power.
   - *b*. help their people find new homes.
   - *c*. fight the Indians.
2. The first white people to settle in America were
   a. French. *b*. English. *c*. Spanish.
3. The European nations found that the greatest wealth of America was in
   - *a*. gold and silver in the mountains.
   - *b*. the lakes and rivers.
   - *c*. the fertile soil.

4. The land drained by the Mississippi River was first claimed by
   a. the French. *b.* the Spanish. *c.* the English.
5. Along the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi, the French
   a. founded permanent colonies.
   b. built forts and trading posts.
   c. protected the Indians' rights to the land.
6. The first permanent English colony in America was made at
   a. Plymouth, Massachusetts.
   b. Roanoke Island.
   c. Jamestown, Virginia.
7. Raleigh's failure to plant a colony proved that
   a. companies were needed to found colonies in America.
   b. individuals could plant colonies in America.
   c. the King should plant colonies in America.
8. New York was founded by
   a. the English. *b.* the Dutch. *c.* the French.
9. In 1664, New York became
   a. a French colony.
   b. an English colony.
   c. a Spanish colony.
10. English colonial government was
    a. modeled after the government of England.
    b. a democratic form of government from the beginning.
    c. a government by representatives of the people.
11. When the English settlers moved across the Allegheny Mountains, trouble began
    a. between the colonists and the mother country.
    b. between the Spanish and the English.
    c. between the French and the English.
12. By a treaty of peace in 1763, France surrendered to Great Britain
    a. the West Indies.
    b. Canada and the eastern half of the Mississippi valley.
    c. Florida.

PART THREE
THE WINNING OF INDEPENDENCE

THE WINNING OF INDEPENDENCE

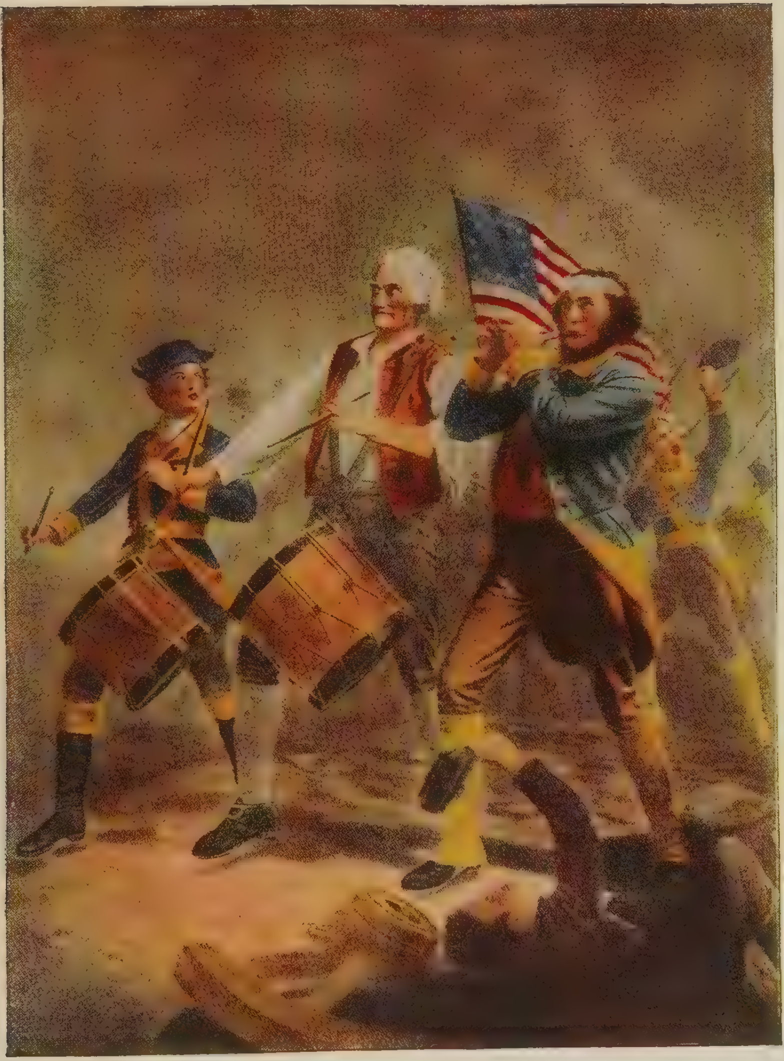
When a mother country believes that she has the right to make rules for the colonies she has founded and the colonies believe that they have the right to govern themselves as they prefer, trouble is sure to result.

For years England allowed her American colonies to do much as they pleased. But after the French wars she decided to "tighten up" the old laws and to collect the duties which the colonists had been evading. The Americans resisted the change stubbornly; they were determined to decide for themselves what taxes they would pay.

One law followed another, as England attempted to find a method of taxation upon which she and the colonies could agree. But none was found, and at last an open break resulting in bloodshed took place. Even after war had begun, many Americans did not desire independence. They wanted their rights as Englishmen. But how could they enjoy self-government, and yet remain part of the British empire?

As the struggle continued and no solution to the problem was found, the Americans gradually became convinced that they could never obtain from Great Britain the rights which they prized so highly. Only one course remained — the forming of a new nation. Accordingly, on July 4, 1776, the Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence — and the United States was born.

The Revolutionary war dragged on for years. Then a great victory was won at Saratoga in northern New York, a victory which induced France to furnish aid to the United States. Four more terrible years passed before the British were driven out of their strongholds and the war was brought to a successful end. When the treaty of peace was made, it introduced into the family of nations a new member — the United States of America.



The Spirit of '76

PART THREE
THE WINNING OF INDEPENDENCE

CHAPTER VIII

THE CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Early Spirit of Independence. The struggle between the colonists and the mother country began a long time before the Revolution. Many of the colonists had come to America to be independent in matters of religion and government. Soon after landing they demanded and received a share in the government. The desire for self-government grew and several of the colonies — Connecticut and Rhode Island in particular — succeeded in obtaining liberal charters from the English kings. Under these charters the spirit of independence grew so rapidly that the English Government became alarmed and made various attempts to hold the colonists in check. In several instances the charters were taken away and the colonies were made royal provinces and placed under the direct control of the King.

Such steps were not taken, however, without meeting stubborn resistance from the colonists. They had shrewd agents in London who often succeeded in protecting their rights. For example, when it was proposed, in 1715, to unite Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire into a single royal province under the control of the King, Jeremiah Dummer, colonial agent from Connecticut, made a vigorous protest. He insisted that the colonies should be allowed to remain as they were.

each under its own charter. He said that they had an "undoubted right" to these charters as they had been granted for all time by the King. He also declared that the charters had not been forfeited through misbehavior, since the colonists were loyal to the mother country. In addition, he expressed the opinion that the repeal of the charters would check the prosperity of the colonies, and at the same time would injure the commerce of England. His argument was successful, and for a time the British Government stopped its attacks upon the New England charters.

Quarrels with Governors. In addition to the quarrels with the King, the colonists had many contests with the royal governors. These struggles furnished an excellent training for the more important ones which took place just before the Revolution. A few examples will show the general nature of the early contests.

The laws governing the colonies were made by their legislatures and agreed to by the governors. In many of the colonies the governors were appointed either by the King or by the proprietors, while the members of the legislature were chosen by the people. In such a situation quarrels were almost sure to arise. In several of the colonies, for example, the legislature and the governor could not agree upon the amount of the governor's salary. In Massachusetts a dispute of this kind arose. The members of the legislature said that the colonists were Englishmen and that they had a right to raise money and to spend it as they saw fit. They said that they would not permit a royal governor — the mere tool of the King — to dictate to them in such matters. As a result of such disagreements deadlocks often occurred and public business was frequently brought to a full stop.

The people of New York also had a serious quarrel with one of their governors, Lord Cornbury. Cornbury was a cousin of Queen Anne of England and thought that he could do as he pleased. On one occasion the legislature of New York voted $12,000 for fortifications and the governor promptly took the money and used it for his own private purposes. This naturally displeased the legislature, and the governor was removed from office and sent to jail to await the payment of his debts. Meanwhile the members of the legislature said that they would vote no more money for public purposes until they were sure that it would be expended by honest officials.

Another important quarrel was with Sir Edmund Andros. Andros had been sent over to America by the King (James II) as Governor of several of the northern colonies (1685). The colonies objected to being united under the rule of a royal governor, and Andros had a hard time of it. The people of Boston threw him into prison and his deputy was driven out of New York.

Probably the most significant quarrel took place in Virginia. Here in 1676 the common people, under the leadership of Nathaniel Bacon, took up arms against Berkeley (page 72), the royal governor. This uprising, known in history as "Bacon's Rebellion," was a failure; yet it is important because it was a protest against unjust laws, against the political power of the great planters, and particularly against the tyranny of the royal governor. Berkeley put down the rebellion with terrible vengeance, but he could not kill the spirit of independence among the people.

On the whole, it may be said that the people and the legislatures gained in power as a result of these contests with the royal governors. The governors were weak men in many cases, and, as the legislatures insisted strongly upon their rights as they saw them, they usually had their way.

Effect of the French and Indian War. The victory of Great Britain over France in the long struggle for North America tended to increase the spirit of independence among the colonists. The continent was now English, at least all of it east of the Mississippi River. France had been driven from the continent, and Spain's possessions lay far beyond the "Father of Waters." The surrender of Montreal to the English (1760) put an end forever to the French possession of Canada.

The English colonies were now no longer afraid of hostile neighbors. They felt able to take care of themselves against the Indians, and it seemed, with their French and Spanish rivals out of the way, that their growth would be free and easy. Trouble with the mother country, however, soon developed. An effort to bring the colonies into subjection to Parliament brought on the quarrel which caused the Revolutionary War.

Unfortunately the British government at this time was not wisely conducted. George III, a stubborn and stupid King, had just come to the throne (1760). He attempted to manage affairs instead of allowing his ministers to rule. By means of royal favors and bribes he controlled the votes of a group of members in Parliament who came to be called "the King's friends." When the English colonists in America resisted his tyranny, they were fighting for the liberties of Englishmen in England as well as for their own liberties.

Causes of the Quarrel. In addition to these bad conditions in England and the free and independent spirit of the colonies, several other causes helped to bring about the quarrel with the mother country. The war with France had been expensive and had greatly increased the British debt. British taxes were heavy and, with the enlarged territory in America, the expenses of the government there were sure to be greater. Now that the colonies were growing and their trade increasing, the English began to think of the benefits they might derive from America. The landlords wished to escape some of the burdens of taxation and the merchants wanted the profits of the American trade.

These two classes in England controlled the government and they soon induced George III and his new minister, Lord Grenville, to adopt a new colonial policy. Under their influence Parliament adopted three measures which brought on the quarrel leading to the war for independence. These measures were:

(1) To enforce the trade laws.

(2) To place a British army in America.

(3) To tax the colonists for the partial support of the British troops to be stationed in America.

The Navigation Laws and the Writs of Assistance. The Navigation Acts had been passed by Parliament from time to time since 1651. Their purpose was to exclude other nations from trading with the British colonies. Prominent among the trade laws was the Sugar Act of 1733, which laid a duty on sugar and molasses coming into the colonies from the French West Indies. Had the law been strictly enforced, it would have seriously injured the trade of New England.

The British merchants wanted the colonies as a market for British goods. Accordingly the laws provided that if goods were carried to America from other countries in Europe they were first to be landed in England. This made such goods more expensive. In addition, many American products such as tobacco, cotton, indigo, rice, and sugar could be sent only to England. This aided the English merchant and manufacturer, but was unfair to the colonist.

For many years the trade laws had not been enforced. John Adams said that they were old and out of use and that nobody expected them to be enforced. Their violation was common and smuggling was so generally practiced that it cost the British Government three dollars to collect one dollar in revenue at American ports. The Government now proposed to change this condition, and in order to find out where smuggled goods were hidden the officers resorted to "writs of assistance," or general search warrants authorizing them to search any place where they suspected the presence of smuggled goods.

Previously if a customhouse officer suspected that imported goods had been secretly landed and concealed somewhere without payment of duty, he could go to court and ask for a special search warrant authorizing him to search a specified place for specified goods. With a general search warrant, however, the officer could search anyone's house and hold him to account for whatever goods he might find. Such warrants could also be used by an officer to annoy anyone whom he disliked. James Otis, an eloquent young lawyer of Massachusetts, who was prosecuting attorney for the King, resigned his office and spoke without fee against the writs. John Adams, who heard Otis's famous speech in 1761, said that Otis was "like a flame of fire" and that "then and there American independence was born."

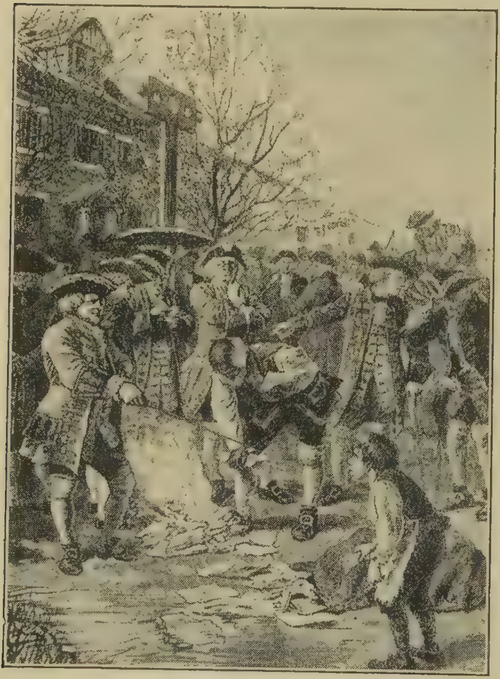
A Standing Army for America. The second feature of Grenville's policy was to send 10,000 troops to America. The British government claimed that the soldiers were needed to protect the colonies from the Indians and the French. Pontiac's conspiracy, resulting in an Indian war on the frontier, had occurred in 1763. But the colonists had not asked for troops, and did not want them. They suspected that the real purpose in sending troops was to increase the King's authority and help enforce the trade laws.

The Taxing Policy: The Stamp Act. The third feature of Grenville's plan was to tax the colonists in order to pay the salaries of the colonial governors and judges and to help pay for the troops. At his recommendation Parliament decided to raise money in America by means of a stamp tax, and for this purpose passed the noted Stamp Act in 1765. This law required government stamps to be placed on legal documents, wills, licenses, newspapers, and pamphlets. It was expected that the act would raise about one-third of the expenses which Great Britain would incur in governing America.

In support of the taxing policy the British ministry insisted that the Americans ought to be grateful to England, declaring that the colonists benefited from the protection of the British army and navy, and that they ought to bear their share of the cost. The Americans, the British said, had received great benefits from the late war and none of the money that it was now proposed to raise in America was to be taken to England; it was all to be spent in America. The stamp tax, they asserted, was as light a tax as any that could be thought of; and they maintained that the only way to get the colonies to pay their just share of expenses was for Parliament to impose the tax. It was clear that the colonies would not themselves agree upon a tax, they added, for Grenville had told them a year before the Stamp Act was passed that if they would propose a tax they liked better, he would adopt it.

Why Americans Resisted: "No Taxation without Representation." The colonists did not wish to be taxed by a legislature in which they were not represented. "No taxation without representation," was their motto. They did not wish to be represented in Parliament—

they were too far away for that; but they insisted that all laws for levying taxes should be voted by the legislatures in which they were represented — their own colonial assemblies. That was the way their taxes had always been raised, and they objected to the new method of being taxed by a Parliament 3000 miles across the sea.



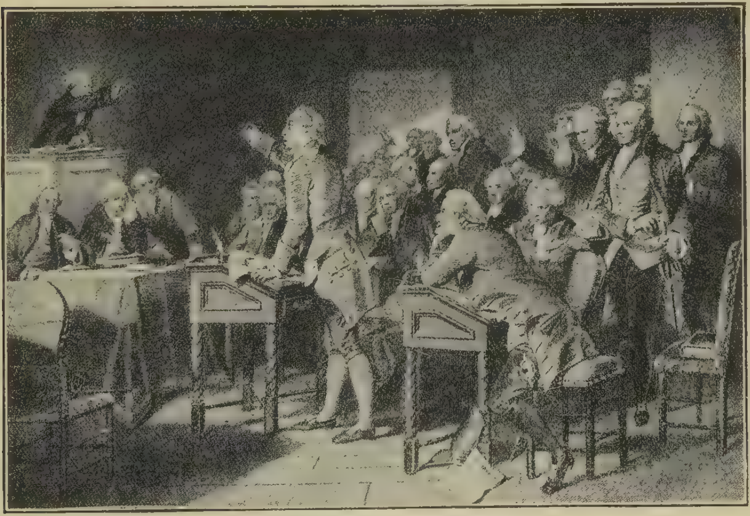
Burning the Stamps

Boxes of stamps were seized at the port and either dumped into the sea or burned in bonfires in the street.

In consequence the Stamp Act met a storm of opposition in America. The "Sons of Liberty" marched through the streets shouting, "Liberty, Property, and no Stamps!" The colonists compelled the stamp officers to resign and in some places the stamps were destroyed. When the time came to enforce the act no stamps could be obtained.

The first note of alarm was sounded in Virginia. Patrick Henry, a fiery orator, offered resolutions in the House of Burgesses in which he claimed that the "Virginia Assembly alone had the right to tax Virginians, and any attempt to vest this power in any other body tended to destroy British as well as American liberty."

Tradition tells us that in defending these resolutions Henry exclaimed in a fiery passage, "Cæsar had his Brutus; Charles the First, his Cromwell; and George the Third—" ("Treason! Treason!" interrupted several members), "and George the Third," continued Henry, "may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it."



DEBATE ON THE STAMP ACT

Patrick Henry making his speech against the Stamp Act in the Virginia House of Burgesses, at Williamsburg, May, 1765, as pictured by an artist.

The Stamp Act Congress. The colonies now began to unite. Massachusetts sent letters to the other colonies calling a meeting of representatives to confer on the tax problem that had been created. Nine colonies responded by sending delegates to a "Congress" in New York. Here were seeds of union, the beginning of the movement toward final combination among the colonies.

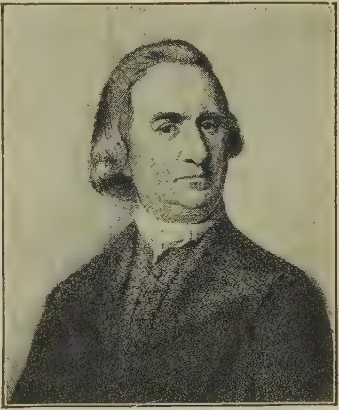
The Stamp Act Congress, as the gathering was called, had no power to pass laws; it was only a meeting or conference of colonial representatives to consider how the colonies could act together and what they should do. The Congress published a "Declaration of Rights and Grievances," written by John Dickinson. This declaration said that the colonists had the rights of Englishmen, and that taxes could be voted only by the representatives of the people who were to pay the taxes.

The Stamp Act Repealed, 1766. The British authorities soon saw that the Stamp Act could not be enforced without great expense, possibly not without bloodshed. The colonists refused to use the stamps and quit buying British goods. Women agreed to use no cloth imported from England, and organized the "Daughters of Liberty," in opposition to the tax.

When the British merchants saw that their goods were not selling in America, they urged Parliament to repeal the act. This was done the year after the law was passed. With the repeal, Parliament passed a *Declaratory Act,* asserting the *right* to tax the colonies and "to legislate for them in all cases whatsoever." Americans took no notice of this declaration, for they cared very little about Parliament's claim to such a right so long as no attempt was made to put it into force.

The Townshend Acts: Taxes on Paints, Paper, and Glass, 1767. There was great rejoicing in America over the repeal of the Stamp Act. But the joy did not last long, for the very next year Parliament renewed the taxing policy. Charles Townshend (toun′zĕnd), the most influential minister of the King at this time, carried through Parliament three measures providing (1) for suspending the New York legislature until it should provide barracks for the English soldiers; (2) for a more strict enforcement of the trade laws; (3) for new taxes on glass, lead, painters' colors, paper, and tea. At this time Parliament also legalized the Writs of Assistance.

The colonists quickly agreed not to buy English goods. Samuel Adams, the "Father of the American Revolution," who knew how to stir up the people to resistance in the town meetings, wrote a letter which he induced the Massachusetts assembly to adopt and send to the other colonies. The letter protested against the Townshend Acts, and boldly proclaimed the American principle of self-taxation. It said that the royal judges and governors in the colonies, whose salaries were to be paid out of the proceeds of the new taxes, should not be independent of the people and that the colonists ought not to be taxed to pay for a standing army forced upon them in time of peace. These declarations so offended the British Government that the Massachusetts assembly was brought to an end for refusing to recall the letter. The quarrel was becoming serious.

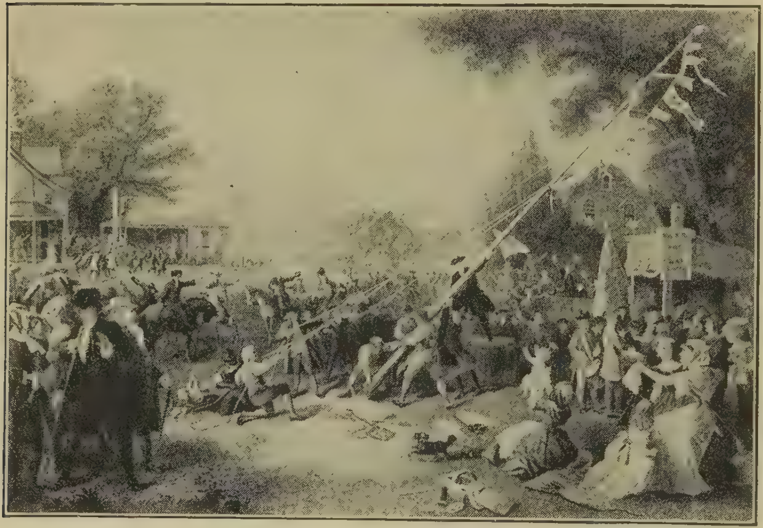


Samuel Adams

Samuel Adams was born in Boston, 1722. He was a member of the Massachusetts Assembly in 1765–1774, and of the Continental Congress throughout the Revolutionary War. He was one of the earliest and most persistent advocates of independence, and was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. He died in Boston in 1803.

The "Boston Massacre." The presence of the British troops made matters worse. In New York the soldiers cut down a liberty pole every time the patriots put it up, and at last (January, 1770) they not only cut the pole down, but sawed it up and piled the pieces in front of the headquarters of the Sons of Liberty. A riot followed in which one citizen was killed.

In Boston the people met in mass meeting and voted that no standing army could be kept there without the colony's consent. The people felt that the British troops had no right to be in the colony and they also thought that the soldiers exerted a bad influence with their Sunday horse-racing, gambling, and sporting during church hours. A clash was sure to come.

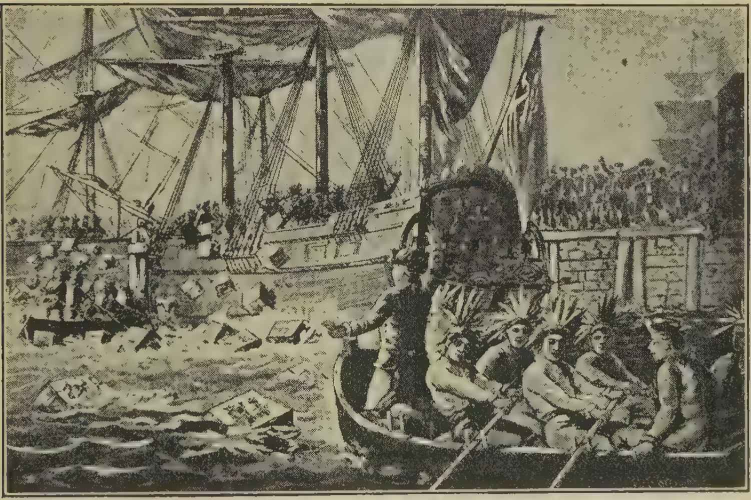


Raising a Liberty Pole

Feeling ran high in the colonies on days when Liberty Poles were raised and flags of every kind were unfurled. Speeches were made, bands played, and a general holiday was observed.

Finally, on March 5, 1770, several soldiers fired upon a crowd of men and boys in the streets who had been taunting them and throwing snowballs at them. Five citizens were killed and six were wounded. All Boston was stirred to anger. A great mass meeting demanded that the troops be withdrawn from the city, and Governor Hutchison felt forced to comply. This event, called the "Boston Massacre," was brought to mind from year to year on the 5th of March by memorial meetings and speeches and tended to arouse the hatred of the people against the British. It probably did as much as any other single event to lead to separation and war with the mother country.

The Tea Tax and the "Boston Tea Party." In 1770 all the Townshend tax measures were repealed except the tax on tea. This was retained to show that Parliament had a right to tax the colonies, a foolish thing to do because the tax produced no revenue and its only effect was to keep up agitation. The East India Company had great quantities of tea in England which it could not dispose of, as the Americans had refused to buy. Parliament then removed the export duty on all tea shipped to



THE BOSTON TEA PARTY

An evening party, — only that,
  No formal invitation,
No gold laced coat, no stiff cravat,
  No feast in contemplation,
No silk-robed dames, no fiddling band,
  No flowers, no songs, no dancing,—
A tribe of Red men, axe in hand,—
  Behold the guests advancing!
— OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

America; as a result the colonists might pay the tax and still get their tea cheaper than before.

But the Americans objected to all taxes imposed on them by the British Government and would not buy the tea. At Philadelphia the tea ships were sent back. At Boston, when the governor refused to send back the tea, a party of citizens disguised as Indians boarded a vessel and threw the tea into the sea (1773). This incident was called the "Boston Tea Party."

All these disturbances looked like rebellion to the British Government. The King and his ministers were angry. They regarded the Americans as rioters and rebels who ought to be forced to obey the law. Consequently, instead of seeking to satisfy the colonists, Parliament decided to punish them.

Five Intolerable Measures. With this purpose in mind Parliament passed three important laws in 1774:

1. *The Boston Port Bill.*—This closed the port of Boston till the colony should pay for the tea which had been destroyed. Boston was to be punished by having her commerce destroyed. The blockade of the port of Boston was to be enforced by British warships. The people were to be starved into submission.

2. *The Massachusetts Act.*—This changed the charter of Massachusetts so as to give the King and his governor more power. The old town meetings, which were looked on as "nests of revolt," were to be broken up, so that men like Samuel Adams could no longer arouse the people against the British Government.

3. *The Act for the Administration of Justice.*—This provided that any officer or soldier who was accused of murder in his attempts to put down tumults and riots should not be tried by a jury in Massachusetts, but should be sent to England or to some other colony for trial. General Gage, with his troops, was instructed to

enforce these acts, to arrest John Hancock and Samuel Adams, and to fire on citizens if necessary.

These measures against Massachusetts caused the other colonies to sympathize with her and come to her support. England had made the mistake of furnishing all the colonies *one* idea on which to fight. America was united in opposition to force.

It is important to notice two other Acts of Parliament that were passed in this fateful year.

(a) The Quebec Act.—This extended Canada southward to the Ohio River and westward to the Mississippi and offended the colonies claiming western lands.

CARPENTERS' HALL, PHILADELPHIA
Where the first Continental Congress met, 1774.

(b) A new *Quartering Act* was passed by which more troops were to be sent to America to be fed and lodged by the colonists.

Committees of Correspondence. These acts to punish Massachusetts threatened the interests of all the colonies. They saw that an injury to one was an injury to all. By sending provisions to Boston and by resolutions which they adopted they showed that they were ready to stand by Massachusetts. In 1773 Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson in Virginia had secured permission from the House of Burgesses to form a Committee of Correspondence to communicate "with our sister colonies." Other colonies followed Virginia's example, and by this means the colonies were able to act together in resisting the acts of Parliament. Committees of Correspondence were also organized in the Massachusetts towns. This system of co-operation has been called "the backbone of the Revolution."

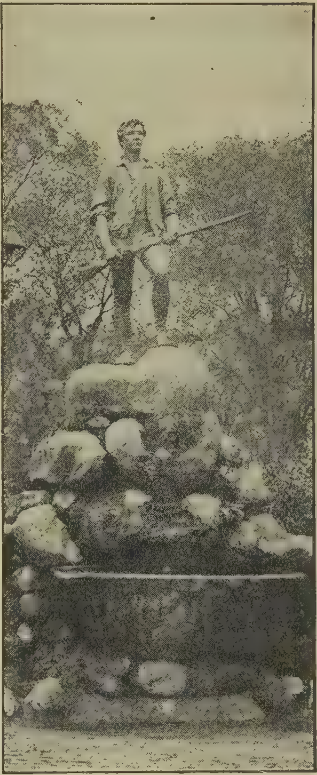
The First Continental Congress, 1774. The Committees of Correspondence were one of the early means of promoting union. Through them Virginia suggested a Congress of all the colonies. Massachusetts issued the call and the Congress met at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774, with all the colonies except Georgia represented. Here began a union movement which finally threw off British authority and established a new nation in America.

STAND YOUR GROUND
DON'T FIRE UNLESS FIRED UPON
BUT IF THEY MEAN TO HAVE A WAR
LET IT BEGIN HERE

THE MINUTE-MAN BOWLDER AT LEXINGTON

The minute-men were organized militiamen and are not to be thought of as leaving their plows in the furrows and each running into the fight in his own way, as boys run to a fire. They were organized into a military company, and when the alarm came "the men hastily changed their working clothes, seized their guns, with their powder horns and bullet pouches, and on foot and on horseback they came by short cuts and across fields, the sooner to reach the appointed place for roll call."

The Congress sent a petition to the King and letters to the people of Great Britain and to Canada. Most important of all, an American Association for Non-importation of British Goods was formed, by which the delegates bound themselves and the colonies they represented not to buy goods from England. The Congress let it be understood that force against Massachusetts would be met by force. Another Congress was called to meet in May, 1775, if the grievances of the colonists were not in the meanwhile removed by the King and Parliament.



STATUE OF THE MINUTE-MAN AT LEXINGTON, MASS.

The "embattled farmers" were volunteer patriots of the Revolution who pledged themselves to be ready for service as soldiers at a minute's notice.

Lexington and Concord. Before the time arrived for the Second Continental Congress, the British and the Americans had come to blows. The British Government would not change its policy. Lord North, who was now the King's minister, said he would not tax the colonies if they would agree to tax themselves to pay the soldiers and to carry on the King's Government in America. When the colonies refused these terms, Massachusetts was declared in a state of rebellion. The patriot party, which was now obeying the Massachusetts assembly representing the people instead of the royal governor, began to organize minute-men and to gather military stores.

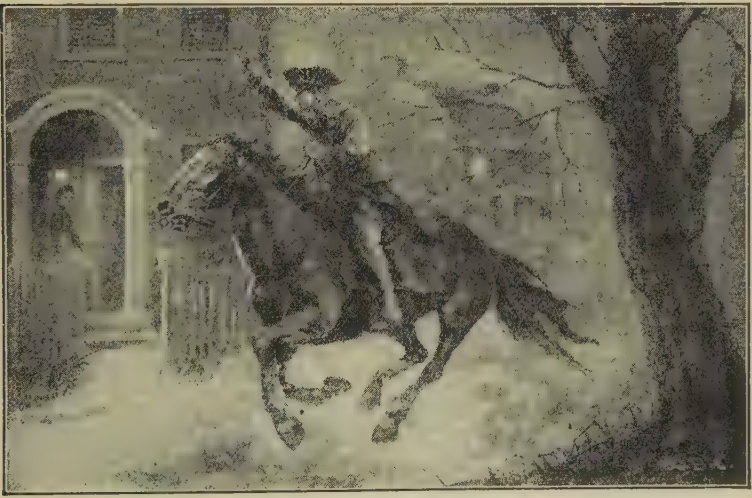
General Gage sent soldiers from Boston to Concord to destroy these supplies and to arrest John Hancock and Samuel Adams. Paul Revere riding through the country aroused the people along the road, shouting, "The regulars are coming!" Alarm bells were rung, signal-guns were fired, and the minutemen with their rifles gathered from village and farm at Lexington, April 19, 1775.

The British troops found about fifty men drawn up on the Lexington common. "Don't fire unless fired upon," said Captain Parker to the minute-men, "but if they mean to have a war, let it begin here." "Disperse, ye rebels," shouted the British captain, Pitcairn, "lay down your arms." The Americans stood their ground and the firing began. Eight Americans were killed and eight were wounded. On that famous day at Lexington began the war of the American Revolution.

MONUMENT AND BRIDGE AT CONCORD, MASSACHUSETTS

The British soldiers pushed on and destroyed some supplies at Concord. At Concord bridge they were attacked by the Americans, and when the British fell back and started for Boston they found the countryside alive with riflemen, who, from behind tree and house, haystack, fence, and mound, poured out a deadly fire. Before the exhausted troops reached the shelter of the fortifications at Boston the British had lost 273 men, the Americans 93.

Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775. Soon after the fight at Lexington and Concord a small American army from various colonies gathered about Boston to keep the British troops from leaving the city. On June 17, 1775, occurred the battle of Bunker Hill. About 1500 Americans under Warren, Putnam, and Prescott fortified a hill overlooking Boston. General Howe with about 3000 British soldiers was sent to dislodge them. The Americans resisted two desperate assaults, and then fell back at the third charge only after their ammunition had given out. The British left more than a thousand dead and wounded on the hillside; the Americans lost only 441, but

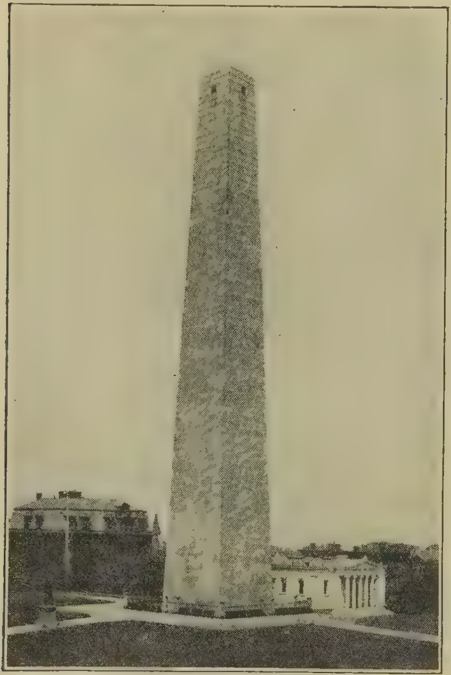


PAUL REVERE'S RIDE

A hurry of hoofs in a village street,
A shape in the moonlight, a bulk in the dark,
And beneath, from the pebbles, in passing, a spark
Struck out by a steed flying fearless and fleet:
That was all! And yet, through the gloom and the light,
The fate of a nation was riding that night;
And the spark, struck out by that steed, in his flight,
Kindled the land into flame with its heat.
— HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW.

among them was General Joseph Warren, one of the truest and bravest patriots of the Revolution.

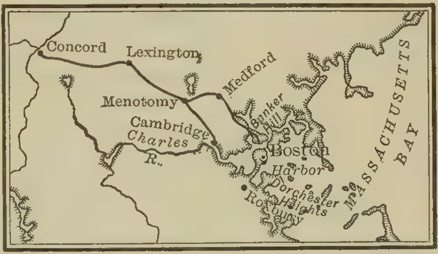
The battle had the effect of a victory for the Americans. It weakened the British army, aroused the fighting spirit in America, and removed the fear that raw volunteers would not stand up against British regulars. With such a spirit as was shown at Bunker Hill, the American leaders felt that they could win their cause. When Washington heard how the Americans had withstood the British fire, he said that the liberties of the American people were safe.



Bunker Hill Monument at Charlestown, Massachusetts

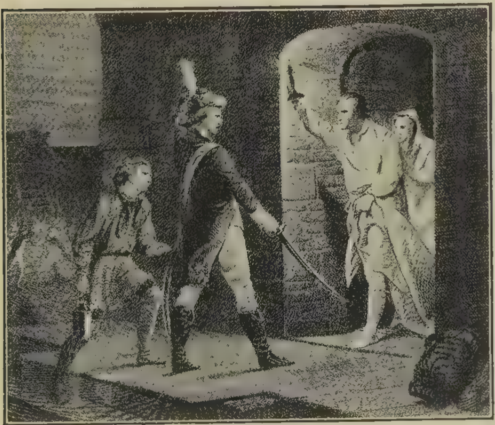
Ethan Allen and Ticonderoga: The Second Continental Congress. When Ethan Allen and the "Green Mountain Boys" heard of the fight at Lexington they took up arms and on May 10, 1775, seized Crown Point and the strong fort at Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain, "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," as the story goes. Allen captured military supplies that proved of great value to Washington in the British siege in Boston, and also gained control of the direct line of communication between New York and Canada.

His victory was on the very day that the Second Continental Congress met at Philadelphia. The Congress now began to take direction of the war. It named the colonial troops around Boston the "Continental army," voted to raise 20,000 more men, and appointed George Washington commander-in-chief.


Concord
Lexington
Medford
Menotomy
Bunker Hill
Cambridge
Charles R.
Boston
Harbor
Dorchester Heights
Roxbury
MASSACHUSETTS BAY

Map of Eastern Massachusetts, Showing Lexington and Concord

Washington Takes Command. Washington was on his way to Massachusetts when he heard of the battle of Bunker Hill. On July 3, 1775, under the famous elm at Cambridge, he took command of the army and began to direct the siege of the British troops in Boston.



Ethan Allen Demanding the Surrender of Ticonderoga, May 10, 1775

It was fortunate for the Americans that they had such a leader as Washington. He is known as the "Father of his Country," and no one did more than he to win our independence. A wise, patient, righteous man, and a true patriot, he was ready to serve his country without pay. He is now thought of as the greatest leader of the American Revolution and one of the noblest of the English-speaking race. No other man could have borne so well the burdens of the long war that was before the country.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. Explain the influences that caused a spirit of independence to develop in America long before the Revolution.

2. In what two ways did the French and Indian War help to bring about the break between the colonies and the mother country?

3. Give the three measures that are known as Grenville's policy. Tell why the Americans objected to each of them.

4. What did the Americans mean by "taxation without representation is tyranny"? Did the Americans want to send representatives to Parliament? If not, tell what they did want.

5. In what three ways did the Americans show their opposition to Grenville's policy and to the Townshend Acts? Give examples of each method. Which of the three proved most effective? Mention facts that support your conclusion.

6. If it was the *principle* of the taxing policy and not merely *paying* the taxes that the Americans objected to, why did they not resist the Declaratory Act?

7. Why is Samuel Adams called "the father of the American Revolution"? Tell just what he did to help cause the separation from Great Britain.

8. What were the Five Intolerable Acts? Tell why they were passed. State the purpose of each. Explain the chief reason the Americans resisted each of the Acts.

9. How did the Committees of Correspondence help to bring about the Revolution? Explain the work of the committees. Why are they called "the backbone of the Revolution"?

10. What was the immediate cause of the battles of Lexington and Concord? Tell how they are connected with the Five Intolerable Acts.

11. How were the shots fired at Concord "heard round the world"? Explain.

12. Who won the battle of Bunker Hill? Give reasons to support your answer.

13. List the main causes of the American Revolution.

THINGS TO DO

1. Form into committees to dramatize the following incidents:
    - *a.* American opposition to the Stamp Act.
    - *b.* The Boston Tea Party.
    - *c.* The First Continental Congress.
    - *d.* Paul Revere's ride.

2. One of the boys volunteer to secure a copy of the speech Patrick Henry is supposed to have given against the Stamp Act and read it before the class.

3. Find poems that deal with the opening events of the Revolution and read aloud to the class portions of the poem you like the best. Examples are Longfellow's "Paul Revere's Ride" and Emerson's "Concord Hymn." See *The Book of Knowledge,* 20: 7459.

4. Bring pictures or postals that show scenes connected with the opening events of the Revolution.

5. Draw or suggest a cartoon to represent *one* of the following:
    - *a.* Samuel Adams as thought of by a supporter of King George III.
    - *b.* Lord North as viewed by one of the patriot party in America.
    - *c.* The Boston Tea Party as looked upon either by the "King's friends" or by Samuel Adams and his followers.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. " The Spirit of Independence," *The Book of the United States*, 93–104.

2. " The Boston Tea Party," *Source Book of American History*, 137.

3. " Lexington and Concord," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia*, 5: 1990.

4. " Causes of the Revolution," *ibid.*, 6: 3000–3002.

5. " King George and the Colonies," *America First*, 139–144.

6. " Patrick Henry and the Parson's Cause," *ibid.*, 144–148.

7. " Paul Revere's Ride," *ibid.*, 149–154.

8. " The Green Mountain Boys," *ibid.*, 155–157.

9. " England and Her Children," *America the Great Adventure*, 123–132.

10. " Opening Events of the Revolution," *This Country of Ours*, 344–362.

11. " Causes of the Revolution," *The Book of Knowledge*, 4: 1157–1166.

12. " Boston Tea Party," *The World Book Encyclopedia*, 2: 879–880.

13. " Patrick Henry," *ibid.*, 5: 3147–3149.

CHAPTER IX

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Why the Americans Took Up Arms. The war had begun, but the Americans had not taken up arms for independence. Washington said, "When I first took command of the army I abhorred the idea of independence." He still hoped for "a lasting and happy union with Great Britain." What the Americans really wanted at this stage of the controversy with the mother country was "the rights of Englishmen."

Whigs and Tories. During this quarrel, and in the war to which it led, the American cause had warm friends in England. William Pitt, or Lord Chatham, said he rejoiced that America had resisted; he declared that Parliament had *no right* to tax America. Edmund Burke, another great English statesman and orator, pleaded with Parliament to pursue a wiser policy toward the colonies; he argued that it was not *expedient* to tax America. Charles J. Fox, another English leader, spoke of Washington and his troops as "our army," and openly rejoiced at American victories. These men were English Whigs who were disposed to favor popular rights and to oppose the King's power.

On the other hand, many Americans favored Great Britain and some of them fought in the British armies during the war. A considerable minority of the people in America, larger in some localities than in others, opposed the Revolution. These were called Tories. The American Whigs, who called themselves the Patriot Party, stood out boldly against Parliament and the King. They wished the colonial governors and judges to depend on the people for their salaries, while the Tories would have these officers controlled by the King and paid out of taxes levied by Parliament. The Tories became very unpopular in America because they defended the British policy and were thought to be sending false reports to the home Government, representing the colonists as disorderly, and saying that more troops should be sent and a firmer hand shown in governing the colonies.

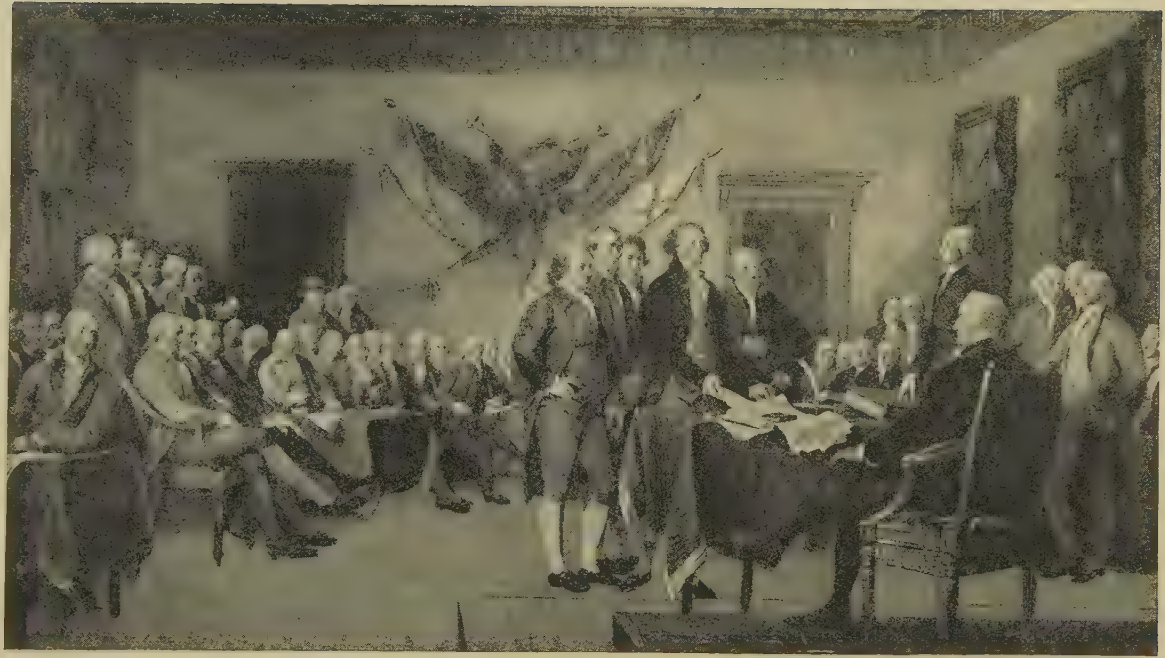
Thus the American Revolution had advocates and opponents on both sides of the Atlantic. Out of it came greater freedom for England and liberty and self-government for America. Royal rule received a setback in Europe as well as in England and popular rights were advanced.

Causes Leading to Independence. It is safe to say that when the war began not one-fifth of the colonists had independence in view. The war had gone on more than a year before the Declaration of Independence was adopted. The colonies did not wish to cut themselves off from the mother country. Many ties of sentiment and relationship bound them to England, but at the same time they insisted upon having the historic rights of Englishmen. Parliament, in which they were not represented, was attempting to tax them, to restrict their commerce, to suspend their legislatures, to change their charters, to close their ports, to transport them for trial, to plant troops among them without their consent, to make their judges and governors independent of their control, and, in some cases, to deprive Americans of the right of trial by jury.

The colonists petitioned and remonstrated before they resorted to arms. In the summer of 1775 Congress submitted a petition to the King, its "olive branch of peace." This was rejected and the King declared the colonists "in a state of rebellion" stating that he would use all the forces at his command to subdue them. When several of their towns, such as Norfolk and Charlestown, were burned by the King's forces the sentiments of the colonists began to change. Many were soon ready to cut loose from England and to seek foreign aid before they would submit.

Thomas Paine and "Common Sense." In the early part of 1776, while the people were feeling very bitter toward the King and the British Government, Thomas Paine published his powerful pamphlet, *Common Sense.* This was the first bold argument for independence. Paine sought first to get the minds of the people away from their foolish worship of kings. "One honest man is worth more to society in the sight of God than all the crowned ruffians that ever lived," he said. Paine showed that the connection with Great Britain would continually involve America in European wars and quarrels, and would interfere with our markets. Besides, he declared, it was absurd for a great continent to be dependent on a little island 3000 miles away—the earth might as well revolve around the moon. The people everywhere read what Paine wrote and were greatly influenced by it.

The Hessians. The coming of the Hessians (hĕsh′ĕns) had even greater weight than Paine's writings in promoting the spirit of independence. The Hessians were foreign troops that King George the Third had hired in Hesse-Cassel (hĕs kȧs′ĕl), a little state in Germany, to fight against the colonists. This act aroused bitter resentment among the Americans. It made the



THE SIGNING OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Independence was decided on in the Continental Congress on July 2, and was formally announced on July 4, the day we celebrate. The signing took place on August 2. "The unanimous adoption of the Declaration was the important event; the signing, a mere final touch, an afterthought." The names of the signers were not known for six months, — a matter of prudence, as such an act might bring the signers to the gallows.

restoring of friendly relationship hopeless and the Declaration of Independence certain.

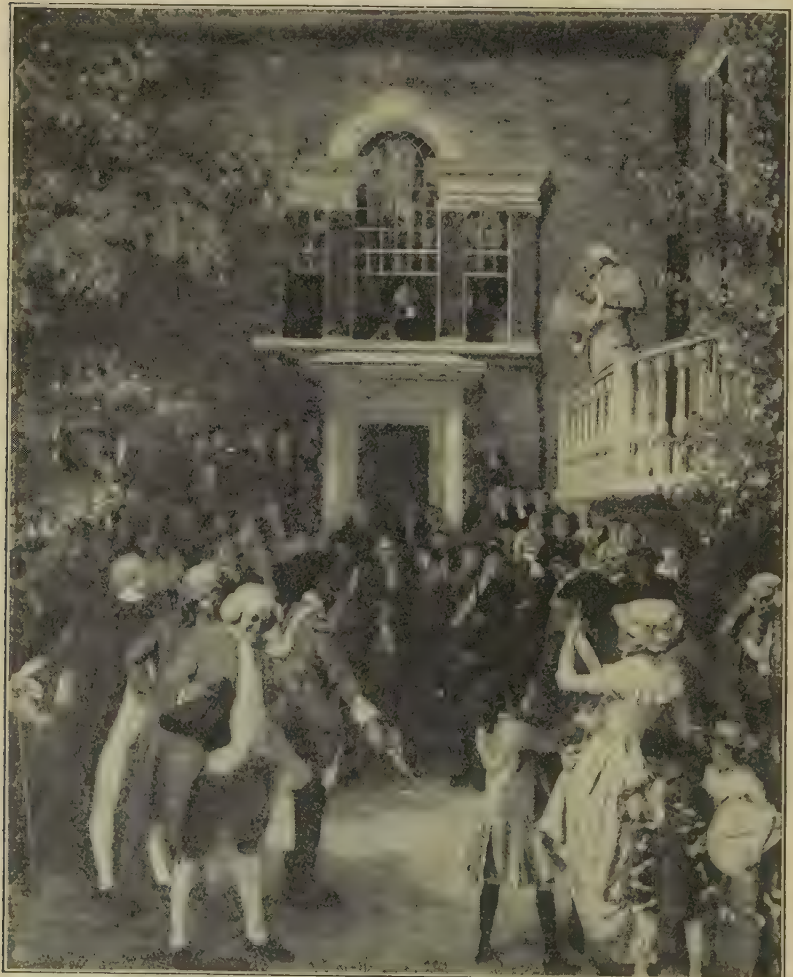
The Declaration of Independence. Virginia led the movement for independence. In May, 1776, that colony instructed her delegates in Congress to propose the final step. Accordingly, on June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, offered his famous resolution: "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states."

A committee consisting of Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston was appointed to prepare the declaration. Jefferson wrote it, as he said, "without reference to book or paper." Adams and Franklin made a few changes.

When the Declaration was presented to Congress for adoption, Jefferson sat silent, as he was not a debater. John Adams was the boldest speaker in favor of independence. There were opposition and much division of opinion even among the Patriot Party. Some of the delegates finally voted for the Declaration chiefly for the reason that they wished all the colonies to stand together, since they knew that the chief hope of the King and his ministers was that the union among the colonies would not last. "United we stand, divided we fall," was the motto of the Americans. Or, as Franklin said while they were signing the Declaration, "We must all hang together or we shall all hang separately."

Finally, on July 4, 1776, in spite of fears and opposition, the Declaration of Independence was adopted by Congress. It declared the United Colonies to be independent states, and that they were absolved from all allegiance to the British crown. "And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

The Political Principles of the Declaration of Independence. The Declaration of Independence is one of the most famous documents in the history of the world.

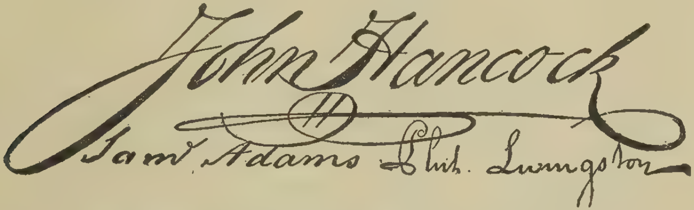


(From a Copley Print Copyright by Curtis & Cameron, Publishers, Boston.)

THE READING OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

This is a copy of one of several beautiful mural decorations by Edwin A. Abbey in the Pennsylvania Capitol.

An English historian has called it "that noble Declaration which ought to be hung up in the nursery of every king and blazoned on the porch of every royal palace." Its famous preamble announces the principles underlying our form of government and it is well to commit its words to memory:



John Hancock
Saml. Adams Phil. Livingston

Signatures to the Declaration of Independence

Hancock said he would sign so that George III could read the name without his spectacles.

> We hold these truths to be self-evident: — That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

The Declaration of Independence teaches the following truths:

1. That men have rights.
2. That men are equal before the law in the enjoyment of their rights — to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.
3. That governments exist to protect human rights.

4. That if the government fails to do so, it is the right of the people to overthrow that government and set up one that will.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. What did the American mean by "the rights of Englishmen"? Did the American patriots want something new? Or did they desire to keep what they already had? Explain clearly and point out ways in which the British Government between 1763 and 1775 had interfered with the "rights of Englishmen."

2. Why did Pitt, Burke, and Fox defend the American cause? Why did certain Americans defend the policy and acts of King George and Parliament?

3. During the first ten years of the quarrel with England, few Americans wanted independence. Explain the main reasons for their change of mind between 1774 and 1776.

4. Why did the Americans declare themselves independent of Great Britain? Tell what it means to be "independent" as the word is used in the Declaration of Independence. Read aloud the part of the Declaration in which independence is actually declared (see page iii).

5. Why did Congress *issue* the Declaration of Independence? You will find the answer in the Preamble to the document (see page i). What reason does the Preamble give?

6. Read the pledge made by the signers of the Declaration, and tell what it meant to them.

THINGS TO DO

1. Two pupils volunteer to defend the American cause as seen by the Whigs, and two pupils volunteer to defend the policy of the King and Parliament as viewed by the Tories.

2. Choose three committees to prepare a dramatization of the drafting and adoption of the Declaration of Independence, and

to act out the event before the class. Each committee be responsible for one of the following scenes:

a. The drafting of the Declaration by the committee.
b. The debate on the Declaration in Congress.
c. The signing of the Declaration.

After presenting the play to the class the committees may also give it before the school assembly.

3. One pupil volunteer to secure a copy of Daniel Webster's "Supposed Speech of John Adams" and read the address to the class. All or part of the speech may be used in the dramatization referred to above.

4. Read the Declaration of Independence (pp. i–iv) carefully and talk over its contents. So far as you are able, mention facts that explain the various charges made against the King.

5. Memorize the second paragraph of the Declaration of Independence. Be able to tell what the paragraph means, and be prepared to recite it before the class without hesitation and without making any mistakes.

6. Give a floor-talk on the career of one of the signers of the Declaration. For material see the references given below.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "The Declaration," *The Book of the United States*, 104–108.

2. "Battle of Lexington and Concord," *Source Book of American History*, 144–146.

3. "Drafting the Declaration of Independence," by John Adams, *ibid.*, 147–149.

4. "The Birth of a Great Nation," *This Country of Ours*, 368–371.

5. "When Liberty was First Proclaimed," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia*, 3: 975–976.

6. "Richard Henry Lee," *ibid.*, 5: 1982.

7. "Declaration of Independence," *The World Book Encyclopedia*, 3: 1865–1868.

CHAPTER X

THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE

Washington Forces the British to Leave Boston. We left Washington with his little army besieging the British troops in Boston. He had taken command of a small body of raw and untrained men in July, 1775. They wore different colonial uniforms, or none at all, and so far were under independent commands of colonial leaders.

The British looked upon the American troops as a "rag-tag and bob-tail army." The troops had to be drilled and trained, and Washington gave months to the task. Then, in the spring of 1776, he occupied Dorchester Heights, from which his fire could reach the British in Boston. The result of his act was to force the British to abandon possession of the city. They boarded their ships and sailed away to Halifax where the Americans felt all the British ought to go. American forces were now in control of Massachusetts.

The Attack on Quebec. The relief of Boston was a great success, but a different result came about when the Americans made an offensive attack on Canada. In the fall of 1775 American forces numbering about 2500 men, led by Colonel Richard Montgomery, made an attack on Quebec. It was hoped that the Canadians were ready to throw off British rule. The Americans endured much suffering in the winter march through the snowfields of

Maine. They received no help from the Canadians, however, and the expedition proved a failure, Montgomery losing his life in an attack on Quebec. Benedict Arnold, next in command, conducted an orderly retreat, which added to his military reputation.

The British Seek Control of the Hudson. The first object of the British in the war was to seize New York and Philadelphia and to gain control of the Hudson River. They would thus cut the colonies in two by separating New England from the rest of the country. They could then conquer each section separately and with little difficulty.

Washington brought his army from Boston to defend New York, but he was defeated by General Howe in the battle of Long Island (August 27, 1776). Howe's forces, about 30,000 men, greatly outnumbered Washington's, and the American army was barely saved from capture by Washington's strategy of leaving his camp fires burning while he ferried his troops across the East River to New York during the night.

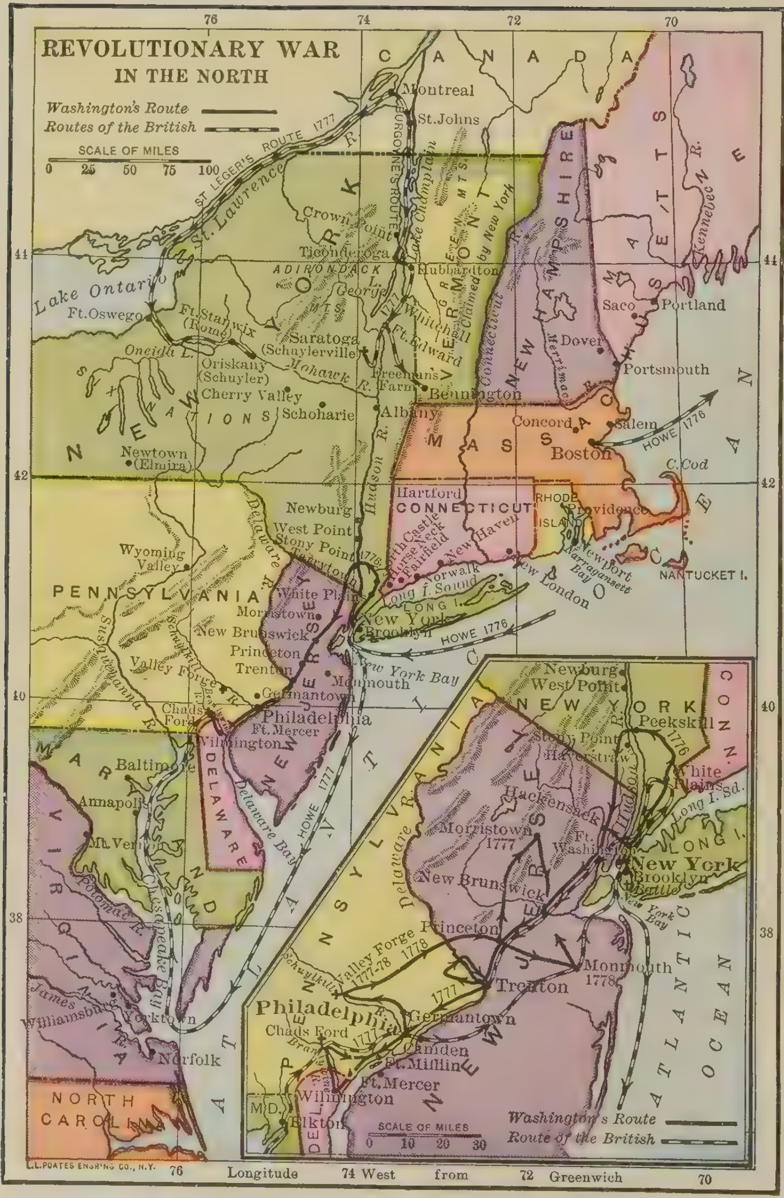
Washington's Memorable Retreat to Trenton. Washington left Manhattan Island and took a strong position at White Plains, up the Hudson, where there was some skirmishing. He built Forts Lee and Washington on opposite sides of the Hudson, a little way up the river, but Howe's forces soon compelled the surrender of the forts and Washington lost nearly 3000 prisoners of war and a large quantity of supplies. These might have been saved to the army but for the interference of Congress, and the loss seemed to be a crushing blow to the American arms. Worse still, Washington was hindered and distressed by the disobedience of General Charles Lee, who refused to bring his 7000 men to join the main body of the army. Lee was jealous of Washington and wanted to be commander-in-chief.

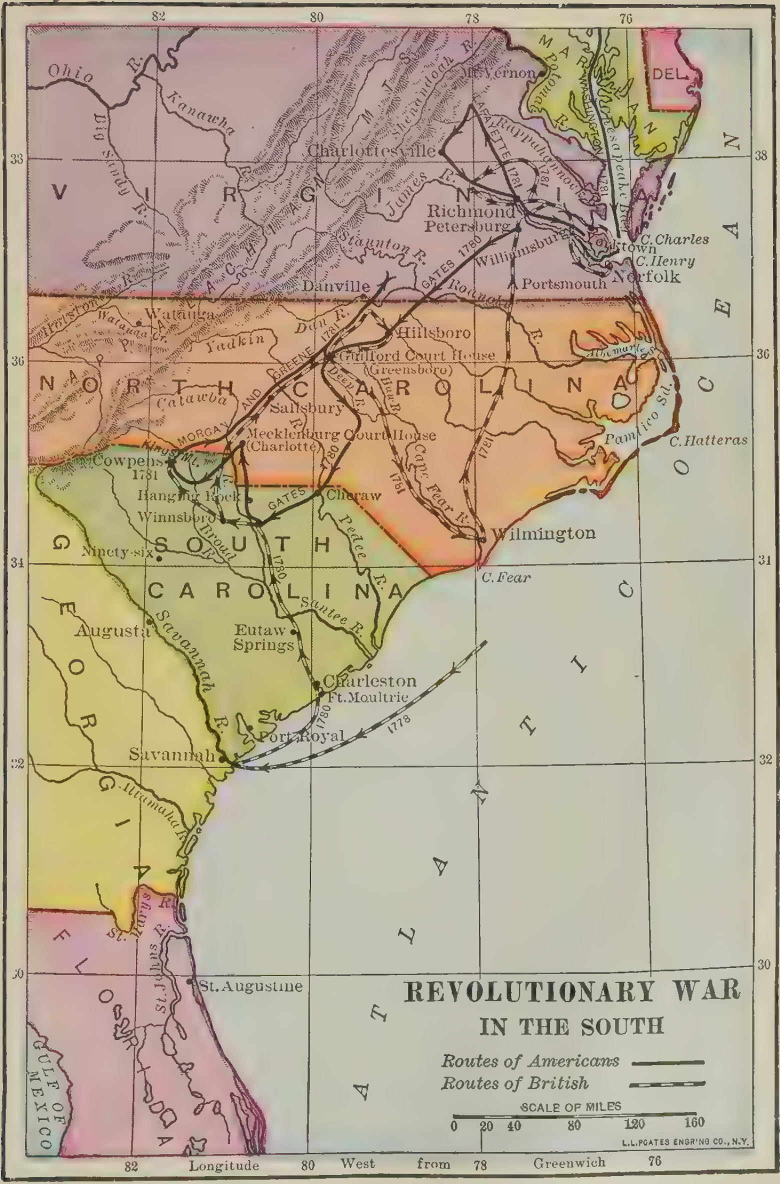
Nothing was left for Washington but to retreat through New Jersey to the west side of the Delaware. The British followed, hoping to capture the whole American army. They might have done so if they had pushed the pursuit with vigor. At the same time, had they struck quickly, they might have captured Philadelphia. But Howe sought ease and comfort in winter quarters. This suggests one cause of American success in the Revolution — the lack of ability of the British commanders and the greater ability of Washington and the larger sacrifices his soldiers were willing to undergo.

But it was a dark hour for America. Washington's army was defeated and in retreat. His men were ragged, poorly armed, and without food. The people were disheartened. The British and the Hessians were plundering in New Jersey, and many people were deserting the American cause, ready to take advantage of General Howe's offer of pardon by seeking British protection. Philadelphia was in danger and Congress, giving all authority to Washington, fled from that city to Baltimore.

In these dark days of defeat Thomas Paine's first number of *The Crisis* appeared. "These are the times that try men's souls," he wrote. "The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it *Now*, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman." In stirring words Paine appealed to the people to fight on against the British. He helped to give them heart for greater efforts. In the cause of American liberty his pen was almost as powerful as Washington's sword.

Robert Morris and the Finances. Help also came to the American cause from another source. One great need of the country was money with which to carry on the war. When Congress fled from Philadelphia to Baltimore, the little credit it had fled too. The paper money

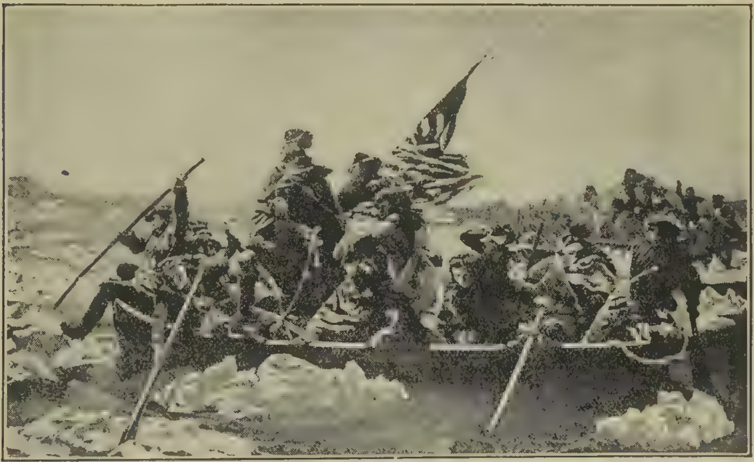

REVOLUTIONARY WAR
IN THE NORTH
Washington's Route
Routes of the British
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 75 100
76
74
72
70
44
42
40
38
C A N A D A
Montreal
St. Johns
ST. LEGER'S ROUTE 1777
St. Lawrence R.
BURGOYNE'S ROUTE
Lake Champlain
GREEN MTS.
VERMONT Claimed by New York
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MASSACHUSETTS
Kennebec R.
Merrimac R.
Connecticut R.
N E W Y O R K
Crown Point
Ticonderoga
Hubbardton
ADIRONDACK MTS.
L. George
Whitehall
Ft. Edward
Saratoga (Schuylerville)
Freeman's Farm
Bennington
Lake Ontario
Ft. Oswego
Ft. Stanwix (Rome)
Oneida L.
Oriskany (Schuyler)
Mohawk R.
Cherry Valley
Schoharie
Albany
Hudson R.
SIX NATIONS
Newtown (Elmira)
Saco
Portland
Dover
Portsmouth
Concord
Salem
Boston
HOWE 1776
C. Cod
M A S S.
Hartford
CONNECTICUT
RHODE ISLAND
Providence
New Haven
Newport
Narragansett Bay
New London
NANTUCKET I.
O C E A N
Newburg
West Point
Stony Point
Tarrytown
1776
North Castle
Horse Neck
Fairfield
Norwalk
Long I. Sound
LONG I.
White Plains
New York
Brooklyn
HOWE 1776
Delaware R.
Wyoming Valley
PENNSYLVANIA
Susquehanna R.
Schuylkill R.
Morristown
New Brunswick
Princeton
Trenton
Valley Forge
Brandywine R.
Germantown
Chads Ford
Philadelphia
Ft. Mercer
Wilmington
Monmouth
New York Bay
NEW JERSEY
DELAWARE
Delaware Bay
HOWE 1777
MARYLAND
Baltimore
Annapolis
Mt. Vernon
Potomac R.
Chesapeake Bay
VIRGINIA
James R.
Williamsburg
Yorktown
Norfolk
NORTH CAROLINA
A T L A N T I C
Newburg
West Point
NEW YORK
Peekskill
1776
Stony Point
Haverstraw
CONN.
White Plains
Long I. Sd.
Hackensack
Hudson R.
Morristown 1777
Ft. Washington
New York
Brooklyn Battle
LONG I.
New York Bay
New Brunswick
PENNSYLVANIA
Delaware R.
Princeton
Valley Forge 1777-78 1778
Schuylkill R.
Monmouth 1778
Trenton
1777
Philadelphia
Germantown
Chads Ford
Brandywine
1777
Camden
Ft. Mifflin
Ft. Mercer
Wilmington
MD.
DEL.
Elkton
NEW JERSEY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30
Washington's Route
Route of the British
L.L. POATES ENGR'NG CO., N.Y.
76 Longitude 74 West from 72 Greenwich 70



REVOLUTIONARY WAR IN THE SOUTH

Routes of Americans
Routes of British
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 80 120 160
L.L.POATES ENGR'NG CO., N.Y.
82 Longitude 80 West from 78 Greenwich 76
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
MARYLAND
DEL.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
Ohio R.
Kanawha R.
Big Sandy R.
Holston R.
Watauga Cr.
Watauga
Yadkin
Catawba
Shenandoah R.
James R.
Rappahannock R.
Potomac R.
Chesapeake Bay
Staunton R.
Roanoke R.
Dan R.
Deep R.
Haw R.
Cape Fear R.
Broad R.
Pedee R.
Santee R.
Savannah R.
Altamaha R.
St. Marys R.
St. Johns R.
Albemarle Sd.
Pamlico Sd.
Mt. Vernon
Charlottesville
Richmond
Petersburg
Williamsburg
Yorktown
C. Charles
C. Henry
Norfolk
Portsmouth
Danville
Hillsboro
Guilford Court House
(Greensboro)
Salisbury
Mecklenburg Court House
(Charlotte)
Kings Mt.
Cowpens
1781
Hanging Rock
Winnsboro
Cheraw
Ninety-six
Wilmington
C. Fear
C. Hatteras
Augusta
Eutaw Springs
Charleston
Ft. Moultrie
Port Royal
Savannah
St. Augustine
GATES 1780
GREENE AND MORGAN
GATES
LAFAYETTE 1781
WASHINGTON 1781
1780
1781
1778

Congress had issued, known as "continental money," was openly refused or taken at only half its face value. Later this money came to be worth nothing at all, and gave rise to the expression "not worth a continental." In its fear of capture Philadelphia "seemed to be on wheels," as the citizens were hauling their beds, furniture, and baggage through the streets in an effort to save their property. The time of service of many of the soldiers was about to expire and they could not be asked to stay with the army or re-enlist without pay.

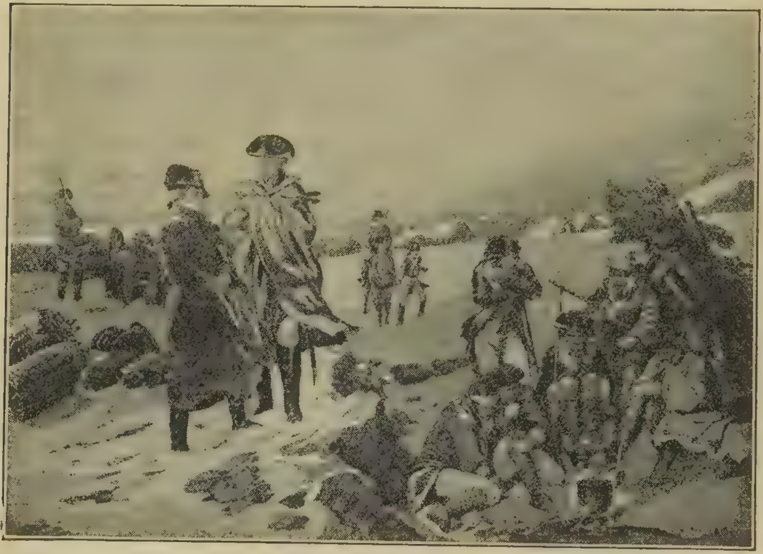


Washington Crossing the Delaware

In this time of distress, Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, worked with great energy, going from house to house on New Year's Day, 1777, to borrow money to uphold the patriot cause. He sent Washington $50,000 for the army, and Washington pledged his private fortune to pay the soldiers if Congress should fail. Other officers followed his example.

The Victories of Trenton and Princeton. During these days of discouragement Washington did not lose heart.

He determined on a bold stroke. On December 25, 1776, while the Hessians at Trenton were feasting and drinking, he crossed the Delaware amid snow and ice, surprised the enemy, captured a thousand Hessians and their arms, with the loss of only two officers and two private soldiers. Washington quickly retreated before Cornwallis could come up, but a week later recrossed the river and won another complete victory in the battle of Princeton (January 3, 1777). Cornwallis had been completely *outgeneraled.* These victories gave new hope to the Americans.

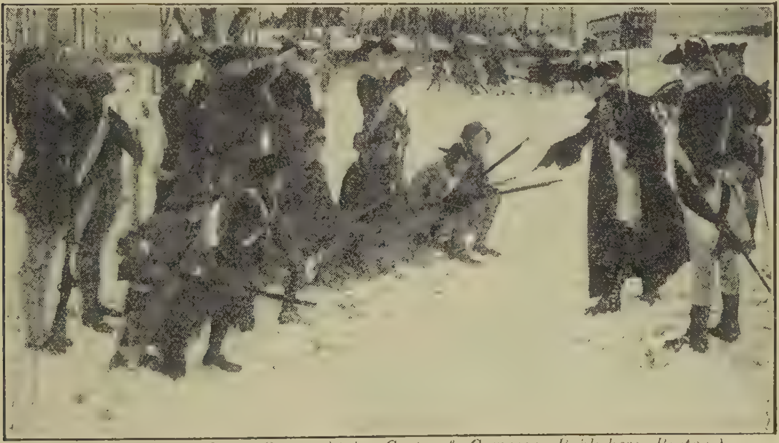


WASHINGTON AND LAFAYETTE AT VALLEY FORGE

Brandywine, Germantown, and Valley Forge. In August, 1777, Howe brought his army by fleet, 18,000 strong, to the head of Chesapeake Bay, to capture Philadelphia. He defeated Washington on Brandywine Creek (September 11, 1777), and again at Germantown (October 4, 1777), where in the fog and confusion one division of

Washington's men fired upon another. Washington had done his best to keep the British out of Philadelphia, but his efforts were in vain and Howe led his army into the city.

Washington then went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, where the sufferings of his soldiers made that terrible winter historic. The commissary department's failure to have the army supplies at the right place caused 3000 of Washington's soldiers to be "unfit for duty, barefoot and naked." The line of march to winter quarters had been marked by blood upon the snow from frost-bitten feet. Without blankets, the men sat up at night by their camp fires to keep warm. Cold and hunger increased the sick list, while the hospitals were mere log huts, or wigwams, where the sick had hardly enough straw to keep their bodies off the frozen ground. Braver and truer men never stood by a commander than those



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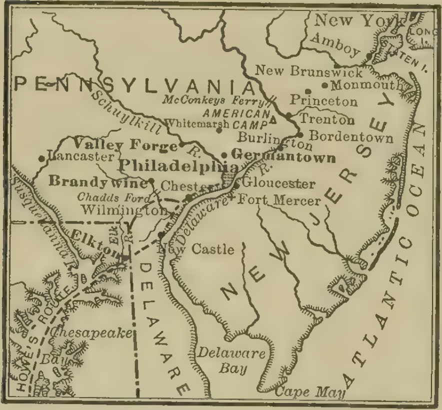
STEUBEN DRILLING SOLDIERS AT VALLEY FORGE

Washington's headquarters may be seen in the right background. This is a copy of Mr. Abbey's mural decoration in the Pennsylvania Capitol.

who suffered with Washington for the American cause at Valley Forge.

Yet amid their gloom the American army drilled steadily, getting ready for more effective fighting. They were greatly helped in this by Baron Steuben, a German soldier, who had offered his services to the American cause. Steuben was a fine drill master, and stiffened the backbone of the American army. He was a valuable aid to Washington.

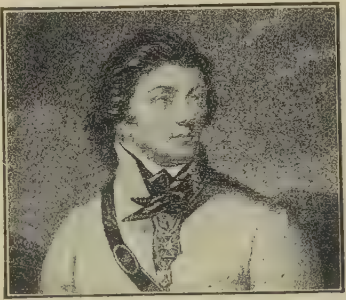

New York
LONG I.
Amboy
STATEN I.
New Brunswick
Monmouth
PENNSYLVANIA
Schuylkill R.
McConkeys Ferry
AMERICAN CAMP
Whitemarsh
Princeton
Trenton
Burlington
Bordentown
Valley Forge
Lancaster
Germantown
Philadelphia
Delaware R.
Brandywine
Chester
Gloucester
Chadds Ford
Fort Mercer
Wilmington
Susquehanna R.
Elkton
Elk R.
New Castle
NEW JERSEY
HOWE'S ROUTE
Chesapeake Bay
DELAWARE
Delaware Bay
Cape May
ATLANTIC OCEAN

Campaigns Around Philadelphia and Vicinity

Burgoyne's Invasion and Defeat. In 1777 the British had planned a new campaign in order to obtain control of the Hudson. An army under General Burgoyne (bûr goin′) was to come down from Canada, and General Howe, with his army, was to go up from New York and join him at Albany. Another army under St. Leger was to go by Lake Ontario to Oswego, take Fort Stanwix and come down the Mohawk. As we have seen, however, Howe took his forces to capture Philadelphia. His action left the American forces in the North free to go against Burgoyne.

Burgoyne, with about 8000 men, captured Ticonderoga without resistance (July 5, 1777). But the farther he got into the enemy's country the worse off he became. Schuyler (skī′lẽr), the American commander, with only 4000 men, put all kinds of difficulties in his way, destroying bridges, felling trees, and burning whatever the

British might be able to use for supplies. Burgoyne could hardly make a mile a day. He sent 800 men under Colonel Baum to capture some supplies at Bennington, Vermont. They were met by an equal force under General Warner and Colonel John Stark, and were cut to pieces (August 16, 1777), Baum losing his whole force. During this fight Stark is reported to have said, "Boys, we must beat them today or tonight Molly Stark is a widow." Stark was a veteran of the Seven Years' War and had fought at Bunker Hill and Trenton.



THADDEUS KOSCIUSKO

Kosciusko (kŏs′ĭ ŭs′kō) was a Polish patriot who served under Washington in the Revolution. For his valuable services to the American cause he received the thanks of Congress. Afterward he became the leader and defender of Poland in her struggle for independence. His unselfish patriotism secured for him the admiration of the whole world.

Burgoyne Surrenders at Saratoga. Burgoyne was now doomed. He had no hope of help from any source and his line of retreat to Canada was soon shut off. He attempted to cut his way out and save his army, but he was beaten at Bemis Heights by the skill and valor of the troops under Arnold and Morgan (September, 1777). He was defeated again at Saratoga in one of the "decisive battles of the world" (October 17, 1777). He was compelled to lay down his arms and surrender his entire army of 6000 men to General Horatio Gates, who had succeeded Schuyler.

This was the most important military event of the war. It was the turning-point in the struggle, for its immediate result was the alliance between France and America, and French aid was most important in bringing the war to a successful conclusion.

French Assistance. In 1776, Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee had been sent to France to ask aid. For a time the French held off to see if America would fight successfully for her independence. Burgoyne's surrender convinced them and they now came out openly on the American side.

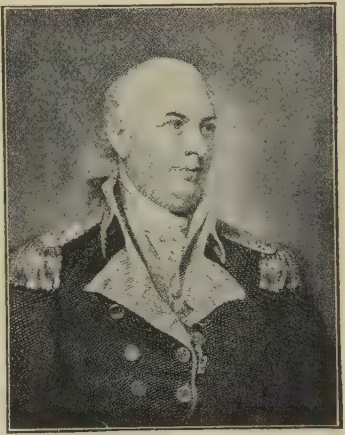
In February, 1778, therefore, France made a treaty of commerce and a treaty of alliance with America. In the treaty of alliance she recognized American independence, and as it was known that this would cause war between France and Great Britain, France agreed not to make peace until American independence was secured. In 1777, Lafayette had come to aid Washington, and the French now began to prepare a fleet and an army to fight Great Britain in America. The French king also loaned money liberally to the Americans.

After the French alliance with America, the British army evacuated Philadelphia. Their aim was to concentrate their forces at New York. They had to march across New Jersey, the State in which nearly two-thirds of the battles of the Revolutionary War were fought. On June 28, 1778, Washington attacked the British army at Monmouth. He might have won a decisive victory if General Charles Lee had not disobeyed and betrayed him on the field of battle. The outcome was a moral victory for the Americans as it had the effect of ending the fighting for a time in this region. Washington was now able to turn his attention to the greatly needed task of raising troops and supplies.

The Navy and the War. There was fighting on the sea as well as on the land. When the war began, America had no navy, but in December, 1775, Congress ordered thirteen ships of war to be built, and bought some merchant ships to be used as cruisers. Esek Hopkins became the commander-in-chief of the first American squadron.

As Hopkins stepped on the deck of his flagship, the *Alfred,* Lieutenant John Paul Jones raised the first flag ever hoisted on an American man-of-war. It was a yellow silk banner bearing a picture of a pine tree and a rattlesnake, with the motto "Don't tread on me." Hopkins' first squadron of eight vessels went to the Bahama Islands and captured several English forts and a stock of supplies.

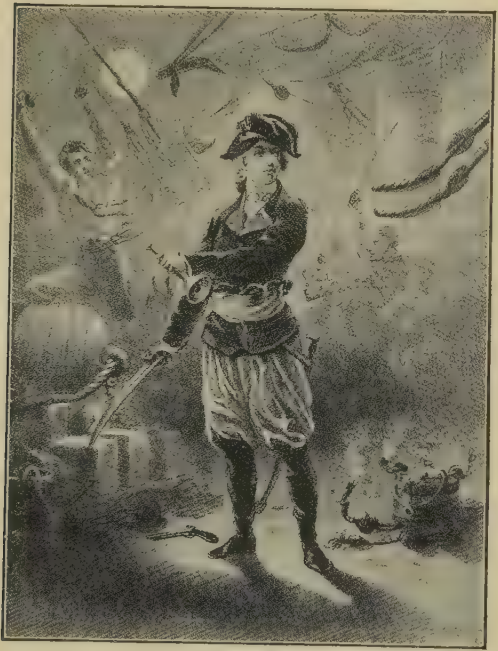
Captain John Barry. Captain John Barry, an Irish-American, was also one of our early naval heroes. In command of the *Lexington,* in 1776, he captured the *Edward,* the first ship ever taken by a commissioned officer of the United States Navy. In 1777 he captured a British warship in the Delaware. Later, when in command of the *Raleigh,* he made a daring escape from a British warship by running his vessel aground. In 1781, while coming from France in command of the *Alliance,* Barry was attacked by two British vessels, and at first was caught in a position where he could not use his batteries. Barry's flag was shot away and he was desperately wounded in the shoulder, but he bravely continued the fight and finally compelled both British ships to surrender. The last sea action of the war was fought by Captain Barry in the *Alliance.* His services were of great value in helping the United States win independence.



Captain John Barry

John Barry was born in Ireland in 1745. He came to America in 1760, settling in Philadelphia. He was a daring naval commander during the Revolutionary War. He became the first senior officer with the rank of Commodore after the reorganization of the navy in 1794. He died in 1803.

John Paul Jones and the Bon Homme Richard. When France joined America in the war, the naval situation improved. In addition to the aid of her navy France put John Paul Jones in command of the *Bon Homme Richard* (bŏn ŏm rē shär′). Jones gave this name to the vessel in honor of Dr. Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanac*, in which he had found the impressive maxim, "If you would have your business done, go; if not, send." Jones "bearded the British lion in his den" by sailing to the very coast of England where he scoured British waters for merchant vessels.

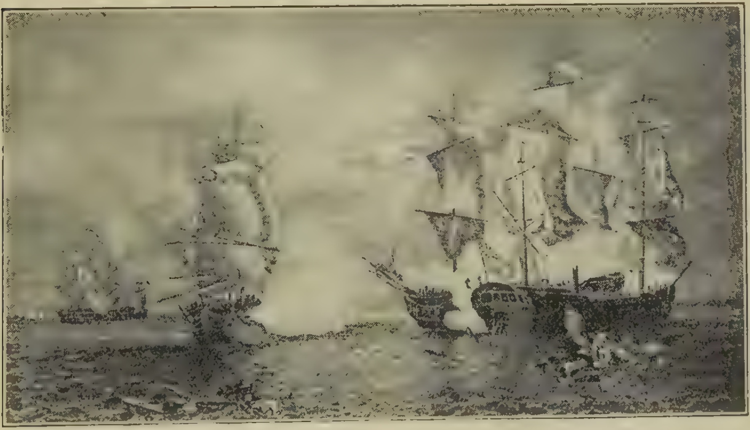


JOHN PAUL JONES BOARDING THE *Serapis*

This sea fight was "one of the most obstinate and murderous struggles recorded in naval history." The name of Captain John Paul Jones was upon every tongue. The King of France made him Knight of the Order of Merit and the Empress of Russia also conferred honors upon him.

Off the east coast of England he defeated the *Serapis* (sĕr′á pĭs) in one of the bloodiest sea duels in history (1779). Jones ran his vessel alongside the *Serapis* and engaged in a death struggle, hand to hand. The *Richard* was on fire, her decks were covered with blood, a shot pierced her hull under the water line, and water poured into the hold. When the

British commander hailed to know if the American ship had lowered its colors, Captain Jones replied, "I have not yet begun to fight." After two hours of desperate fighting some of Jones's men threw hand-grenades into the British vessel. This caused a powder explosion and the sailors were thrown into confusion. The British commander hauled down his flag with his own hand, but not until the *Richard* was so disabled that Jones had to transfer his men to the British vessel, and his own ship sank into the sea.



FIGHT BETWEEN THE *Bon Homme Richard* AND THE *Serapis*

Arnold's Treason. When the British left Philadelphia, Washington placed Benedict Arnold in command of that city, as Arnold had shown himself a brave officer in the war. While in command in Philadelphia, he was charged with dishonesty in several army contracts. His conduct led to a public reprimand from Congress. Feeling himself abused he planned the infamous course of selling himself and his country to the enemy. He asked Washington, who still had confidence in him, for the command of West Point, a fortress necessary to the control of the Hudson. Arnold was given the post, which he accepted with the intention of surrendering it to the British.

General Clinton appointed Major John André (ăn′drā) to arrange the business with Arnold, who was to have $30,000 for his treachery. André came disguised within the American lines, and Arnold gave him a pass to return and papers describing the fort and its defenses. André put these papers in his boots. On his way back to the British lines, however, he was captured by three Americans who refused to let him go, although André offered them money and his watch if they would do so. They disregarded his pass, searched him, and found the hidden papers. André was taken to the American lines, but the news was sent to Arnold and this gave the traitor a chance to escape.

Arnold went to the British, received pay for his treachery, and served for a while in the British army. After the war he lived in England and died in poverty, despised and scorned by all men. The Americans offered to exchange André for Arnold (whom they wished to hang), but the British refused and André was hanged as a spy.

NATHAN HALE STATUE

Nathan Hale was born in 1755 and was executed on Sept. 22, 1776. This statue stands in City Hall Park, New York City.

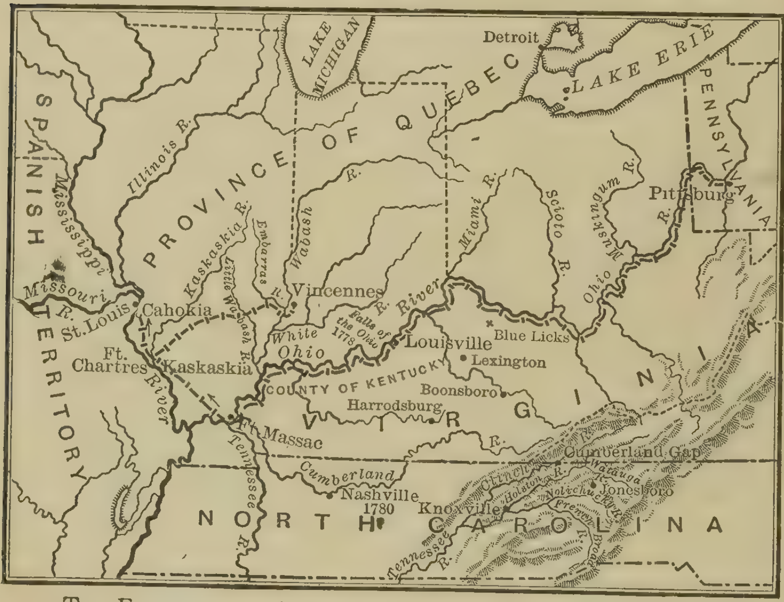
The Death of Nathan Hale. Another incident of the war stirred the people deeply. Just after Washington's retreat from Long Island he found himself in need of information from within the British lines. In response to a call Captain Nathan Hale, a young Connecticut school teacher, volunteered to obtain the desired information and received his instructions from Washington himself.

Hale entered the British Camp on Long Island, dressed some say as a farmer and others as a school teacher, and proceeded to take notes and to make plans and drawings. He was recognized, handed over to the authorities, and brought to General Howe's headquarters. He frankly admitted his errand and the next morning was executed as a spy. The circumstances of his death soon became known, and his dying words, "I only regret that I have but one life to give for my country," were echoed throughout the land.

The Struggle for the West. When England obtained the territory west of the Alleghenies, a proclamation was issued to prevent settlements there. The hardy frontiersmen paid no attention to the proclamation, if they ever heard of it. They pushed over the mountains to find new homes in the wilderness. In 1769 and 1770 Tennessee was settled by William Beane; John Sevier, James Robertson, and other pioneers. In 1775 Daniel Boone, one of the best known Indian fighters and frontier heroes in our history, led a party of settlers into Kentucky and founded Boonesboro and Lexington. These pioneers suffered the dangers of privation and massacre; they cleared the forest, made settlements that grew into cities, and became the builders of new States.

The Northwest and George Rogers Clark. From the old French forts north of the Ohio — Kaskaskia, Vincennes, and Detroit — the British encouraged the Indians to attack the frontier. George Rogers Clark, of Virginia, was commissioned by Patrick Henry, Governor of that State, to attack these forts and take possession of the country. Clark had been with Boone and was an able Indian fighter. With fewer than 200 men he floated down the Ohio from Pittsburgh, marched 100 miles across the swampy prairies and took Kaskaskia, on the Mississippi in southwestern Illinois.

Vincennes (vĭn sĕnz′) was also gained, but Colonel Hamilton, the British commander at Detroit, with a force

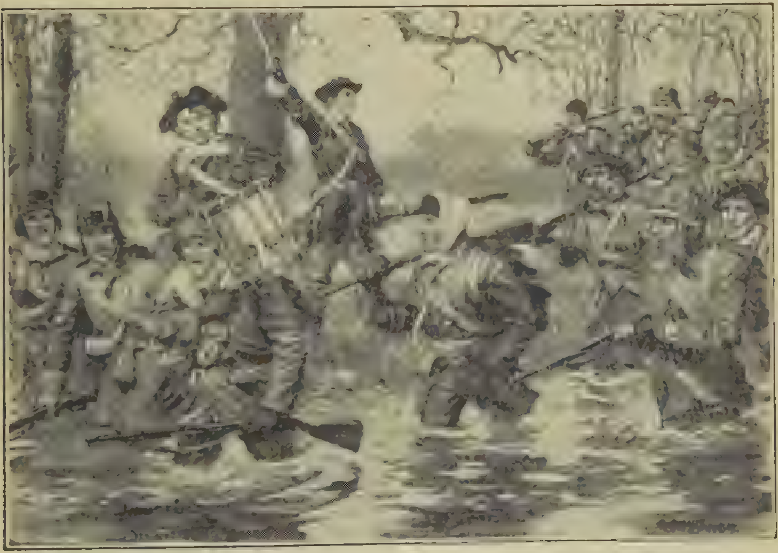

Detroit
LAKE MICHIGAN
LAKE ERIE
PROVINCE OF QUEBEC
PENNSYLVANIA
SPANISH TERRITORY
Mississippi
Missouri R.
Illinois R.
Kaskaskia R.
Little Wabash R.
Embarras R.
Wabash
R.
Miami R.
Scioto R.
Muskingum R.
Pittsburg
Ohio
Vincennes
Cahokia
St. Louis
Ft. Chartres
Kaskaskia
River
White
Ohio
Falls of the Ohio 1778
River
Louisville
Blue Licks
Lexington
COUNTY OF KENTUCKY
Boonsboro
Harrodsburg
VIRGINIA
R.
Ft. Massac
Tennessee R.
Cumberland
Nashville 1780
Knoxville
Cumberland Gap
Clinch R.
Holston R.
Watauga R.
Nolichucky R.
Jonesboro
French Broad R.
Tennessee R.
NORTH CAROLINA

The Expedition of George Rogers Clark to the Northwest

Clark's expedition made the Mississippi River the western boundary of the United States at the close of the Revolution.

of 500 men recaptured that place. When the news reached Clark he marched promptly from Kaskaskia in the dead of winter. He led his force of a little over a hundred men to the attack through the flooded lands of the Wabash valley. For days at a time the men were without food, and were often knee-deep and sometimes chin-deep in icy water. By such heroic endurance Clark surprised the garrison at Vincennes and won the town after a fight (1779). This expedition gave America military possession of the Northwest and aided her to obtain the Mississippi as her western boundary when the time came to make a treaty of peace.

The War in the South: Yorktown. In the meantime important events were taking place in the South. After a series of mingled victories and defeats the American forces under General Greene and others compelled the British forces in the South to retire to the three seaport cities, Wilmington, Charleston, and Savannah.

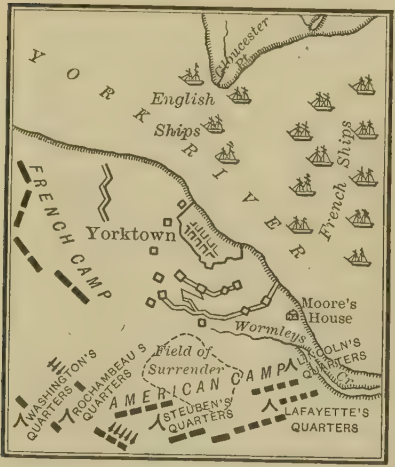


George Rogers Clark Heading an Expedition into the Northwest

The end was now near at hand. Cornwallis went to Virginia, fortified Yorktown, and settled down to await reinforcements. He was soon entrapped. The French fleet under De Grasse sailed up the Chesapeake in September. The French troops at Newport joined Washington at New York, and the united armies marched rapidly southward to cut Cornwallis off by land, leaving

Clinton in the belief they intended to attack New York. The French fleet drove off the British ships, and Cornwallis, finding himself surrounded by land and sea, surrendered his entire army of 7000 men, October 19, 1781.

The Treaty of Peace. The surrender of Cornwallis virtually ended the war. When Lord North heard the news he exclaimed, "It is all over! It is all over!" The King saw that he would have to make peace and recognize American independence. Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay were sent to Paris to make a treaty with the agents of the King.

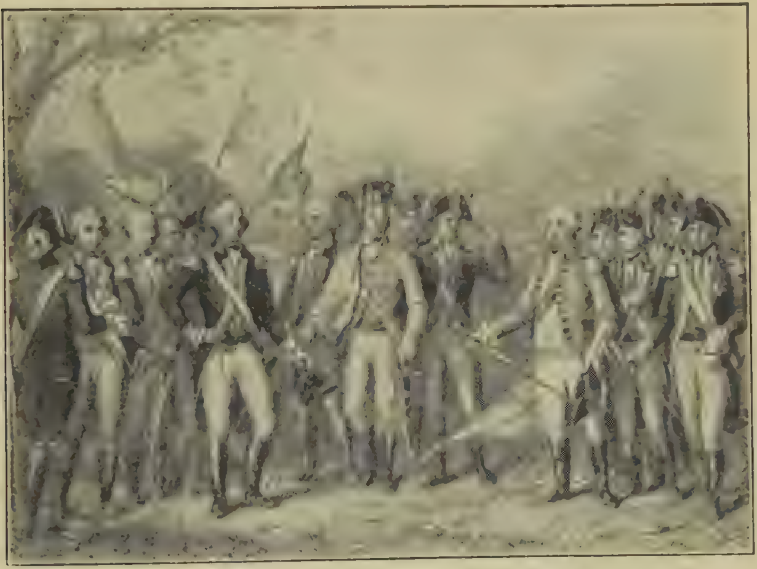

YORK RIVER
English Ships
French Ships
Gloucester Pt.
Yorktown
FRENCH CAMP
Moore's House
Wormleys Cr.
Field of Surrender
AMERICAN CAMP
WASHINGTON'S QUARTERS
ROCHAMBEAU'S QUARTERS
STEUBEN'S QUARTERS
LINCOLN'S QUARTERS
LAFAYETTE'S QUARTERS

Map of the Siege of Yorktown

Showing how the British were hemmed in by the French and American forces.

The American representatives were instructed to make no treaty without the consent of France; but they became convinced that France did not wish to secure for America a good boundary on the west and that they could obtain a better treaty by themseleves. "Would you break your instructions?" said Franklin to Jay. "Yes, as I break this pipe," said Jay, as he threw his pipe against the grate. A preliminary treaty was signed November 30, 1782.

The final treaty was made in 1783. Its terms were very favorable to America, for the British were eager to detach America from France and were ready to agree to generous terms. By the treaty (1) the independence of the United States was recognized; (2) the boundaries of the new country were fixed at the Great Lakes and Canada on the north, the Mississippi on the west, and Florida on the south, at 31° north latitude; (3) the United States was to have fishing rights on the banks of Newfoundland; (4) the Mississippi was to be open to both nations; (5) Congress was to recommend to the States that their laws permit the collection of the debts due to British merchants in America and that the property taken from the Tories be restored; and (6) the western forts were to be surrendered to American control.



THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS, YORKTOWN, VA., OCT. 19, 1781

The Army Disbands: Washington Retires to Mt. Vernon. In the closing days of the war Washington gave renewed evidence of his great and noble spirit. After Cornwallis's surrender Washington had led the army to Newburgh on the Hudson, to await the coming peace. The army had been neglected. The soldiers were unpaid and were about to be dismissed to their homes, many of them in want and destitution, with the memory of their victories and their scars as their only reward. While the army was feeling the injustice and ingratitude of this treatment, a paper was distributed, known as the "Newburgh Address," urging the soldiers not to disband until they had forced payment for their claims.

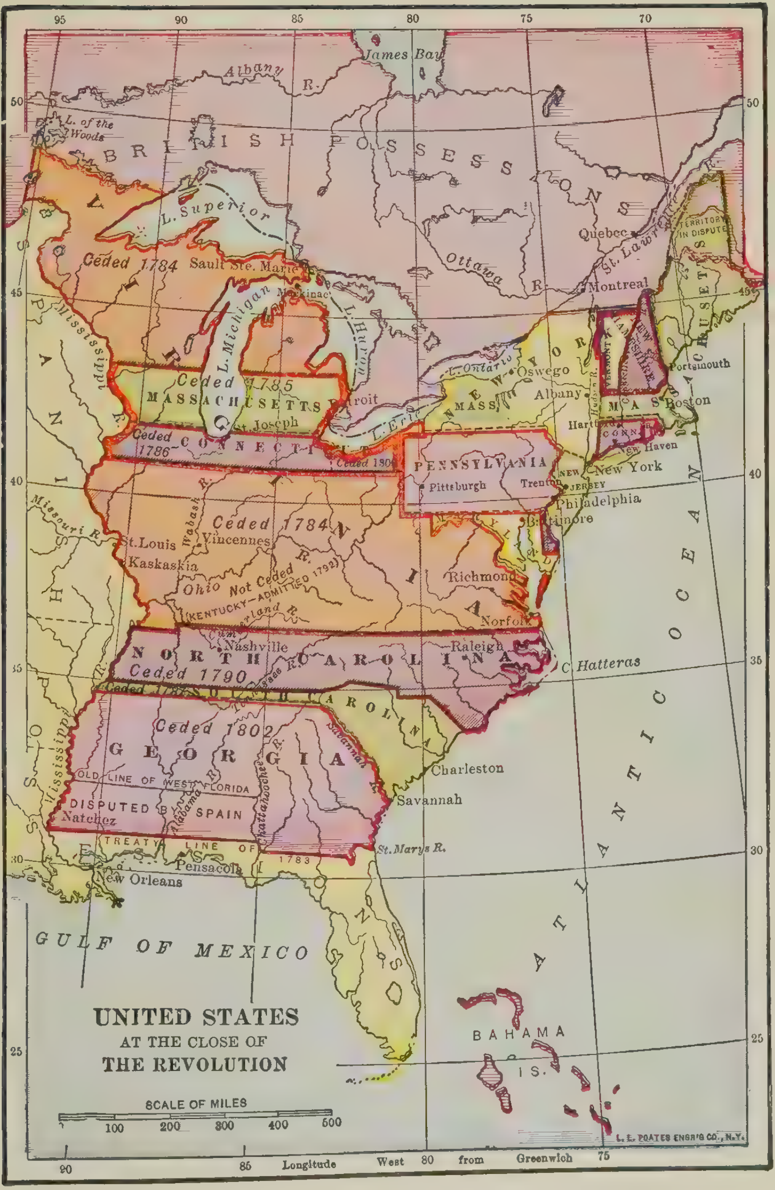
In this crisis Washington appealed to the officers to remember the liberty of their country and the honor of the service, and to have confidence in their Government. He promised to try to get fair pay for the soldiers. He himself had served without pay, receiving only his necessary expenses. In a meeting with the officers he remarked, as he put on his spectacles, "My eyes have grown dim in the service of my country, but I have never doubted her justice." His appeal touched the hearts of all. Congress voted the soldiers full pay for five years in government certificates, and with these and the gratitude of their country the Revolutionary soldiers went to their homes. Washington resigned his command into the hands of Congress at Annapolis and went to his beautiful home at Mt. Vernon, where he said he "would rather live in quiet retirement than be the emperor of the world."

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. What were Americans fighting to secure before 1776? What were they fighting for after that date? Explain clearly and give proofs for your answers.

2. Explain the British plans for the war. What did they need to do in order to gain the victory? What seems to have been the main plan of the Americans? What did they need to do in order to win the struggle? Explain.


BRITISH POSSESSIONS
James Bay
Albany R.
L. of the Woods
L. Superior
Ottawa R.
Quebec
Montreal
St. Lawrence
TERRITORY IN DISPUTE
Ceded 1784
Sault Ste. Marie
Mackinac
L. Michigan
L. Huron
Ceded 1785
MASSACHUSETTS
St. Joseph
Detroit
Ceded 1786
CONNECTICUT
Ceded 1800
L. Erie
L. Ontario
Oswego
Albany
NEW YORK
MASS.
VERMONT
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MASS.
Portsmouth
Boston
Hartford
CONN.
R.I.
New Haven
New York
NEW JERSEY
Trenton
PENNSYLVANIA
Pittsburgh
Philadelphia
Baltimore
MARYLAND
DEL.
VIRGINIA
Richmond
Norfolk
Ceded 1784
Wabash R.
Vincennes
St. Louis
Kaskaskia
Ohio R.
Not Ceded (KENTUCKY-ADMITTED 1792)
Cumberland R.
Nashville
Tennessee R.
NORTH CAROLINA
Ceded 1790
Raleigh
C. Hatteras
Ceded 1787
SOUTH CAROLINA
Charleston
Savannah R.
Savannah
Ceded 1802
GEORGIA
OLD LINE OF WEST FLORIDA
DISPUTED BY SPAIN
Natchez
Alabama R.
Chattahoochee R.
St. Marys R.
TREATY LINE OF 1783
Pensacola
New Orleans
EAST FLORIDA
WEST FLORIDA
SPANISH POSSESSIONS
Mississippi R.
Missouri R.
LOUISIANA
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BAHAMA IS.
SCALE OF MILES
100
200
300
400
500
95
90
85
80
75
70
50
45
40
35
30
25
Longitude West 80 from Greenwich
L. L. POATES ENGR'G CO., N.Y.

UNITED STATES
AT THE CLOSE OF
THE REVOLUTION

3. Describe Burgoyne's campaign. What was its purpose? Had Burgoyne carried out his plan, what effect would his success probably have had on the outcome of the war? Why did he fail? Tell why the battle of Saratoga is considered the "most important military event of the war."

4. Why did the French enter into an alliance with the Americans? What help did France give during the war?

5. Tell the story of American naval victories. Did Great Britain lose command of the sea at any time? What difference did it make who had control of the Atlantic? Explain.

6. What did Clark accomplish in the West? Tell the chief result of his campaign.

7. Explain the circumstances that forced Cornwallis to surrender at Yorktown.

8. State the provisions of the treaty of peace. How were the Americans able to secure such favorable terms? Which of the provisions impresses you as likely to cause difficulty in the succeeding years? Why?

THINGS TO DO

1. Follow one of the military leaders through the war, indicating the course of his activities by a red line drawn on an outline map. Select one of these men: Washington, Lafayette, Greene, Clark, or Cornwallis. Secure information in the Readings given on page 198, or, better, read about the military career of the man you choose in a biography you may find in your school or public library.

2. List in parallel columns the main services of each of the following during the Revolutionary War: George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and Patrick Henry. Copy the form below and fill in the columns:

Washington	Franklin	Jefferson	Adams	Henry

3. Make a list of the foreign officers who fought on the American side. Indicate the nationality of each man and give the reasons, so far as possible, that caused him to enlist.

4. Act out before the class a scene from the life of your favorite Revolutionary character. Speak no words, and do not name the person you represent. Other members of the class write down the name of each character and the episode shown. At the end of the dramatizations each pupil name the individuals represented and the scenes pictured. Check the lists and see how many characters and episodes you named correctly.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "Revolution," *The Book of the United States,* 109–127.
2. "Robert Morris, Financier of the Revolution," *Makers of Our History,* 37–50.
3. "George Rogers Clark, Winner of the West," *ibid.,* 80–97.
4. "Report of the Battle of Princeton," by George Washington, in *Source Book of American History,* 149–151.
5. "Hard Fighting at Saratoga," *ibid.,* 154–157.
6. "A Ballad on Cornwallis," *ibid.,* 159–160.
7. "Betsy Ross," *Women in American History,* 30–39.
8. "Molly Pitcher," *ibid.,* 47–54.
9. "John Paul Jones, Born Fighter," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia,* 5: 1900–1901.
10. "The War That Won America's Freedom," *ibid.,* 6: 3000–3005.
11. "Nathan Hale," *America First,* 161–165.
12. "The Bravery of Elizabeth Zane," *ibid.,* 165–169.
13. "Capturing the Hessians," *ibid.,* 169–172.
14. "How Lafayette Came to America," *ibid.,* 172–177.
15. "Captain Molly Pitcher," *ibid.,* 181–184.
16. "Marion, the Swamp Fox," *ibid.,* 184–188.
17. "The Execution of Major André," *ibid.,* 206.
18. "How the Northwest Was Won," *ibid.,* 216–221.
19. "The Revolutionary War," *America the Great Adventure,* 133–140.

LOOKING BACKWARD

A. A TRUE-FALSE TEST

Write on your papers the numbers 1 to 20 to correspond with the numbers of the statements given below. Write "true" after the numbers of statements which are true; write "false" after the numbers of statements which are not true

1. George III was King of England at the time of the American Revolution.
2. The colonists wanted to be taxed only by their own colonial legislatures.
3. Great Britain tried to force the colonies to carry on trade with other nations.
4. Parliament taxed the colonists in order to secure money to help pay governmental expenses in England.
5. The British army was stationed on American soil to protect the colonists from the Spanish.
6. The Continental Congress was organized to declare war on Great Britain.
7. The first fighting of the Revolutionary War was at Lexington on April 19, 1775.
8. When the Revolutionary War began, the colonists were fighting for their rights as Englishmen.
9. George Washington was elected commander-in-chief of the American army by vote of the people.
10. The Declaration of Independence declared that people had the right to set up governments over themselves.
11. Before 1776 most Americans did not want to be independent of Great Britain.
12. The Americans were all opposed to the rule of the King of England.
13. Virginia led the movement for independence.
14. The Declaration of Independence was signed after the treaty of peace was made with Great Britain.
15. France refused to aid the Americans in the Revolutionary War.

16. The war in the North resulted in a long series of victories for the Americans.

17. The United States gained the Northwest because of the expedition of George Rogers Clark.

18. The British gained control of the Hudson River as the result of Burgoyne's invasion.

19. Cornwallis surrendered his army to George Washington at Yorktown in 1781.

20. The final treaty of peace with England was signed in 1783.

B. HISTORICAL TERMS

The terms given below appear in the story, "The Winning of Independence." Copy the sentences which follow, filling each blank with the correct word or words from the list given below.

Parliament
Stamp Act
Continental Congress
minute-men
Whigs
Tories
Hessians
Declaration of Independence
defensive
offensive
alliance
spy
treaty of peace
campaign

1. Representatives from all the colonies made up the ______.

2. The law-making body in England is called ______.

3. The ______ was an act of the British Parliament which placed a tax upon the colonists.

4. A ______ is a series of military operations.

5. One who enters an enemy's lines to get information is a ______.

6. The people in America who stood out against the Parliament and the King were called ______.

7. The German soldiers which Great Britain hired to fight in the American Revolution were called ______.

8. A formal agreement for friendly relations between two nations that have been at war with one another is called a ______.

9. The army making an attack is on the ______.

10. The Americans who stood ready to fight on a moment's notice during the Revolutionary War were called ______________.

11. The people in the colonies during the Revolution who stood by the King and Parliament were called ______________.

12. An army defending its position against an attacking enemy is on the ______________.

13. ______________ was a document which declared the colonies to be free and independent.

14. An agreement by which two countries promise to stand together is called an ______________.

C. IMPORTANT PERSONS

The persons whose names are given below were individuals who were famous during the American Revolution. Copy the statements which follow, filling each blank with the proper name.

James Otis
Patrick Henry
Samuel Adams
Thomas Jefferson
General Burgoyne
John Paul Jones
Nathan Hale
George Rogers Clark
Paul Revere
George Washington
Thomas Paine
Robert Morris
Benedict Arnold
George III
Lord Cornwallis

1. ______________ made a famous speech against the Writs of Assistance.
2. ______________ was commander-in-chief of the Continental Army.
3. ______________ was King of England.
4. ______________ was a traitor to his country.
5. ______________ wrote pamphlets which stirred the colonists to fight for their independence.
6. ______________ raised money to support the Continental Army.
7. ______________ made a famous ride to arouse the minutemen to prepare for a British attack.

8. ______________ was a hero of the American navy during the Revolution.

9. ______________ was a member of the Massachusetts Assembly who wrote the circular letter setting forth the American principle of self-taxation.

10. ______________ was an American soldier executed by the British as a spy.

11. ______________ conquered the Northwest.

12. ______________ was the British general who surrendered at Saratoga.

13. ______________ was the British general who surrendered at Yorktown.

14. ______________ was an orator who aroused the Virginia assembly against the Stamp Act.

15. ______________ wrote the Declaration of Independence.

D. IMPORTANT DATES

Copy the events listed below, placing the correct date before each event.

1. ________, The Stamp Act was passed.

2. ________, The Battles of Lexington and Concord were fought.

3. ________, The Declaration of Independence was signed.

4. ________, The British surrendered at Saratoga.

5. ________, The Treaty of Peace ending the Revolutionary War was signed.

PART FOUR

ESTABLISHING A NEW GOVERNMENT

ESTABLISHING A NEW GOVERNMENT

The success of the Americans in the Revolution proved that the States could unite when war forced them to do so. But could they maintain an effective union in time of peace? For many years the matter seemed doubtful.

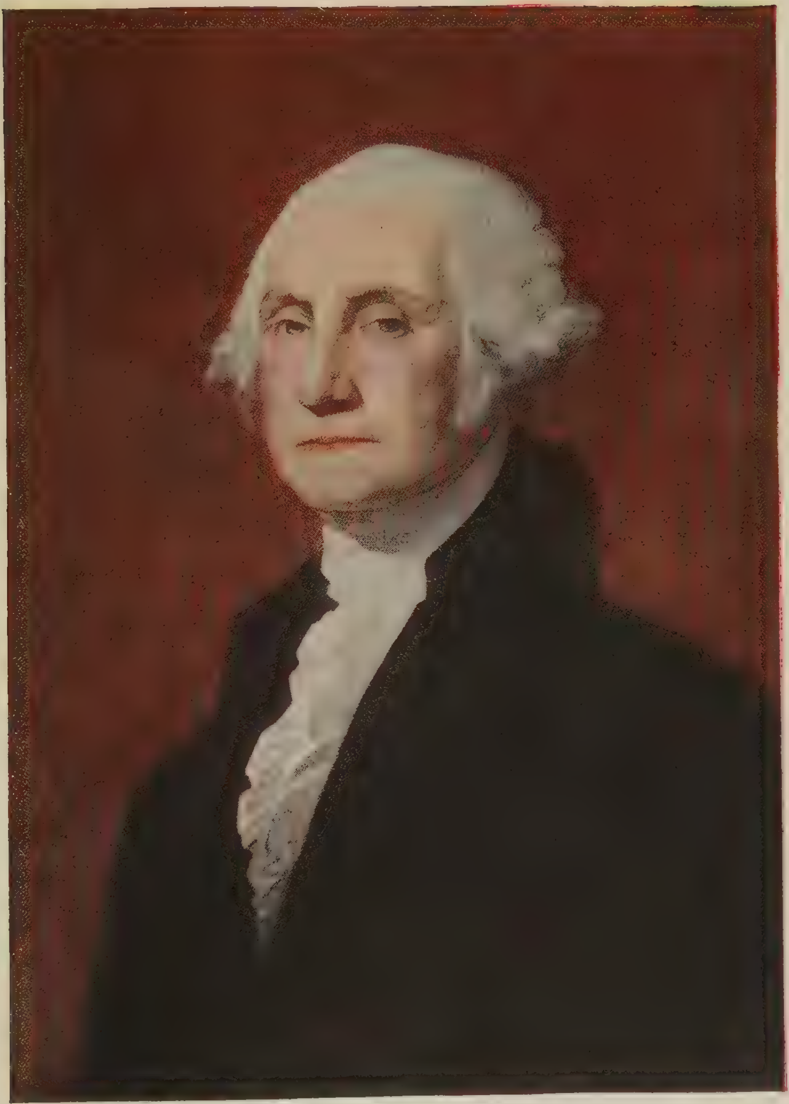
The States cherished their dearly bought independence and were reluctant to give real power to a central government. They did not want to allow the United States even to raise an army or to collect taxes. The union which existed among them was hardly worthy of the name; Washington spoke of it as "a rope of sand." Quarreling was common, and there was great danger that the States would fall apart entirely.

At last a convention was called to see what could be done, but the prospect seemed dark. The delegates from the different States could not agree and some of them went home in disgust. The condition of the country was so bad, however, that the convention dared not give up.

At last a Constitution was drafted which the convention accepted even though no delegate was entirely satisfied with it. The Constitution provided for a strong United States Government. After prolonged discussion the States accepted the document, and it became the supreme law of the land.

To put the new government into operation, officials had to be elected and courts established. Plans also had to be made for paying the debts of the country and for enforcing the laws made by Congress.

An even more difficult problem was presented by the situation in Europe. France and England, at war once more, disregarded American rights to the freedom of the seas. To protect these rights, the new nation entered upon another conflict. Although the war did not settle the questions in dispute, it helped to strengthen the new National Government. It also made the American people begin to think of themselves as *one nation.*



George Washington

PART FOUR

ESTABLISHING A NEW GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER XI

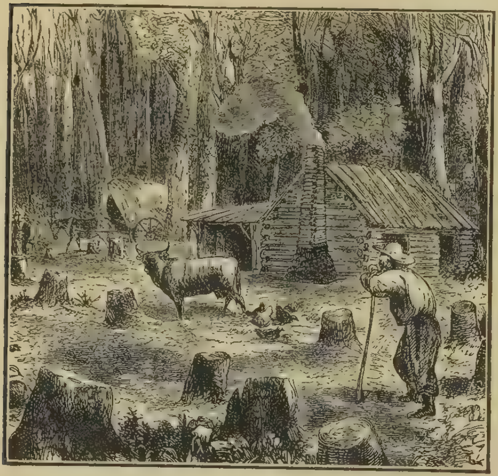
THE BEGINNINGS OF UNION

The Struggle for a Government. The Revolutionary War was over. The people of the colonies, having united for the struggle, had defended their rights and won their independence. Could they govern themselves? Now that the danger from England was removed, would the States continue to stand together? Or would they become so jealous and distrustful of one another as to be unable to live together in peace? Could the new nation preserve order, protect property, provide for commerce, and continue to defend itself from foreign foes?

Such were the questions that the American people had to face at the end of the Revolutionary War. The next great task was to form a government strong enough to maintain order, prevent disunion, provide for the common defense, and secure for themselves and their children the blessings of the liberty which they had won.

Union in Colonial Times. It is usually said that the English colonies in America became united during the American Revolution. This is true in one sense, but it is also true that from the first they were part of the British empire and were therefore united in it. In addition, they were drawn together in the New World by common experiences, problems, dangers, and ideals, and from time to time acted together when faced by common perils.

For a long time after the founding of the colonies, however, they were not bound together in an *American* union of any sort. In 1765 there was no greater political union between Massachusetts and Maryland than there was between New York and Quebec. The governments of the colonies were not united, and there were no railways, steamboats, or telegraph lines to connect them. Few newspapers were published as yet, and the mail system was slow and unsatisfactory. The country contained few good wagon roads and almost no bridges, aside from trees which the pioneers had felled across the small streams. Settlers living in distant colonies could not come together and talk over matters of common interest. While this state of things continued there could be little union among the colonies.



A Clearing in the Wilderness about 1770

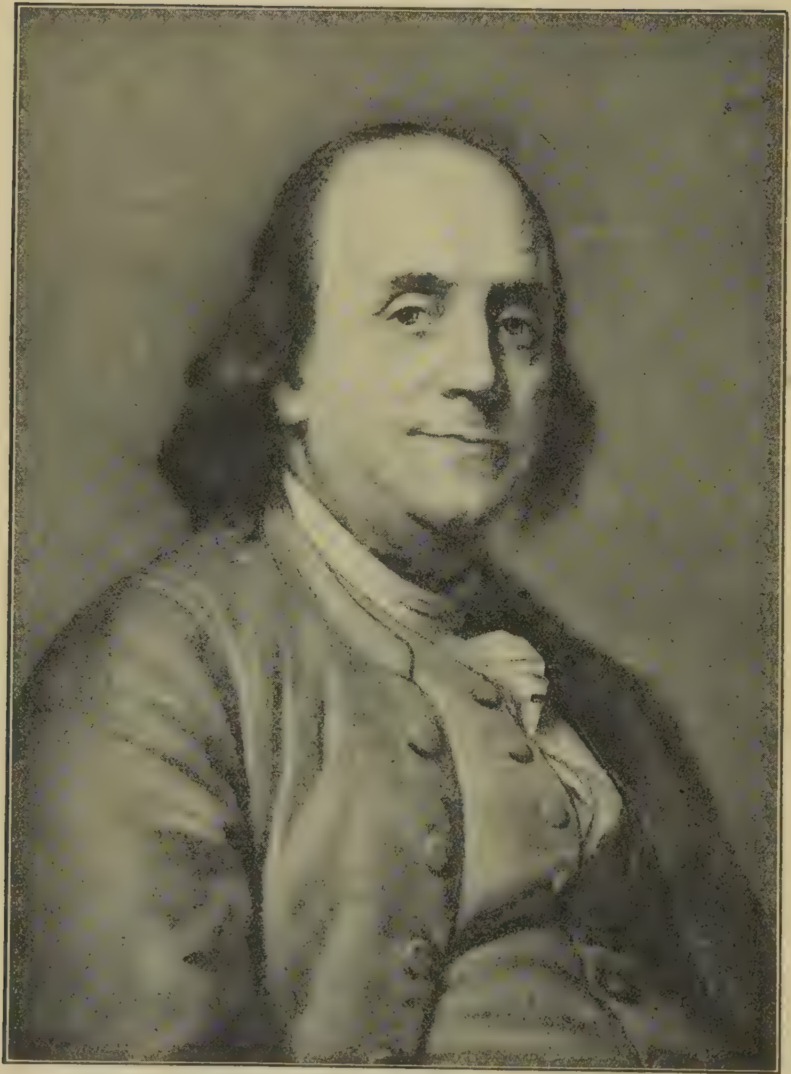
As time passed, however, great changes took place. Population grew, means of communication improved, and the colonists began to feel drawn together. They claimed the rights and privileges of Englishmen and in this idea itself a bond of union existed.

Plans of Union in the Colonial Days. As the colonies grew, the distances between them became less. Roads and means of communication developed and the settlers understood each other better. They also saw that they had many interests in common. The King was taking away their charters and threatening their liberties, while the French on the north and west were looking at them with hostile eyes. The Indians also were sullen and sometimes warlike. In such circumstances they began to think of uniting for their common defense. Virginia became the natural leader of the South and Massachusetts of the North, while Pennsylvania and New York were prominent among the middle colonies.

Plans of union were suggested from time to time. The New England Confederation of 1643 (page 87) was the first of these plans and served as a model for many which followed. This union was to protect the colonies from the Indians and also from the Dutch. When New Netherland became New York (1664), the Dutch ceased to be a danger and one cause for union disappeared. In the following years disagreements arose among the members, and the Confederacy finally came to an end (1684).

Difficulties of course stood in the way of colonial union. Each colony was jealous of its rights and privileges and did not want to allow a central or outside government to exercise authority over its citizens. Each colony wished to govern itself and to manage its own affairs in its own way. Moreover, each colony was proud of its past, and was opposed to entering any arrangement that might end its existence as a separate community.

Franklin's Plan, 1754. When war with the French seemed likely in 1754, however, the more thoughtful Americans saw that some kind of union was necessary. The King also wished the colonies to unite, as he saw that a war with the French and the Indians was near at hand. Accordingly, in 1754, Benjamin Franklin, who was perhaps the leading man in America at the time, drew up a plan of union.

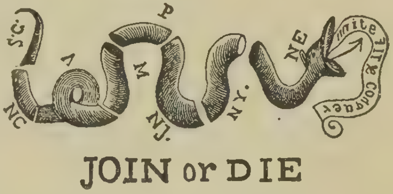


Benjamin Franklin

Franklin early favored a union of the Colonies (1754); he was a signer of the Declaration of Independence; and he helped to make the Confederation of 1781, the Peace Treaty of 1783, and the Constitution of 1787.

The plan was very simple and left most of the power in the hands of the various colonies. It provided for a central or general government which was to have charge of all matters of common interest such as wars, dealings with the Indians, and the control of public lands lying outside any colony. Each colony was left free to manage its private and local affairs as it had been doing and as the States of the American Union now do. The plan was excellent and should have been adopted, but it was rejected.

The plan was submitted to a convention of delegates from seven of the colonies held at Albany in 1754, was approved by them, and was then sent to the various colonies for adoption. Although a great war was about to begin and every one saw the need of a union of some kind, the plan was rejected both by the colonies and by the King. The colonists thought that the arrangement gave too much power to the King, and the King thought that it gave too much power to the colonists. It thus proved impossible to please the King and the people at the same time.



Franklin's Snake

Steps toward Union during the Struggle with England. When the difficulties with the mother country arose, the colonists were drawn together as never before. As we have already seen, the passage of the Stamp Act caused nine of the colonies to send delegates to a Congress in New York in 1765 to determine the course to follow. Eight years later, at the suggestion of Virginia, Committees of Correspondence were formed to enable the colonies to co-operate against the British policy. (See page 159.) In 1774 the Five Intolerable Acts caused twelve of the colonies to send representatives to the First Continental Congress, and the following year all were represented in the Second Continental Congress. (See page 160.)

With the coming of the war and the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, some kind of union was necessary if the Americans were to win the conflict. Accordingly, by general consent, authority was given to the Continental Congress, which led the colonies through the Revolution and stood for their united efforts.

The Continental Congress, however, is not to be thought of as a lawful governing body. It was, instead, a "revolutionary government." That is, there was no law for calling it together, and no written document telling what it could do or what powers it could exercise. It discussed affairs and decided what ought to be done, but it had no power to carry out its decisions. It was the best means the colonies had of acting together in matters relating to foreign affairs and the war, and the people were wise and patriotic enough to follow its leadership. They knew it could tell better what ought to be done than could the legislature of any single colony. Only in this way could the colonies present a united front to the enemy.

The Causes of the Union. The colonists had a common foe, common dangers, and common interests. These reasons led them to unite and to accept most of the things the Continental Congress did. They felt that they must stand together or they would be defeated. They believed that if they were defeated some of the colonists might be hanged as rebels. It was therefore to their interest to act together.

There were other influences also which made it natural for them to unite. The colonists were mainly Englishmen. They were of the same race, and spoke the same language. They were mostly of the same religion, and their governments were much alike; they claimed the same rights, and they had, for the most part, the same political ideas and institutions. When they came to face the same dangers, it was but natural, therefore, that their leading representatives should meet and act together in Congress, and that the people in the colonies should be guided by the advice of these leaders.

The People Were Governed by the States. Although the Continental Congress could not make laws, nor collect taxes, nor control the people, we must not think that the people were without government during the Revolutionary War. They believed in law and order and good government. They elected legislatures; they made laws and obeyed them; they had taxes to pay; they had officers and civil courts to guard property and protect civil rights.

But all these activities were carried on within the States, as they had been within the colonies before independence. The people did not think of looking to the Continental Congress for government; they looked to their own States. Upon the outbreak of war with Great Britain the Congress advised the people to form new State governments and they proceeded to do this. Between 1776 and 1781 all the States (having ceased to be colonies) adopted new constitutions, except Rhode Island and Connecticut, which slightly changed the charters they had had as colonies and then continued to use them as constitutions, Connecticut till 1818, and Rhode Island till 1842.

Fundamental Provisions of the State Constitutions. Each of the State constitutions formed during the Revolutionary War provided for the following:

1. A representative government in three departments — legislative, executive, and judicial.

2. A "Bill of Rights," guaranteeing civil liberty — that is, free speech, free press, freedom of religion, the right of public meeting, fair trial by jury, protection of life and property, freedom from arrest without just cause, and freedom from cruel punishments.

3. A legislature of two houses, except in Pennsylvania and Georgia, where there was only one house. The principal powers of the States were placed in the legislature, and, usually, the governor and other officers, as well as the judges, were elected by it. Officers elected by the people generally had short terms.

4. All the State constitutions contained methods of amendment. It was recognized that the supreme power of making or amending a constitution was in the people of the State. The supreme power had passed from the King and Parliament to the people.

Thus the States had set up complete State governments, each for itself and independent of one another, nearly four years before they agreed upon definite terms of national union, and about ten years before the Constitution of the United States was formed. We should remember, however, that some kind of national union was recognized as existing under the Continental Congresses and even in early colonial times.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. The colonies were parts of the British Empire and were therefore united in it. Explain the preceding sentence.

2. The colonies were not bound together in an *American* union. What does this sentence mean? Give illustrations.

3. Were the colonies closer together in 1750 than in 1650? Point out facts to support your answer.

4. Did the removal of the French from North America tend to unite the colonies or to cause them to drift farther apart? Explain.

5. Describe Franklin's plan of union of 1754. Why was it rejected?

6. What steps toward union were taken between 1765 and 1775? Which was the most important? Why? Why was progress toward union rapid during these years?

7. How did the adoption of the Declaration of Independence make a union of the colonies necessary?

8. Where did the Continental Congress get the power to do the various things it did? What do you consider its most important act? Give reasons.

THINGS TO DO

1. Make a list of the forces that tended to draw the colonists together and a list of the influences that tended to keep them apart. Put your answer in parallel columns, thus:

Forces for Union	Forces for Separation

2. Make as complete a list as you can of the activities of the Second Continental Congress. Mention three things our National Government does today that the Continental Congress did not do.

3. Give a floor-talk, explaining in detail one of the early plans of union described in one of the Readings listed on page 214.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "New England Confederation," *The World Book Encyclopedia,* 8: 4913.

2. "Albany Convention," *ibid.,* 1: 182.

3. "Committees of Correspondence," *ibid.,* 3: 1585.

4. "Continental Congress," *ibid.,* 3: 1644–1645.

5. "How the United States Began," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia,* 8: 3592–3593, 3602.

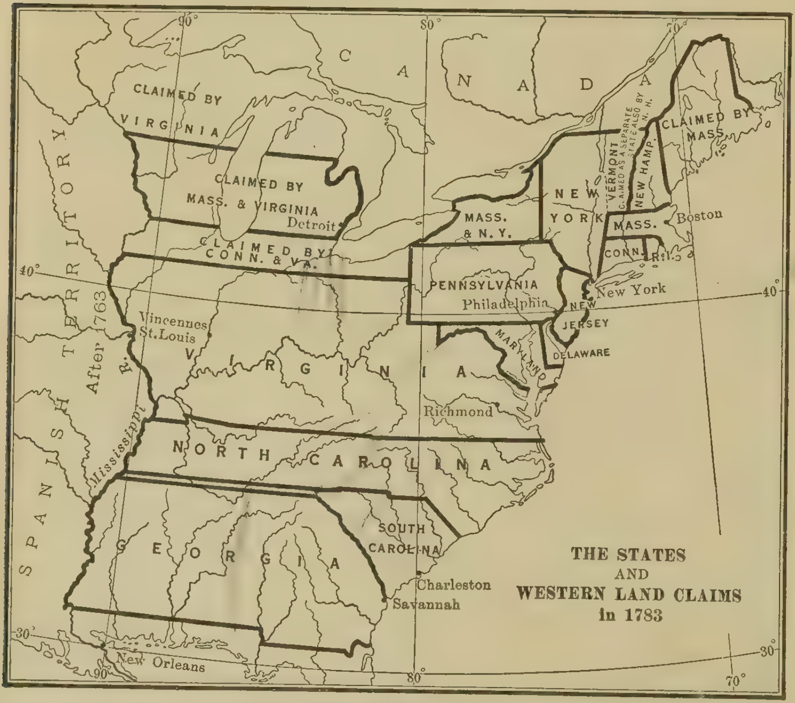
CHAPTER XII

THE CONFEDERATION AND ITS FAILURE

Forming the Confederation. The Second Continental Congress had been in session for less than a year before most of the members felt that a definite union of the colonies should be formed. This feeling grew stronger and stronger as talk of independence became common. The delegates generally felt that union and independence should go together, that one depended on the other. On June 12, 1776, the very day that a committee of the Continental Congress was appointed to draft a Declaration of Independence, another committee was also appointed to draw up "Articles of Union." This committee, consisting of one member from each State, reported the Articles of Confederation on July 12, 1776. The Articles were not to go into operation until every State had consented to the plan. This consent was not given until March 1, 1781, when the arrangement went into effect.

Reasons for Delay in Forming the Union. Why were the States so slow in forming the Union? There were several reasons. The States wanted to be independent even of one another. They were jealous for their rights and liberties. They did not wish to give up any of the powers that they had exercised all through colonial times. People thought of themselves as Virginians and Pennsylvanians rather than as Americans.

The chief cause that delayed the acceptance of the Articles, however, was a dispute over the western lands. Several States claimed that their western boundaries extended to the Mississippi. The small States, having no such claims, argued that the unsettled lands in the West should be owned by the United States, and sold to pay the debts of the war. The Articles of Confederation


90°
80°
70°
40°
30°
CANADA
CLAIMED BY VIRGINIA
CLAIMED BY MASS. & VIRGINIA
Detroit
CLAIMED BY CONN. & VA.
SPANISH TERRITORY After 1763
Mississippi R.
Vincennes
St. Louis
VIRGINIA
Richmond
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
Charleston
Savannah
GEORGIA
New Orleans
MASS. & N. Y.
PENNSYLVANIA
Philadelphia
NEW YORK
VERMONT CLAIMED AS A SEPARATE STATE ALSO BY N. H.
NEW HAMP.
CLAIMED BY MASS.
MASS.
Boston
CONN.
R.I.
New York
NEW JERSEY
MARYLAND
DELAWARE
THE STATES AND WESTERN LAND CLAIMS in 1783

Claims to Western Lands

The boundaries of the States had not been carefully surveyed in 1783. Some of the States laid no claim to western lands, while others made claims indicated on the map. These were based chiefly on charters and on grants from the Indians. Maryland refused to ratify the Articles of Confederation until assured that these western lands would be ceded to the National Government. Most of these lands were turned over to the United States in a few years after the adoption of the Articles. In this way the eastern States were reduced to their present boundaries.

contained no provision concerning the western lands, and Maryland stood firm and refused to ratify them until all the States that claimed lands in the West promised to give them to the United States.

We owe Maryland a great debt of gratitude for her insistence, because the control of this western territory by Congress has been an important influence in promoting union and nationality. In order to induce the claiming States to give up their lands, Congress passed a famous resolution (October, 1780), promising that all lands turned over to the General Government " should be disposed of for the common benefit of the United States and be settled and formed into States and become members of the Union with the same rights as other States." Here was the beginning of our national policy in the making of new States.

Important Defects in the Articles of Confederation. As soon as the western lands were promised to the General Government and Maryland had ratified the Articles of Confederation, they went into operation, but they contained defects that were so serious that a strong union was impossible under them. Let us notice their main defects and some of the disorders that arose while they were in operation.

The Articles did not provide an effective governmental organization. There was no President to *execute* the laws, and no court system to *apply* them.

The powers of the Government were also inadequate. Congress was not authorized to make any laws.[1] It could declare war and make peace, enter into treaties with foreign powers, coin money and borrow money; but it could not make nor enforce laws. The States were supreme. "Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power not *delegated* to Congress." As a result Congress could deal only with the States, not with individuals. This was probably the chief defect of the Articles.

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[1] A State could send from two to seven delegates to Congress, but each State had only one vote. Nine States were required to carry important measures. When only ten States were represented in Congress, as often happened, two States could defeat a measure. The minority could thus control the majority, or could prevent action. The delegates were elected by the States, were paid by the States, and could be recalled by the States; and they could serve only three years at a time.

Lack of Powers. Several of the most necessary powers of government were not "delegated" to Congress:

1. *Congress had no power to raise money.* It could not collect a dollar by taxation. All it could do was to request the States to pay their share in meeting expenses. The States did as they pleased about paying and they usually chose not to pay what was asked for. In consequence, Congress could not pay the debts of the country. It could not even pay the soldiers for their patriotic services. Foreign nations refused longer to trust the United States and the credit of the country was nearly ruined. The "continental money" was now entirely worthless.

2. *Congress had no power to regulate commerce.* If Congress could have regulated commerce, it could have raised money by import duties. But the States regulated their own trade with foreign countries and among themselves. They were beginning to take advantage of one another and to become rivals. Duties were levied on goods carried from State to State. New York taxed garden truck and dairy products coming from New Jersey, and firewood from Connecticut. In return, New Jersey taxed a New York lighthouse on the Jersey shore $1800 a year.

New Jersey had objected to the Confederation in the first place because the control of commerce had been left with the States. Madison compared that State to "a cask tapped at both ends," and North Carolina to "a patient bleeding at both arms." These two States had no good seaports. The imports their people used were brought in at the ports of other States and the tariff tax their people paid went into the treasuries of other States. Consequently, they wanted Congress to regulate commerce for all the States alike. Then the States could be protected from the trade laws of other countries. Thirteen independent legislatures could not act together to secure good terms for trading with foreign nations.

3. *Congress did not have power to prevent the States from issuing paper money.* All kinds of paper money were issued by the States, much of it of no value. As a result, trade was greatly hindered at home.

4. *Congress could not enforce treaties.* Since Congress could not enforce laws, it could not carry out the treaties that it had made with other countries. In 1783 we had agreed with Great Britain that all debts due British merchants might be recovered by law and that the States should be asked to pay for the property that had been taken away from the Tories. But the States made laws preventing the collection of such debts and also refused to pay the Tories. Accordingly, Great Britain accused us of violating the treaty and said she had a right to hold the western posts, Oswego, Niagara, Erie, Detroit, and Mackinac, which she had agreed to give up. Congress could do nothing about it.

5. *Congress had no power to raise men for military purposes.* It could only *request* the states to contribute soldiers for the general defense in case need arose.

Difficulty of Amendment. The Articles could be amended, or changed, only by the consent of all the States. This meant that, no matter how defective the Articles might prove in operation, nothing could be done to remedy them unless all the States agreed to the proposed change.

During the years that followed the adoption of the Articles, numerous efforts were made to amend them, but all such attempts failed. On two occasions amendments were agreed to by twelve of the States, but in each instance one State refused to give its consent and the amendments therefore failed.

The Soldiers' Mutiny and Shays' Rebellion. A serious defect in the Confederation was that Congress had no power to preserve order. This is the most important duty of a Government. While the army of the Revolution was disbanding, some half-drunken soldiers broke out in mutiny. They marched to Philadelphia, threw stones at the place where Congress was meeting, and threatened to seize the members or to break into the bank for their pay. The incident was a disgraceful insult, but Congress could do nothing to protect itself from violence. After a fruitless appeal to the State of Pennsylvania for protection, Congress fled to Princeton, New Jersey, where it could continue its sessions in peace and safety. This experience was one of the principal reasons why, under the new Constitution, Congress was given exclusive control over its place of meeting.

The times were becoming hard. The people were importing more goods than they were exporting. The result was that the gold and silver money was being taken from the country to pay for goods bought abroad. This increased the demand in some of the States for paper money. Farm lands, cattle, and products were taken for taxes, mortgages were foreclosed, and sometimes men were thrown into prison for debt. Riots and disorders occurred in various parts of the country. In western Massachusetts nearly 2000 farmers arose in insurrection under Daniel Shays, a captain in the Revolutionary War. They sought to close the courthouse and to stop suits against debtors, and they attacked the arsenal at Springfield. The State militia was called out and after a few months the insurrection was suppressed (1786–1787).

More Power to Congress. The General Government had no power to aid Massachusetts to put down this uprising. It was seen that an insurrection might become too powerful for a single State to handle. Congress must have more power. At any rate, it must be given authority to tax the people, regulate commerce, and keep order.

Washington, Hamilton, Madison, and other leading men were writing to one another about these things. Washington said, "We are one nation today and thirteen tomorrow." The States had formed a "league of friendship," but they had not formed a national government, with power to govern. Matters were going from bad to worse. The Union was becoming "a rope of sand," and it could not have lasted much longer under the Confederation. There was only a band of States, loosely united, not a nation. The States had in them the *making of a nation.* They were one people in many ways, but they had not yet become a real nation nor formed a national government. More unity, a better constitution, and a *central government with power,* were vital needs for the growth of the nation.

The Ordinance of 1787. The Congress of the Confederation, weak as it was, passed one of the most important measures in our history, the famous Ordinance of 1787. This was an act, passed on July 13, 1787, to provide civil government for the Northwest Territory, the country north of the Ohio River, east of the Mississippi, west of New York and Pennsylvania, and south of the British possessions, now composing the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan, a larger territory than any country in Europe, except Russia.

The Ordinance provided: (1) that slavery should be forever excluded from the territory; (2) that "schools and the means of education should be forever encouraged"; (3) that no one who behaved himself should ever be "molested on account of his mode of worship or religious belief"; (4) that a "bill of rights" granting civil liberty to the citizens should be guaranteed. These great provisions for free soil, free schools, a free church, and free men made the Ordinance justly famous. They also helped to induce settlers to buy land and to build free States in the new territory.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. What problem did the Americans face as soon as they adopted the Declaration of Independence?

2. Who drew up the Articles of Confederation? By whom were they ratified? Tell when they went into operation.

3. Why did Maryland refuse at first to ratify the Articles of Confederation? Why do we owe her a debt of gratitude for her attitude?

4. Explain the main defects of the Articles. Which two seem the most serious to you? Give reasons.

5. Which of the disputes with the mother country between 1763 and 1773 concerned the use of powers by Parliament which were not granted to Congress in the Articles? Did the States deny to Congress the powers that they refused to recognize as belonging to Parliament? Explain.

6. Why is the Ordinance of 1787 generally considered one of the greatest laws ever passed in the New World?

7. For a volunteer: Find out how the Northwest Territory was to be governed, according to the Ordinance of 1787, and compare the method provided with that followed in Alaska

today. How would the mode of government affect the incoming of settlers?

THINGS TO DO

1. Write a short composition on *one* of these subjects:
    - *a.* If the States had not united.
    - *b.* Difficulties in carrying on commerce in the days of the Confederation.
    - *c.* Shays' Rebellion.
    - *d.* Why the years from 1781 to 1788 are called the "critical period."

2. Draw or suggest a cartoon to show the trouble that would have resulted if the States had failed to unite.

3. The Articles of Confederation contained many defects. The defects could be removed only by amending the Articles. Amendments could be made only with the consent of all the States. In no instance had all the States been willing to consent to an amendment. Suggest a way or method, if possible, by which a better union could be brought about under such circumstances.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "One Nation or Thirteen," *The Book of the United States,* 128–136.
2. "Life in Congress," *Source Book of American History,* 164–166.
3. "The History of the Northwest Ordinance," by Manasseh Cutler, *ibid.,* 169–172.
4. "An Experiment," *America the Great Adventure,* 141–143.
5. "The West and the Ordinance of 1787," *ibid.,* 186–189.
6. "The Articles of Confederation," *The Book of Knowledge,* 5: 1696–1697.
7. "The Articles of Confederation," *The World Book Encyclopedia,* 1: 432–433.

CHAPTER XIII

MAKING THE CONSTITUTION

The Union under the Articles of Confederation seemed hardly worthy of the name. It was clear that some better plan of union must be found. There was no provision for collecting taxes, enforcing treaties, or preserving order. The States seemed to be falling apart and it looked as if there might be thirteen little independent States in America instead of a real nation strongly united.

The States constantly quarreled with one another, Maryland and Virginia over the oyster beds on their shores, and Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey over lighthouses and duties on imports. Each State managed commerce in its own way. The planters of the South shipped abroad their tobacco and rice from their own docks on their rivers and received in return such imports as they wished; they did not want any central government to interfere with their trade. Several of the States cared so little about what Congress did that they often sent no delegates to that body, and it was often impossible to obtain enough members in Congress to transact any business. The Central Government was so weak and wobbly it seemed

> Built upon the fundamental thesis
> That the first business of government was
> to tumble to pieces.

The leading men of the country saw that the Union would soon "tumble to pieces" unless something was done. Washington clearly expressed the need for a stronger government. A conference was held at his home in Mount Vernon to consider the condition of the country. Madison induced his State of Virginia to call a convention in Annapolis in 1786 to give some real power to the Central Government, but there was so little interest in this convention that only five States were represented. Nothing was done, but Madison and Hamilton, who were there, persuaded the convention at Annapolis to ask Congress to call another convention of all the States to meet during the following year (1787).

INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA

This is a night view of the hall in which the Second Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence. Here also the Constitutional Convention met in the summer of 1787.

Congress consented to call such a convention to meet in Philadelphia in May, 1787. This was the most important convention that ever assembled in America. All the States were represented except Rhode Island. America's ablest men were there. Washington became president of the convention, and from May to September the delegates discussed the kind of government they thought the country ought to have. The meetings were held in secret. Each State had one vote in deciding questions as under the Confederation. The outcome of the labors of the convention was our present Constitution.

Madison, "The Father of the Constitution." James Madison of Virginia, who was afterwards President, has been called the "Father of the Constitution," because he did more than any other man to bring the convention about, and no one had a more important part in its proceedings. Besides, it is to Madison that we are indebted for the best account of the convention and its work.

INTERIOR OF INDEPENDENCE HALL

Madison came to the convention determined to keep a record of the debates. He secured a seat near the center of the hall, took notes of what the members said, and sat up at night to write out his notes. The task meant hard work, but in this way a "Journal of the Convention" was preserved. Fifty years later, in 1836, when Madison died, his widow, Dolly Madison, wrote to President Jackson calling attention to the "Journal," which her husband had left her in his will. President Jackson secured $30,000 from Congress and bought the manuscript and other "Madison Papers" for publication. The *Journal*, which is one of the most important books on American history, is our chief source of information about the convention.

Franklin, "The Sage of the Convention." The convention had many conflicts and hot debates. Several times it seemed as if the gathering would break up without accomplishing anything. Franklin, then eighty-one years of age, was a member from Pennsylvania; by his wit, wisdom, and good humor he did much to keep the peace. He pointed out that the members were sent to the convention to *consult*, not to *contend*, and that declaring a fixed opinion in a stubborn determination never to change one's mind would neither enlighten nor convince any one else. On another occasion, when the prospect of an agreement seemed dark, he asked that the convention be opened with prayer, reminding the members that in the contest with Great Britain "we had daily prayer in this room for Divine protection." "I have lived, sir, a long time," he added, "and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of this truth—*that God governs in the affairs of men.* And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid?"

Franklin earnestly urged the members to reach an agreement by giving up something, each side to the other. "When a broad table is to be made," he said, "and the edges of the planks do not fit, the artist takes a little from both and makes a good joint. In like manner, both sides here must part from some of their demands in order to make a good union." He told the members that it was *light* not *heat* that was needed in the debates. No doubt the members were greatly influenced by the spirit of Franklin. It was such wisdom and patriotism that made the Union possible; it was such a spirit of mutual compromise and willingness to yield on points of difference that held the convention together and enabled the delegates to make the Constitution.

Shall a National Government Be Formed? Through all the debates a contest took place between the *national* idea and the *federal* idea, between those who wanted to form a National Government and those who wanted to retain a government like the Confederation, in which the States were supreme. All agreed that more power must be given to Congress; but the men from the small States insisted that this could be done without changing the character of the government. The delegates from the small States agreed that Congress should regulate commerce and lay a duty on imports, but they wanted to make the Central Government dependent upon the States.

The convention was called only to amend the Articles of Confederation, but it took a bold step and decided to throw the Articles aside and to ask the people to adopt a new government possessing real powers. Some delegates feared that the people would not approve their work, but Washington said that instead of trying to please the people the delegates should go ahead, raise the proper standard, and do their best to make a government that they themselves could approve. He believed the people would adopt what seemed best for the country, and the result showed that Washington was right.

The "Great Compromises." Almost every conclusion reached was the result of the spirit of meeting one another halfway. For this reason the Constitution has been called a "series of compromises." Three important compromises deserve notice:

1. The first was *between the large States and the small States.* Two main "Plans" were submitted to the convention, the "Virginia Plan" favored by the large States, and the "New Jersey Plan" favored by the small States. The "Virginia Plan" proposed a national government, with two houses of Congress and proportional representation, in accordance with the population or wealth of the various States. The "New Jersey Plan" proposed a confederate government, with one house of Congress and equal representation for the States. If votes were to be given to the States in proportion to their population or their wealth, the largest State would have sixteen times as much power as the smallest.

The small States were afraid of losing their independence under such a plan. Accordingly, they insisted upon having an equal share of power such as they had under the Confederation. The result was the "Connecticut compromise," proposed by the delegates from that State, which provided that there be proportional representation in one house of Congress and equal representation in the other. As a result, the States are represented equally in the Senate, each State having two votes; and according to population in the House of Representatives, the votes varying today from forty-five in the case of New York to one in the case of Nevada. The Senate, therefore, represents the *confederate* idea, in which the States are represented, while the House of Representatives stands for the *national* idea, in which the people rather than the States are represented. Thus the new Government was to be a Government of the States as well as a Government of the people.

2. The second compromise was *between the slave States and the free States.* In counting the people to find out how many representatives each State should

have, the Southern States wished all the slaves included. The Northern States said that none of the slaves ought to be counted, any more than northern property like horses and cattle. The North was willing to count the slaves for direct taxes, but not for representatives. The South took exactly the opposite view. Finally an agreement was reached that "taxation and representation should go together" in the Constitution as they had gone together in the Revolution, and that in allotting representatives and direct taxes three-fifths of the slaves should be counted.

3. The third great compromise was *over the slave trade and the regulation of commerce.* Most of the States, both North and South, wanted the slave trade abolished; but Georgia and South Carolina said that if this were done they would not adopt the new Constitution. The commercial States wanted Congress to have full power over commerce. The agricultural States were afraid Congress would interfere with their exports. After much debate a bargain was at last made. The commercial States agreed that the slave trade should be permitted to continue for twenty years (till 1808) and the agricultural States consented that Congress might regulate commerce by a majority vote, but that duties should be equal in all ports and that no tax should ever be laid on exports.

The convention also decided to provide Federal Courts to interpret and apply the law. Later we shall see the importance of this provision.

In addition to the difficulties caused by the foregoing problems, the convention had a hard time in deciding *how to choose the president.* All kinds of suggestions were made. Should he be elected by Congress? Or by the State legislatures? One suggestion was that he should be chosen *by lot* from a list proposed by Congress.

Some delegates thought it would not do to have Congress choose the president because they believed that the departments of government should be kept separate, and that plan would make the *Executive* depend upon the *Legislative* division of government. The delegates thought it would not do to let the people choose the president, because the people were not competent and they would know nothing about the leading men of the country. One delegate said, "You might as well refer the choice of colors to a blind man as to refer the choice of the president to the people." Finally the convention hit upon the plan of the Electoral College, by which legislatures of the several States should provide for the choosing of Electors, wise men who would know best what to do. These men should choose the person they thought best fitted to be president. We shall see later how this plan worked — or did not work.

Several of the members disliked the completed Constitution so much that they refused to sign it or to recommend it to the people. In the last hours of the convention, Franklin referred again to the obstinate habit of never giving up in a dispute. He mentioned a "certain French lady who, in a dispute with her sister, said, 'I don't know how it happens, sister, but I meet with nobody but myself that is always in the right.'" Madison relates that while the last members were signing the Constitution, Franklin, looking towards the president's chair, at the back of which a rising sun happened to be painted, observed to a few members near him that painters had found it difficult to distinguish in their art a rising from a setting sun. "I have," said he, "often and often, in the course of the sessions, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that behind the president, without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun."

Ratifying the Constitution. After the convention had finished its work and the members had signed the Constitution, the document was referred to the States for their approval. As soon as nine States should ratify it, the Constitution was to go into operation for these States. State conventions were called to consider the Constitution. The people were not well informed as to what they were asked to adopt, for the sessions of the convention had been secret. (Hamilton, Madison, and Jay wrote articles for the newspapers,) explaining and defending the Constitution. These articles were later published in a book called *The Federalist;* it is one of the best works ever written on the Constitution and the science of government.

Most of the small States accepted the Constitution readily but in several of the large States, like Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia, hard contests took place. Hamilton defended the Constitution in New York, Madison and Marshall in Virginia, while a number of the best known men in the country, like Patrick Henry, James Monroe, and George Clinton, opposed the Constitution in their States. The opponents objected to the new Constitution, they said, because the old Confederation had been abandoned instead of being merely amended; because the document contained no "bill of rights," or because the president might become a king, or the Government too strong, or the rights of the States might be destroyed. Finally, all objections were overcome, and by the middle of 1788 eleven States had ratified the Constitution and the new Government was assured.[1]

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[1] North Carolina did not ratify the Constitution until 1789, nor Rhode Island until 1790. New Hampshire was the ninth State to ratify, June 21, 1788.

How the Constitution Remedied the Defects of the Confederation. The Constitution was made to remedy the defects of the Articles of Confederation. Let us see how this was done.

1. Three departments of government were created instead of one: *(a)* a Legislature (Congress) to make the laws; *(b)* an Executive (the president) to enforce the laws; and *(c)* a Judiciary (the courts) to interpret or apply the laws.

2. The powers needed for real government were given to Congress: *(a)* to raise money by taxation; *(b)* to regulate commerce; *(c)* to provide for the enforcement of the laws. The United States was now to have courts and law-enforcing officers, and was to deal with individuals rather than States.

3. Certain powers were taken away from the States: *(a)* to coin money; *(b)* to make anything but gold and silver coin a legal tender in payment of debt; *(c)* to lay import duties; *(d)* to pass laws violating contracts. These powers were no longer to be exercised by the States. All other powers not given to Congress were left to the States.

4. Amendments to the Constitution were to be made by a two-thirds vote of each house of Congress and by ratification by three-fourths of the States.

The Constitution the Supreme Law of the Land. The most important change came in making the Constitution supreme. The Constitution and the laws and treaties made in harmony with it were declared to be the "supreme law of the land." The laws of the States were now to be in harmony with the Constitution. If a State passes an act contrary to the Constitution, the courts declare it *null* and *void,* meaning that the measure is not law and that no one is bound by it. If the citizens of a State resist the laws of the United States, the

National Government proceeds against them as citizens in insurrection.

Such action could not have been taken under the Confederation. Only a State could act upon its citizens directly and call out force to control them. But when the Constitution was adopted the people became citizens of the United States as well as of the States, and they had to obey the laws of the United States as well as the laws of the State in which they lived. This was a great change and it was very important in promoting the growth of the nation. The laws of the States were to be supreme in all powers that belong to the States, and the national laws were to be supreme in all powers that belong to the United States.

National Rejoicing. When the news spread throughout the country that the "new roof" had been accepted, there was great rejoicing among the friends of the Constitution. The 4th of July, 1788, was celebrated with bonfires and processions. In New York there was a parade, and a great float representing the "Ship of State" was drawn through the crowded streets amid loud huzzas for Washington, Hamilton, and the other statesmen who had helped in the great work. The first experiment or trial at union had failed and a new experiment was now to begin. The "Old Confederation" had gone down, but the people hoped that a stronger and nobler Union had arisen to take its place. They were launching *The Constitution,* a new *Ship of State,* for her trial trip.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. For what purpose was the constitutional convention held? What powers did it have? How were its members selected?

2. Who was chosen president of the convention? Why? For what reasons were the meetings held in secret and the members pledged to silence on what went on during the sessions?

3. What is our chief source of information concerning what went on in the convention? Why is it important to know what was said in the sessions?

4. Tell the part played by Franklin in the making of the Constitution; the part played by Madison; the part played by Washington.

5. Explain the three "Great Compromises." In each instance state the issue involved, the way the members of the convention divided on the issue, the reasons for the attitude of each side, and the decision reached. Point out also how each decision was a *compromise*, making clear what each side secured and what each side gave up.

6. What difficulties arose over the presidency? Tell why the convention did not provide for the election of the President by popular vote.

7. What provisions for ratification were included in the Constitution? (See page xiv.) Was the arrangement in harmony with the Articles of Confederation? Explain the connection between this exercise and No. 3 on page 223.

8. Why was the Constitution opposed by such men as Patrick Henry, James Monroe, and George Clinton? Do their reasons, in whole or in part, seem sound to you? Explain.

9. What would probably have become of Rhode Island and North Carolina had they not ratified the Constitution? Could they have continued as members of the "Old Confederation"? Explain.

10. In your opinion, what would probably have occurred if the Constitution had not been ratified?

11. Open the book at page 217 and read aloud, one by one, the main defects of the Articles of Confederation. As you read, tell how each defect was removed in the Constitution.

12. Turn to the Constitution (page v), read the Preamble carefully (it is worth memorizing), and examine the nature of the contents of each of the seven articles into which the Constitution is divided. Then, during the class period, talk over the Constitution with the document before you, telling what each article deals with, and commenting on features that especially interest you or raising questions about them.

DRAMATIZATION

Dramatize the Constitutional Convention. Choose three pupils to act as a Committee on Arrangements to select members of the class to represent such delegates to the convention as George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, Roger Sherman, William Paterson, James Wilson, John Dickinson, Robert Morris, Edmund Randolph, Elbridge Gerry, George Mason, and Charles C. Pinckney. The Committee on Arrangements also plan the various scenes in the convention, the election of Washington as President, the debates over the questions that led to the Great Compromises, and the signing of the Constitution. Each of the pupils who is to represent one of the characters mentioned above prepare his own speech. Choose a Committee on Details to provide the "stage setting," to determine the order in which the speeches are to be given, and to take charge of all other matters that require attention. For aid in preparing for the dramatization, consult Fiske's *Critical Period in American History*, McMaster's *History of the People of the United States*, Hart's *American History as Told by Contemporaries*, McLaughlin's *The Confederation and the Constitution*, Madison's *Journal of the Convention*, and the references in the Readings in the Class Library.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "The Great Document," *The Book of the United States*, 136–143.

2. "Objections to the Constitution," by George Mason, in *Source Book of American History*, 172–175.

3. " The Constitution Advocated," *ibid.*, 175–178.

4. " The New Roof," by Francis Hopkinson, *ibid.*, 178–180.

5. " The Father of the Constitution," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia,* 5: 2106–2108.

6. " The Constitution of the United States," *America the Great Adventure,* 143–155.

7. " How the United States Is Governed," *The Book of Knowledge,* 5: 1787–1793.

8. " Constitution of the United States," *The World Book Encyclopedia,* 3: 1631–1634.

9. " The Federalist," *ibid.*, 4: 2389.

CHAPTER XIV

STARTING THE NEW GOVERNMENT

Would the New Government Succeed? The new Government possessed powers. With a Congress of two houses, a President, and a Supreme Court, all working together, it might become an efficient and vigorous Government. But it was purely an experiment. How the new Government was to work, how it would meet the needs of the nation, whether the States would resist the exercise of its powers and seek to withdraw from the Union or support it in the use of its authority — all this was to appear in that part of the history of the nation on which we are now entering.

A Poor Beginning. The old government of the Confederation was dead, but the new one under the Constitution was not ready to take its place. New York had been chosen as the temporary seat of the Government, and it had been decided that the new Constitution should go into effect on the 4th of March, 1789. It was necessary, however, to elect a President, Vice President, senators and representatives, and to make other preparations before the new Government could go into operation.

All this had not been done by the appointed time. Things moved slowly in those days. The roads were poor, water travel was slow, and the mails crept along at a snail's pace. When the appointed time arrived, therefore, neither house of Congress had enough members present to begin business, and the electoral votes for President and Vice President could not be counted as the Constitution required.

Only a few members of the House of Representatives were on hand on the 4th of March. By the first of April, however, a majority had reached New York. The House was then called to order, a Speaker was elected, and that branch of Congress was ready for the transaction of business.

The senators were somewhat slower in arriving, but on the 6th of April a majority of them, too, had reached New York. Both branches of Congress were now ready for business. The vote of the Electoral College was counted (April 6) and George Washington and John Adams were officially declared elected President and Vice President of the United States. Every elector had voted for Washington.

On the following day a messenger set out for Mount Vernon to notify Washington of his election, and a few days later the President-elect started for New York to assume the duties of his new office.

Washington Becomes President. Washington's journey from Mount Vernon to New York was like a triumphal procession. The people turned out everywhere in enthusiastic gatherings to do honor to the first citizen of the United States. At Alexandria he was entertained at a public dinner; a guard of honor escorted him through Baltimore; the governor of Pennsylvania, accompanied by a party of citizens and soldiers, met him at the State line and escorted him to Philadelphia; here he passed under triumphal arches; at New York he was met by gayly-bedecked boats of every description, and military salutes were fired in his honor. Governor Clinton, accompanied by senators, representatives, and other officials, met him at the wharf, and that night the city was ablaze with bonfires and its streets were thronged with dense crowds of merrymakers.

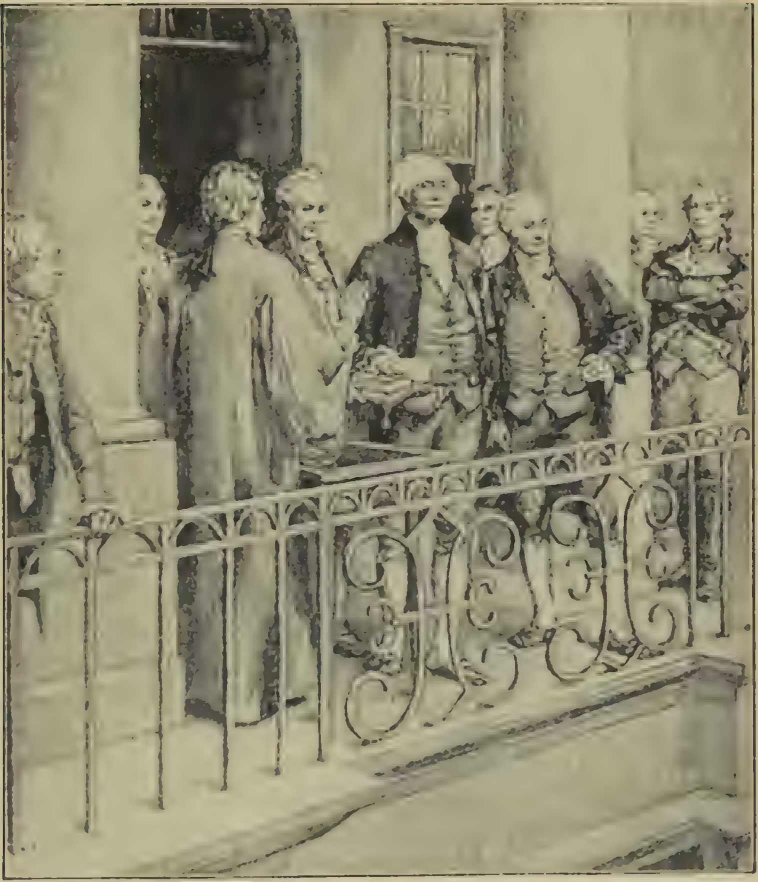
It was the 30th of April before everything was in readiness for the inauguration of the new President. The day was a notable one. Great crowds of people were present to greet Washington. In the forenoon services were held in the churches of the city, and at twelve o'clock Washington went to Federal Hall on Wall Street and standing upon a high, open balcony, facing the street, he took the oath of office in the presence of an immense throng of people. When this was done, Robert R. Livingston, Chancellor of New York, who had administered the oath, stepped forward and cried out, "Long live George Washington, President of the United States." The people responded with a mighty shout and long-continued cheers were given for the new President. The flag of the United States was run up and the battery guns rang out the first presidential salute.

Go: Washington

Washington's Autograph

Washington's inaugural address was a serious and impressive speech. He felt that he was about to undertake an important and a difficult task and he tried to bring the same idea before Congress. He felt that launching a new Government was a serious undertaking. He stated that he wished no pay for his services as President of the United States.

The First Cabinet. One of Washington's first duties was to appoint the members of his Cabinet, or advisory body. The Constitution says nothing about the President's Cabinet. It says only that "he may require the opinion in writing of the principal officer in each of the executive departments."



WASHINGTON TAKING THE OATH OF OFFICE

April 30, 1789, was a holiday in the city of New York. The church bells rang at 9 o'clock and people assembled and knelt in prayer for the success of the new government. From the various churches the people went in crowds to witness the inauguration.

One of the first acts of Congress was to create three Executive Departments, *State*, *Treasury*, and *War*. The heads of these Departments became the President's advisers, and in the course of time they met with the President as a Cabinet to counsel with him. It was the

President's duty to appoint the heads of these Departments.[1] This was an important duty, as much of the success of the administration of any President depends upon the ability of his Cabinet officers.

In this instance Washington made splendid appointments. Thomas Jefferson, the famous author of the Declaration of Independence, was made Secretary of State; Alexander Hamilton, one of the most brilliant men in American history, was made Secretary of the Treasury; Henry Knox, a distinguished soldier of the Revolution, was appointed to take charge of the War Department; and Edmund Randolph, the proposer of the "Virginia Plan" in the Constitutional Convention, was made Attorney-General, with a seat in the Cabinet. These officers, although comparatively young, were all well-known men of ability. Jefferson was the oldest at forty-six, and Hamilton the youngest at thirty-two.

Although the Cabinet was composed of four able men, it did not work together very well. It soon became divided on public questions. Jefferson once said that he and Hamilton faced each other "like fighting cocks in a pit," and he was not far wrong. Washington sought to disregard parties, but Hamilton and Jefferson differed so widely on questions of government and politics that they were naturally intended for different parties. Of course they could not get on together in the same Cabinet.

The First Chief Justice. Congress also provided for the Supreme Court, and Washington appointed John Jay, of New York, as the first Chief Justice of the United States. Under his guidance the work of the national courts was effectively begun.

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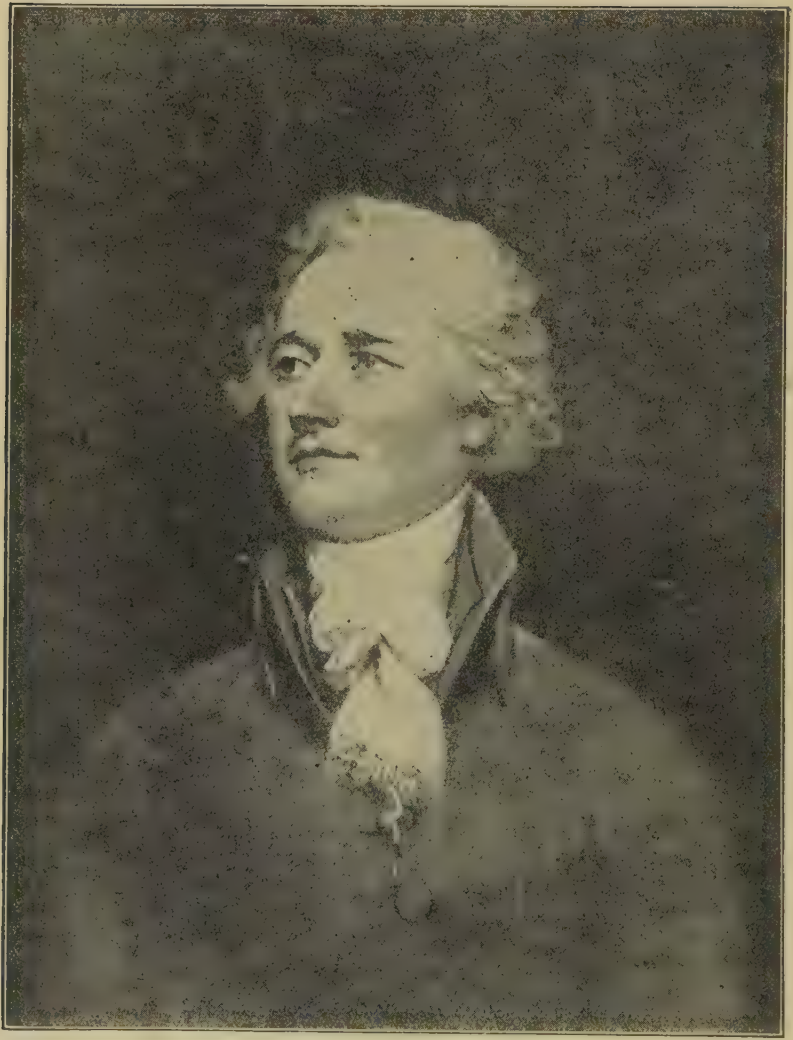
[1] The Attorney General, as legal adviser of the President, was a member of the first Cabinet although there was no Department of Justice for him to preside over until 1871.

(**Hamilton's Financial Plan.**) One of the first problems that confronted the new Government, as well as one of the most difficult, was the question of finance. The finances of the country were in a very unsatisfactory condition under the Confederation. It is, of course, difficult to carry on business when the financial system is not in good working order. Accordingly, one of the first and most important duties of Hamilton, as Secretary of the Treasury, was to reconstruct the financial system of the nation. He performed the task in an able manner, mapping out a plan that consisted of five parts, as follows:

1. To obtain money for the support of the Government from tariff duties levied upon goods coming into the ports of the United States from foreign countries.

2. To have Congress levy taxes upon all alcoholic liquors distilled in the United States.

3. To have the debts of the United States, both foreign and domestic, paid at their full face value. During the Revolution and later, American credit had fallen very low. Congress could not pay the soldiers for their services or the farmers for supplies. Certificates of indebtedness had been issued which were promises to pay in the future. In order to get cash the holders of these certificates in many instances had sold them at a great discount. They were now largely in the hands of speculators and bankers. Many people thought that it would be unfair to pay off these securities at their face value except to the original holders. It was said that payment at face value to the present holders would simply be putting money into the pockets of the speculators who had purchased the securities for almost nothing. Hamilton, however, insisted that the United States had promised to pay these debts in full, and that it would be dishonest to pay anything less. Fortunately, he had his way and our



ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Hamilton, one of the greatest financiers in American history, was born in the West Indies in 1757. He was a remarkably brilliant youth and began to make public speeches at seventeen. He was a student in King's College, New York City (now Columbia University), and later became a lawyer. He died when forty-seven years of age, killed in a duel by Aaron Burr, 1804.

national credit was maintained by paying the face value of the debt.

4. To have the debts of the several States paid by the National Government. He said that these debts had been contracted for the purpose of carrying on the Revolution and that the money had been spent for the defense of the whole country. He maintained, therefore, that it was only fair that these debts be paid out of the national treasury.

5. To establish a national bank. The bank was to be connected with the Government and was to aid the Government in financial matters. This bank, as we shall see later, had no connection with the hundreds of national banks now scattered throughout the United States.

Hamilton's plan was adopted by Congress, with the exception that a part, not all, of the State debts was assumed by the National Government.

The Seat of Government. The assumption of the State debts was connected with the location of the national capital. The Constitution provided that a tract of land not more than ten miles square should be set aside by Congress as a permanent seat for the Government. It was not easy, however, to fix the location. Both the North and the South wanted the national capital, and Philadelphia wished to be chosen as the temporary seat of the Government.

When Hamilton saw that his plan for the assumption of State debts was likely to fail, he agreed with Jefferson that he would favor the location of the capital on the Potomac River if Jefferson would favor his plan for the assumption of the State debts. Jefferson agreed, and the arrangement was carried out. The site for the permanent capital was located on the Potomac River, and State debts to the amount of $21,500,000 were assumed by the National Government.

This is probably the first instance in American history of that political process which was later called "log-rolling." The origin of the term is this: when our forefathers wished to clear up a piece of land for agricultural purposes, they cut down the trees, and after trimming them rolled up the logs in piles for use in building a cabin or a barn, or for burning. It was customary for the neighboring pioneers to assist each other in the log-rolling. Later the term was applied to combinations in Congress, whereby two men or two sets of men worked together to pass bills for one another. "You help me roll my log (or vote for my bill) and I'll help you roll yours."

The Whisky Rebellion. The tax on alcoholic liquors — the second feature of Hamilton's financial plan — soon led to an armed uprising against the new Government. The purpose of the tax was to get revenue, not to restrict the liquor traffic, but the tax was a serious interference with the usual way of the western farmers in marketing their grains. In western Pennsylvania several of the collectors of this tax were smeared with coats of tar and feathers; and troops, led by Hamilton, were sent by the National Government to put down the insurrection. This disturbance, usually called the Whisky Rebellion, occurred in 1794. People saw for the first time that a strong National Government was in existence which could enforce its own laws.

The First Ten Amendments. As we have seen, objections had been made to the Constitution during the struggle over ratification because the Constitution contained no "bill of rights" protecting the liberties of the people. In consequence, many amendments were suggested in the State conventions that ratified the Constitution. The first Congress that met after the Constitution was adopted approved ten of these and they were soon ratified by the States.

These amendments contain chiefly a "bill of rights," guaranteeing the civil rights and liberties of the people. The State constitutions had such guarantees and it was thought best that the United States also should promise that its Government would not violate the rights of the people. The amendments were adopted because the people of the States were afraid that their liberties and powers might be infringed upon by the General Government.

Beginning of Political Parties. At the beginning of Washington's administration, there were no clearly defined political parties in the United States. Groups called the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists had contended over the adoption of the Constitution, but after its adoption the Anti-Federalists ceased to exist as a party. At that time there were no party organizations such as we have now.

Almost from the beginning of the new Government, however, differences of opinion developed over the various questions and problems that arose. One group, calling itself Federalist, had as its leaders Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, and John Jay. The opposing group, which came to be known as the Republicans, was led by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. As time passed the two groups gradually developed into organized political parties. Washington was not a party man and tried to conduct the Government without reference to parties, but his sympathies were usually with the Federalists.

Differences between Parties. These two parties differed on the great political questions of the day. In the first place, the Federalists favored Hamilton's financial measures and the Republicans opposed them. Another important difference between the two parties—perhaps the most important—lay in their interpretation of the

Constitution. Jefferson and his followers said that the Constitution should be interpreted strictly and that Congress had no right to do anything which was not clearly authorized by the words of the Constitution. Hamilton and his followers, on the other hand, said that the Constitution should be interpreted liberally or freely, and that Congress had the power to do many things which were not expressly set forth in the words of the Constitution.

For example, when Hamilton proposed to establish a National Bank, Jefferson objected, and said that the Constitution did not confer upon Congress the power to incorporate a bank. Hamilton, on the other hand, declared that the Constitution gave Congress the power to borrow money, and therefore it had the power to use any "necessary and proper" means for borrowing money. A bank was helpful and proper to a Government in borrowing money, and therefore Congress could establish one. Hamilton maintained that while the power to establish a bank was not "expressly granted" in the Constitution the power was "implied." Thus, the Federalists, believing in implied powers, came to be called "loose" or "liberal constructionists"; while the Republicans, rejecting implied powers, were known as "strict" or "literal constructionists."

To illustrate further, the Constitution gave Congress "the power to coin money," but did not say that Congress could establish a mint. Could Congress, therefore, establish a mint? Of course, because there was no other way of coining money. Congress must be allowed to use necessary means of carrying out its powers. Jefferson agreed that a mint was necessary in coining money, but he contended that the Government could borrow money without a bank, and hence a bank was not necessary. It was a question, therefore, as to how strict one should be in allowing powers to Congress. The liberal construction finally prevailed.

As a result of their difference of opinion upon the interpretation of the Constitution, the Republicans were "States Rights" men while the Federalists favored larger powers for the National Government. Many of the Republicans, for example, denounced the tax on whisky and resented the collection of it by the National Government. (Page 246.) They would give less power to the National Government and more to the States, believing that the States were safer guardians of the liberties of the people.

Another difference between the two parties was their attitude toward the common people. The Federalists wanted to place the government, for the most part, in the hands of the so-called "upper classes"—that is, to quote Hamilton, in the hands of "the rich, the educated, and the well-born." The Republicans, on the contrary, favored the great body of the common people. Jefferson had great faith in the wisdom of the masses and wished to give them a large share in the government.

Still another difference between the two groups should be noted. When France and England went to war, as will be explained later, the Republicans sympathized with France and wished to assist her against England. They said that France was engaged in a struggle for human freedom, that she had aided the colonies with men and money during the Revolution, and that now her kindness should be repaid. The Federalists, on the other hand, leaned toward England, but perhaps not so strongly as the Republicans leaned toward France.

Citizen Genet (zhe nā′). The feeling between the two political parties was made more intense by the coming of Genet, the French minister to the United States. Citizen Genet, as he was called, landed in 1793 and was received with enthusiasm by the French party in America. At Philadelphia and other cities he was greeted by the firing of guns and the ringing of bells and great banquets were given in his honor. All this was done before he had presented his credentials to the President. He came to the conclusion, very naturally, perhaps, that all America was in favor of France. He consequently began to enlist men to fight against England, and to do many things which he had no right to do.

When Genet finally appeared before the President, Washington received him coldly and told him plainly that his actions would not be tolerated. He paid no attention to this warning, however, but stubbornly persisted in his course until deserted by almost all of his followers. The French Government was then asked to recall him and did so promptly.[1]

Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality. About the time that Citizen Genet landed in this country, news came that war had been declared between France and England. Feeling rose to a fever heat. Some Americans wanted the United States to take sides with France, and others with England, but Washington, after considering the whole problem very carefully, decided to favor neither country. On April 22, 1793, he issued a proclamation of neutrality in which he declared that the United States would take no part in the war, but would be friendly to both countries. He also warned citizens of the United States to keep out of the difficulty. Washington was denounced by many as an enemy of free government, but his proclamation is now looked upon as a very wise measure. It was the beginning of the American policy of non-interference in European affairs and no alliances with other countries.

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[1] Genet did not return to France. He married a daughter of Governor Clinton of New York and resided in America for the rest of his life.

The Jay Treaty. The Jay Treaty also caused bitter strife between the two political parties. At this time a new treaty with Great Britain seemed to be necessary. The treaty of 1783 was unsatisfactory in many respects, and several of its provisions had not been carried out. The Tories had not been paid for the loss of their property, and British soldiers had not been removed from American territory in the Northwest.

Another difficulty arose out of the war between France and England. During the conflict England — and France, too — seized American ships and carried off their cargoes. American ships and American goods were safe nowhere, not even on the high seas a thousand miles from French or English ports. These warring nations were trying to keep supplies and goods from each other, and American exports were seized by both of them. Since British cruisers were more numerous than those of France, they made more captures and hence indignation was especially strong against Great Britain.

In addition, the Americans were greatly angered by a British practice known as "impressment." American vessels were stopped wherever British cruisers chanced upon them, and were searched for sailors of British birth. If such men were found, they were seized and impressed into the British service. If a sailor had become an American citizen by naturalization, that fact made no difference. He was impressed into the British naval service nevertheless. The British theory was, "once an Englishman, always an Englishman." It should be said, however, that in some cases the naturalization papers presented by sailors upon American ships were false. It is also true that in some cases native-born American citizens were impressed into the British service.

These outrages upon the sea aroused the indignation of the people and stirred the Government to action. In the crisis, when the country was trembling upon the verge of war, Washington appointed John Jay, Chief Justice of the United States, to go to England and attempt to secure a peaceful settlement of the difficulty. Jay was only partly successful. Peace was preserved, but the treaty which he negotiated was rather unfavorable to the United States. It was the best that could be obtained at that time. The western posts were not to be vacated by the British until June 1, 1796, and the British would not agree to pay for the slaves which had been carried to England at the close of the Revolution. No agreement was reached upon the impressment of seamen. The treaty was better than a war with England, as the United States was a young nation and was not ready for another conflict.

As soon as the contents of the treaty became known in America, it was violently attacked, particularly, perhaps, because it contained no clause to protect our commerce and seamen. A stuffed figure to represent Jay was burned in a public place. Any one favoring the treaty was likely to be insulted. On one occasion, when Hamilton was speaking in defense of it, he was pelted with stones. When the treaty came to the Senate for ratification, it was opposed by the Republicans and defended by the Federalists. It was finally ratified in June, 1795, after a heated debate lasting for sixteen days.

Admission of New States. Vermont was the first State to be admitted to the Union after the original thirteen. This was done on March 4, 1791. In 1792 Kentucky was admitted and in 1796 Tennessee. There were then sixteen States in the Union.

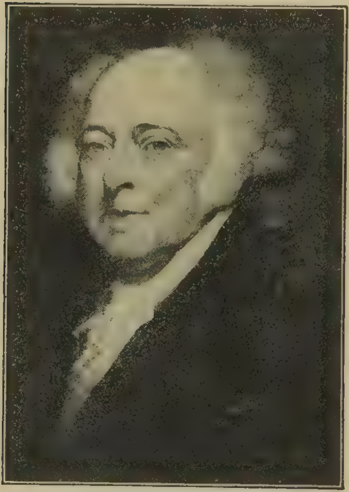
To admit a State Congress passes an "enabling act," authorizing the territory to make a State constitution and to elect State officers. After this has been done in accordance with the provisions laid down by Congress, the President issues a proclamation, declaring that the State has been admitted and is now a member of the Union.

The Farewell Address. Washington had been unanimously re-elected in 1792, and in September, 1796, he issued his now famous "Farewell Address," in which he declared that he would not accept a third presidential term. In this address he made a plea for national unity, peace, morality, religion, and obedience to law. He urged the United States to "observe good faith and justice toward all nations," to keep out of "broils and wars," and to avoid large standing armies, excess of party spirit, and sectional strife. This farewell address has had a great influence in American history. We go to it when we want the advice and counsel of Washington.

MOUNT VERNON

The home of Washington is situated in Virginia, a short distance from the city of Washington, on a beautiful spot overlooking the Potomac River. The place is neatly kept and the old mansion contains many historical relics of great interest. The building is open to the public. The picture was made from a recent photograph.

John Adams Becomes President. Washington's Farewell Address opened the way for other candidates for the presidency. The Republicans at once turned to their great leader, Thomas Jefferson, while John Adams became the standard-bearer of the Federalists. The campaign was a vigorous one, in which Adams and Jefferson were both unfortunately held up to ridicule and abuse. Adams was elected President by three Electoral votes and Jefferson became Vice President.



JOHN ADAMS

John Adams, one of the founders of the American nation, was a native of Massachusetts, a graduate of Harvard College, a schoolteacher, and a lawyer. He was a leader among the Revolutionary patriots. The British tried to arrest him and send him to England for trial. At a later time he served as our Minister to England and was received with honor.

We then had a President of one party and a Vice President of another. According to the plan in use at that time the man who received the second highest vote in the Electoral College became Vice President. That plan of election was changed by the Twelfth amendment in 1804. (See page 274.)

The X Y Z Affair. During Adams's administration the United States had serious difficulty with France, which almost resulted in war between the two countries. We have already seen that French cruisers were making attacks upon American vessels, and our Government resented such treatment. General C. C. Pinckney was appointed minister to France to settle this and several other disputes. When Pinckney reached Paris, the French Government refused to receive him. The French officers disliked him because he was a Federalist and came to take the place of James Monroe, a

Republican, who was a great favorite in France. They accordingly sent notice to Pinckney that he would not be received and that he must leave France at once, or be turned over to the police.

The treatment which Pinckney received greatly displeased Adams, but he desired to avoid a war with France and accordingly made another attempt to secure a treaty. For this purpose he sent to France a commission of three men, John Marshall and Elbridge Gerry being sent to aid Pinckney. The French Government also refused to receive these representatives, but sent three men secretly to demand a bribe of $250,000. This, of course, our commissioners indignantly refused to pay, Pinckney exclaiming, "No, no. Not a sixpence!"

The news of the demand reached the United States a short time later. The episode was called the "X Y Z Affair," because the names of the persons secretly negotiating for the French were not given, but were represented by the letters X, Y, and Z. Adams sent a ringing message to Congress, and preparations for war were set on foot. The President declared that negotiations with France were at an end and closed his message with this famous sentence: "I will never send another minister to France without the assurance that he will be received, respected, and honored as the representative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation."

The song "Hail Columbia," written at this time, served in no small measure to stir up the patriotism of the people. Washington was appointed commander-in-chief of the American forces and a declaration of war was expected at any moment.

Then came a turn in the tide of affairs. The French Minister of Foreign Affairs declared that he was amazed at the X Y Z matter and protested that he knew nothing of the attempted bribery. He also said that he would receive the representatives of the United States at any time with the greatest of pleasure. President Adams, eager to avoid war, appointed three men to go to Paris to negotiate a treaty. They were received with courtesy, and in due time negotiated a satisfactory treaty (September 28, 1800). War was thus averted and the honor of the United States was upheld.

The Alien and Sedition Laws. In the meantime party feeling in the United States was growing more and more intense. Party newspapers took up the matter and added fuel to the flame. Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton, and even Washington were shamefully abused by the editors of these papers. Many of the editors of the Republican papers were foreign-born and were distrusted by the Federalists for this reason. The Federalists, who were in office, writhed for a long time under the attacks, and then determined to strike a blow at the "democratic scribblers," as they called them. The present moment seemed to be a favorable time, as the publication of the X Y Z papers had aroused a wave of indignation against France, Republican editors, and French sympathizers.

The Federalists had a majority of the members of Congress, and in the summer of 1798 they passed the following acts aimed at their opponents.

1. *The Naturalization Act* provided that a foreigner would have to reside in the United States for at least fourteen years before he could become a citizen. The period of residence required before this time had been five years.

2. *The Alien Act* gave the President the power to order a foreigner to leave the country in case the President considered him "dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States." President Adams never made use of this power.

3. *The Sedition Act* provided fine and imprisonment for writing or publishing any article intended to bring the officers of the Government into ridicule, contempt, or disrepute. This was aimed directly at the Republican editors and a few of them were prosecuted, fined, and put in jail under its provisions. It should be added that, although the Federalist editors and writers were just as abusive as the Republican, they were not disturbed by the officers of the Government. The Sedition Act became very odious.

The Alien and Sedition laws were called unconstitutional by the Republicans. The legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky passed a resolution condemning them. One set of resolutions stated that the States had the right to declare null and void any law passed by Congress which they thought unauthorized by the Constitution. One of the most important acts of John Adams as President was the appointment of his Secretary of State, John Marshall, to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. So great was Marshall's wisdom and fairness, so wide his legal knowledge, that for thirty-four years he became for us the chief interpreter of our Constitution. His legal decisions were of the highest value in strengthening the national government and in extending its powers over the States.

Death of Washington. On December 14, 1799, while the nation was excited over the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, the news came that George Washington, the strong man upon whom the nation had leaned in times of stress, had died. His private secretary, in sending the news to President Adams, wrote: "His last scene corresponded with the whole tenor of his life; not a groan or complaint escaped him in extreme distress. With perfect resignation, in full possession of his reason, he closed his well-spent life."

Washington now lies buried at Mount Vernon, only a short distance from the peaceful Potomac which he loved so well. Hundreds of illustrious men and women, from all quarters of the globe, have paused at his tomb and paid tribute to his splendid ability and noble character.

The Burial Place of Washington at Mount Vernon

The bodies of George Washington and Martha Washington lie within the gates of the tomb.

The Election of 1800. In the fall of 1800, Adams and Pinckney were the Federalist candidates, while Jefferson and Aaron Burr were the Republican leaders. The result was a tie between Jefferson and Burr and the election was thrown into the House of Representatives for the first time in our history. The House, each State having one vote, chose Jefferson President, while Burr became Vice President and the supremacy of the Federalist party soon passed away forever. It never recovered from the defeat of 1800, and the " obnoxious acts " had much to do with its downfall.

John Adams, however, lived on for a quarter of a century and had the pleasure of seeing his illustrious son, John Quincy Adams, occupy the presidential chair. He died on the evening of July 4, 1826, at the age of ninety-one. He and Jefferson, once personal and political enemies, became warm friends in the evening of their lives. Adams's last words were, " Thomas Jefferson still survives"; he seemed to find consolation in this thought. He did not know that Jefferson had died a few hours before. "The two aged men," says Colonel Higginson, "floated on like two ships becalmed at nightfall, that drift together into port and cast anchor side by side." It is a curious coincidence that the author of the Declaration of Independence and its principal defender on the floor of Congress should both have died on the same day and on the fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of that immortal document.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. In what respects was the new Government an experiment? Mention problems that it would have to solve in order to succeed.

2. Tell why the new Government did not start on time. Who had charge of the affairs of the nation between the date of the ratification of the Constitution and the beginning of the new Government?

3. Describe Washington's Cabinet and tell what the main duties of the different members were.

4. What problems did Congress work out that would have been impossible for the old Confederation Congress to solve?

5. Explain the five parts of Hamilton's financial plan. Give, so far as you can, his reasons for each part. Show how each feature of the plan would help the new Government.

6. How did the Whisky Rebellion test the new Government?

7. Tell how Hamilton secured Jefferson's help for the assumption of State debts. Is "log-rolling" objectionable? Explain.

8. Why are political parties always formed in democratic countries? Explain the main questions on which the Federalists and the Republicans differed in Washington's administration. Name the leaders of the parties.

9. Explain the controversy over "strict" and "loose" construction of the Constitution. Find clauses in the Constitution (pages viii and ix) that seem to support Hamilton; clauses that

apparently support Jefferson. Point out the relation of the dispute to the strength of the new Government.

10. Give the main reasons why the Americans objected to the Jay Treaty.

11. Why were the Alien and Sedition Acts passed? What effect did they have on the Republicans? On the Federalists? On the election of 1800?

12. Jefferson usually referred to the political contest of 1800 as the "Revolution of 1800." Tell what you think he meant.

THINGS TO DO

1. List the chief dangers and problems that the new Government faced and the main elements and influences in its favor.

2. Write an imaginative composition or story on one of the following subjects:

   a. When Washington was inaugurated as President (an account by a member of Washington's household).
   b. Extracts from the diary of a farmer of western Pennsylvania at the time of the Whisky Rebellion.
   c. How Washington received Citizen Genet (a letter from Mrs. Washington to her granddaughter).
   d. Pinckney in France (an account of the X Y Z affair as it might be written by a newspaper man of today).
   e. An attack on the Federalist leaders (an editorial written by an editor of one of the Republican papers).

3. Choose teams of two each to debate this question: Resolved, That the United States should have helped France in her war with England in 1793.

4. One of the girls volunteer to give a special report on the author of "Hail, Columbia." Another girl read and explain stanzas of the song. All the class join in singing the song, or in listening to it as played on a phonograph, if your school has such a machine.

5. One of the boys volunteer to give a special report on the election of 1800.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "The New Government," *The Book of the United States,* 144–155.

2. "George Washington, Father of His Country," *Makers of Our History,* 19–36.

3. "Alexander Hamilton, Statesman," *ibid.,* 98–111.

4. "A Democratic View of Washington," *Source Book of American History,* 181–183.

5. "The X Y Z Despatches," by C. C. Pinckney, *ibid.,* 191–194.

6. "Martha Washington," *Women in American History,* 55–71.

7. "Farewell Address," by George Washington, in *Readings in Community Life,* 450–452.

8. "George Washington," *Our Presidents,* 1–13.

9. "John Adams," *ibid.,* 14–19.

10. "The First President," *America the Great Adventure,* 172–175.

11. "Many Men, Many Minds," *ibid.,* 227–231.

12. "Under the Constitution," *This Country of Ours,* 421–433.

13. "The Greatest Constructive Statesman in American History," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia,* 4: 1568–1569.

14. "The Father of the United States," *ibid.,* 9: 3674–3680.

15. "The First Two Ladies of the White House," *The Book of Knowledge,* 2: 390–394.

16. "Washington at the Helm," *ibid.,* 3: 1039–1042.

17. "The Story of George Washington," *The World Book Encyclopedia,* 12: 7644–7657.

18. "The Story of John Adams," *ibid.,* 1: 24–29.

19. "Edmond Charles Edouard Genet," *ibid.,* 5: 2715.

20. "Alexander Hamilton," *ibid.,* 5: 3025–3026.

CHAPTER XV

MAINTAINING NEUTRALITY DURING A GREAT WAR

Effect of Jefferson's Election. The triumph of Jefferson and the Republicans was hailed with delight all over the country, except in certain parts of New England. After the result of the election became known, bells and guns of every sort were pressed into service to express the joy of the Republicans. Again, on Inauguration Day, the bells rang and the cannon boomed, and business was generally suspended. The victorious Republicans felt that the control of the Government had passed from the hands of the so-called " upper classes " into the hands of the " plain people."

The Federalists, on the other hand, were downcast. They felt that the " ship of state " was now controlled by the uneducated masses, and was in danger of being run upon the rocks. The staid New England church folk and the merchants in the cities looked upon Jefferson as a radical and dangerous man because he wanted the people to manage their own government.

The New Capital. Jefferson was the first President to be inaugurated in the city of Washington. In 1790 the seat of government had been transferred from New York to Philadelphia for a period of ten years. In 1791 the District of Columbia was located and the site for the new capital city was chosen by Washington. The broad

THOMAS JEFFERSON

Jefferson was born in Virginia in 1743 and died in 1826. Over his grave at Monticello, Virginia, is a monument of granite bearing this inscription: "Here lies buried Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and Father of the University of Virginia."

streets and avenues and spacious squares of the city were laid out as they now are. Washington, who was President at the time, wished to call the future capital of the nation "the Federal City," but the committee having the matter in charge very appropriately named it "Washington."

Washington became the national capital in 1800, the last year of John Adams's administration. Abigail Adams was the first "Lady of the White House," but the President's house was not such a fine mansion as it is today. The capital city, unlike Philadelphia, was new and crude. It consisted of a few buildings in the midst of the wilderness, many of them unfinished. Brilliant social events were impossible under such conditions, but this did not trouble the Republicans for they were not in favor of useless display.

The Inauguration. Jefferson's inauguration was a very simple ceremony. The new President walked to the capitol in the company of a few friends and quietly took the oath of office. It was his policy to introduce simplicity into governmental affairs.

Jefferson's First Inaugural Address is regarded as one of the great documents of American history, along with the Declaration of Independence and Washington's Farewell Address. It became the platform of his party and finally of all the people of America. It summed up Jefferson's political creed as follows:

(1) Equal and exact justice to all men.

(2) Peace, commerce, honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none.

(3) The support of the State governments in all their rights — the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies.

(4) The preservation of the General Government in all its vigor, to guard our peace at home and safety abroad.

(5) The right of election by the people—a peaceable remedy against abuses.

(6) Absolute consent to the decisions of the majority—"the vital principle of republics"; otherwise there would have to be an appeal to force, "the vital principle of despotism."

(7) The supremacy of the civil over the military authority.

(8) Economy in public expenses.

(9) Honest payment of debts, the sacred preservation of public faith.

(10) Encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce and trade.

Jefferson urged the diffusion of information, freedom of religion, of the press, and of *men*. He thought a free newspaper was better than a standing army for the safety of the country. On these principles he appealed to men of all parties and sought to conciliate even his opponents. "We are all Federalists; we are all Republicans," he declared. "Let us, then, fellow citizens, unite with one heart and one mind and labor for the welfare of the country."

Jefferson's First Message to Congress. This was the first presidential message sent to Congress in writing. Washington and Adams had delivered their message in the form of speeches. Jefferson said that it was simpler and more business-like to send a written communication, but his opponents always declared that he made the change because he was a good writer but a very poor public speaker.

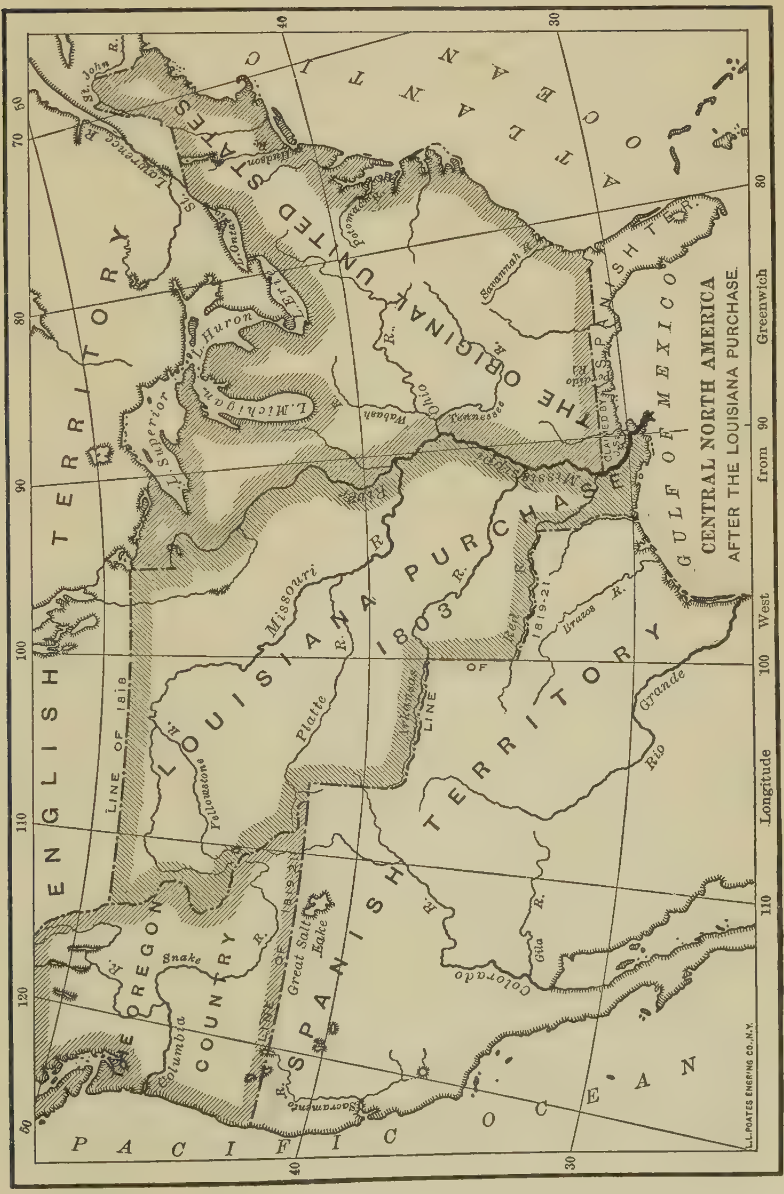
All of the Presidents from Jefferson to Wilson sent their messages to Congress in written form. President Wilson, however, returned to the practice of Washington and Adams by delivering his messages orally. (See page 683.)

The President's message is an historical document. It reviews the general condition of the country and contains the President's recommendations for desirable laws. How much attention Congress pays to the message depends upon how well the President reflects the public opinion of the country. If Congress is in party harmony with the President, that body is likely to carry out his recommendations.

Jefferson's Reforms. Jefferson and his party now set out to reform existing abuses: (1) to repeal the obnoxious laws passed by the Federalists, such as the Naturalization Act of 1798 (page 256); and (2) to cut down the running expenses of the Government.

To abolish the objectionable Federal statutes was an easy matter, as the Republicans had a majority in each house of Congress. Although it was not so easy to cut down the expenses of the Government, success was attained. Gallatin, the brilliant Secretary of the Treasury, made a plan whereby the expenses were reduced and the national debt paid off. The plan worked well; the income from tariff duties increased, the expenses of the army and the navy were cut down, and in a short time the national debt was reduced about one-half. This was all accomplished in spite of the extra expense incurred in buying Louisiana.

Louisiana Purchased from France. The area of the United States was doubled at one stroke in Jefferson's administration. The purchase of Louisiana from the French in 1803 was the most important event in Jefferson's administration, and one of the most important events in all American history. It was the beginning of American expansion and it assured our final control of the continent to the Pacific. By this one act Jefferson laid broad and deep the foundations for the country's greatness and prosperity.



CENTRAL NORTH AMERICA
AFTER THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

ENGLISH TERRITORY
OREGON COUNTRY
LOUISIANA PURCHASE 1803
SPANISH TERRITORY
THE ORIGINAL UNITED STATES
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
SPANISH TER.
CLAIMED BY U.S.
LINE OF 1818
LINE OF 1819-21
St. John R.
St. Lawrence R.
Hudson R.
Potomac R.
Savannah R.
Perdido R.
L. Ontario
L. Erie
L. Huron
L. Michigan
L. Superior
Ohio R.
Wabash R.
Tennessee R.
Mississippi R.
Missouri R.
Platte R.
Yellowstone R.
Arkansas R.
Red R.
Brazos R.
Rio Grande
Colorado
Gila R.
Snake R.
Columbia R.
Great Salt Lake
Sacramento R.
40
30
50
70
80
90
100
110
120
Longitude West from Greenwich
L.L. POATES ENGR'G CO., N.Y.

Louisiana at this time extended from Canada on the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south, and from the Mississippi River on the east to the Rocky Mountains on the west. In addition, a small part of the territory, including the city of New Orleans, lay on the east side of the Mississippi.

This vast territory was secured for France, as we have seen, by La Salle, Father Marquette, and other early explorers. At the close of the French and Indian War, Spain obtained Louisiana from France (page 135), but in 1800 Napoleon controlled Spain. In a secret treaty he forced Spain to cede Louisiana back to France. Napoleon planned to colonize Louisiana and build up a great French empire in the New World.

In the fall of 1801 a rumor came to the United States that France again owned Louisiana. This news caused great excitement, because, if it were true, France would have control of the mouth of the Mississippi River. Since a large part of our agricultural products were going to Europe by way of New Orleans, the control of the mouth of the Mississippi was an important matter. The hogs, cattle, grain, and lumber of the western people had to go down the Ohio and the Mississippi to New Orleans for shipment abroad. The Americans must have a "right of deposit," or a landing place, where they could transfer their goods to sea-going ships.

While Spain held the mouth of the river, the Americans did not care very much, because Spain was a weak nation. France, however, was a strong nation, and it was feared that she might shut off all of our commerce from the Mississippi. The people of the West in particular became wildly excited. Many of them wanted to take possession of Louisiana at once by force of arms.

To solve the problem Jefferson instructed Robert R. Livingston, our minister to France, to buy, if possible, the small island on which the city of New Orleans stood. At a later time he sent James Monroe to assist Livingston in making the purchase. Napoleon, who was at the head of French affairs at the time, seemed reluctant to sell.

Affairs then took a sudden turn. After steadfastly refusing to part with even the small piece of land upon which New Orleans stood, Napoleon suddenly offered to sell to the United States the whole of the Louisiana territory. Here was an amazing change of mind. The cause was this: War was about to begin between the French and the British, and Napoleon had heard that Great Britain upon the outbreak of hostilities planned to use her navy to seize Louisiana. Hence he instantly decided that he would rather sell or even give the region to the United States than have it fall into the hands of his old enemy, England.

Livingston and Monroe were amazed. They did not know what to say or do. Nobody had authorized them to purchase the whole territory. Faced by the problem, however, they took the risk, accepted the proposition, and by a treaty signed April 30, 1803, agreed to pay France $15,000,000 for the Louisiana territory.

The makers of this treaty were aware of its great importance. Livingston said: "We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our whole lives. This treaty will change vast solitudes into flourishing districts and will prepare ages of happiness for innumerable generations of human creatures." Napoleon, when approving the treaty, remarked: "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States."

When the news of the purchase became known, the people of the United States were both astonished and delighted. Jefferson, however, was embarrassed. He was a "strict constructionist" and could find no clause

Alan Rosenberg

in the Constitution which authorized the purchase of territory. He wished to obtain Louisiana, but he did not wish to go contrary to the Constitution. He recommended, however, that the purchase be made and that the Constitution be amended afterward, to confirm the act. But Congress and the country took the broader view, that since the President was authorized to make treaties, and as treaties often transferred territory, the President might make such a treaty. As a result the purchase of territory came to be regarded as a "concurrent power" of the Government—it ran along with the treaty-making power.

The purchase was accordingly ratified, and the Constitution was not amended. National powers were growing. But one person said that "if Jefferson had not broken the Constitution, he had cracked it."

By this purchase the area of the United States was doubled. Louisiana contained 560,000,000 acres; its area was larger than Great Britain, France, Spain, Germany, Portgual, and Italy combined. Thirteen great States now occupy this vast domain and it is the home of 17,000,000 people, or about one-sixth of the population of the United States.

Four important and immediate results of the purchase of Louisiana were as follows:

(1) France was kept from becoming our political neighbor.

(2) England was prevented from securing the territory by conquest or by treaty with France.

(3) America gained entire control of the Mississippi River.

(4) The Union was made stronger and more lasting.

The Barbary Pirates. While the President and his ministers were busily engaged in purchasing Louisiana, the bold pirates from the Barbary States of northern

Africa were just as busy plundering American ships and enslaving American sailors.

In 1803 a United States fleet sailed against one of these States — Tripoli — and two years later forced it to cease its attacks upon American ships and to make a treaty. The other Barbary States, surprised by this vigorous action, also concluded to stop their plundering.

Great Britain and France Were Also Offenders. The worst attacks upon American ships, however, were not made by the little Barbary States, but by France and Great Britain. These two nations were friendly enough to the United States, but they were at deadly war with each other, and neither hesitated to strike a blow at American commerce in case the other could be injured by so doing. If the British, for example, came upon an American vessel loaded with food supplies and bound for a French port, they did not hesitate to capture her and take her cargo.

According to international law ships are not allowed to enter a "blockaded" port. If they do so, they are liable to capture and to the loss of their cargoes. However, in order that a port might be said to be "blockaded," according to the international law of that day, ships of the belligerent nation had to be stationed near by to prevent trading boats from entering. If a vessel takes the risk and "runs the blockade," she must suffer the consequences if caught.

In this war between France and England, however, the two countries did not maintain blockading fleets. They simply declared certain ports to be in a state of blockade. They then captured American vessels on the high seas or anywhere else, if bound to or from one of the "blockaded" ports. This is called a "paper blockade," and is not warranted by international law. Yet, in this way, many American ships were captured by the cruisers of

France and Great Britain and their cargoes condemned and sold.

Impressment of American Seamen. In addition to such outrages upon American commerce, Great Britain insisted upon searching American ships for British sailors and upon impressing them, when found, into the British service (page 251). This also led to many abuses, and the American people, from the President down, were naturally indignant at the practice.

Jefferson Favored Peace. There was good cause for declaring war against both France and England, but the President saw that the United States was not prepared to engage in a conflict with either nation. Moreover, Jefferson hated war and was a profound believer in peace. Accordingly he tried to settle the difficulty in a peaceable manner, but was unable to restrain the warring powers.

In the meantime American ships were being captured and plundered. On June 22, 1807, a British ship, the *Leopard,* fired upon the American frigate *Chesapeake,* near Hampton Roads. The *Chesapeake* was overpowered and compelled to surrender. The British boarded her deck and took away four sailors, three American and one British. The whole nation was aroused. Men wore crape upon their arms in honor of the *Chesapeake's* dead and cried out for war. "Never," said Jefferson in a letter to Lafayette, "since the battle of Lexington, have I seen the country in such a state of exasperation as at present."

The Embargo Act. President Jefferson was still in favor of peace and suggested a peaceable remedy. This was his famous embargo policy. Acting upon his suggestion, Congress passed the Embargo Act, on December 22, 1807. This law prohibited American ships from starting for foreign ports under any conditions whatever.

Commerce was to be stopped, and American ships and American sailors were to be protected by being kept safe in American harbors. This policy was adopted because Jefferson believed that our exports were so necessary to the warring powers that the embargo would compel them to treat us justly. The method, so to speak, was a peaceful way of conducting war.

But the law proved a failure. To some extent France and Great Britain were deprived of American food. But they could do without our supplies better than we could do without foreign trade. American ship owners opposed the law, as it tended to destroy their business, while France and England received the measure with ridicule. It was soon seen that it was impossible to enforce the law, as American ships took the risk and stole out to sea. The act was repealed March 1, 1809, three days before Jefferson went out of office.

The Non-intercourse Act. On the same day on which the Embargo Act was repealed, a Non-intercourse Act was passed, cutting off all trade relations with Great Britain and France. It was provided that the act was to remain in force for a short time only. But acts of Congress could not hold the lawless cruisers in check, and three years later the United States declared war against Great Britain in order to secure her rights upon the ocean.

The Elections. In 1804 Jefferson had been re-elected by an overwhelming majority. He carried every State in the Union except Connecticut and Delaware. The election was so one-sided that the contest would have been uninteresting except for the fact that it was the first election held under the new Electoral College.

The Constitution at first provided that each presidential Elector should vote for *two* men without indicating which of the two was his choice for President. The man who received the highest number of votes was then to be President, in case he obtained a majority of all the votes cast. The next highest man on the list was to be Vice President.

But this plan did not work well. In 1800, as we have seen, a tie vote occurred. Every Republican Elector voted for both Jefferson and Burr and there was no choice, although the Electors intended that Jefferson should be President and Burr Vice President. The election was thrown into the House of Representatives and a great deal of confusion, much excitement, and some delay occurred.

Th: Jefferson

JEFFERSON'S AUTOGRAPH

As a result of the election of 1800, the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted (1804). This amendment, which is still in force, provides that the Electors indicate their choice for President and Vice President, respectively. This plan, first used in the election of 1804, has worked well, and since that date the President and the Vice President have always been elected by the same political party.

As Jefferson's second term drew to a close, many persons began to talk of a third term for him. Jefferson, however, would not consent to this. He was sixty-five years of age and had been in public life for forty years. He also believed in short terms of office.

Other candidates were then discussed. Aaron Burr, who received a tie vote with Jefferson in 1800, was not considered, for he was in disgrace. While Vice President, he became a candidate for the governorship of New York and was opposed very vigorously by Alexander Hamilton. As a result he challenged Hamilton to fight a duel. The two men met in the summer of 1804 and Hamilton fell, mortally wounded by a bullet from Burr's pistol. Upon the following day the brilliant leader of the Federalists passed away at the age of forty-seven.[1]

Although Jefferson took no active part in the contest, he was known to favor his Secretary of State, James Madison, and Madison was accordingly nominated. He was also elected by a large majority.

On March 4, 1809, Jefferson handed over the reins of government to his faithful personal and political friend, and retired soon after to spend the remainder of his useful life in his delightful home at Monticello, Virginia. Although no longer active in political affairs, the "sage of Monticello," as he came to be called, exercised a great influence upon the Government. His advice was eagerly sought on all important matters for many years to come.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. What did Jefferson mean in saying, "We are all Federalists; we are all Republicans"?

2. Explain the two main reforms brought about in Jefferson's term. Did the European war help him to reduce the national debt? Explain.

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[1] Burr's political prospects were ruined and he became a social outcast. He also had trouble in his business affairs. He planned an expedition to the Southwest. Late in 1806 he got together a party of men on Blennerhassett's Island in the Ohio River, near Marietta, and started down stream. To this day nobody knows exactly what he intended to do. Perhaps he did not know himself. It is probable, however, that he wished to conquer the Spanish possessions, cut off part of the Southwest Territory from the United States, and then organize this vast domain into an empire under himself and his daughter Theodosia. Nothing came of the expedition, as President Jefferson caused Burr to be arrested and tried for treason. Burr was acquitted, but was henceforth shunned by society.

3. Why did the United States wish to buy the island on which New Orleans stands? Explain Napoleon's reasons for deciding to sell all of Louisiana. What perplexing problem did his sudden decision cause the American representatives in France? Could such a situation arise today? Why?

4. How did the purchase of Louisiana embarrass Jefferson? Explain the outcome.

5. Tell the main results of the purchase of Louisiana. Which impresses you as the most important (1) to the people of that day, and (2) to the people of today?

6. How did Great Britain and France interfere with American trade? Explain the reasons for the conduct of the two countries.

7. What is a "paper blockade"? Tell why such blockades were established. How did they affect the Americans?

8. Explain Jefferson's method of forcing just treatment from France and Great Britain. What made him think the plan would work? Tell why it failed.

9. Point out the main difference between the Embargo Act and the Non-intercourse Act.

THINGS TO DO

1. A volunteer secure a copy of Jefferson's First Inaugural Address. Read aloud to the class passages that show Jefferson's ideas and policies.

2. Make a bar graph showing (1) the area of your State, (2) the area of France, (3) the area of the United States by the treaty of peace (1783), and (4) the area of the Louisiana Purchase.

3. A volunteer give a special report on the causes of the war between Napoleon and Great Britain. Use the references given in the Readings in the Class Library.

4. Imagine yourself living in the United States (either in Virginia or Massachusetts) during Jefferson's administration.

Write a letter to a friend or a relative in another part of the country, describing the effects of the Embargo Act in your State and the feelings of the people concerning it. For suggestions, see the references given below.

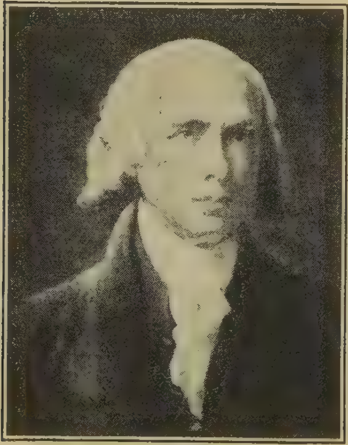
READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "Maintaining Peace," *The Book of the United States,* 155–158.
2. "Buying Louisiana," *ibid.,* 173–176.
3. "Thomas Jefferson, Statesman," *Makers of Our History,* 68–79.
4. "A Case of Impressment," *Source Book of American History,* 194–196.
5. "Acquisition of Louisiana," by Thomas Jefferson, *ibid.,* 200–202.
6. "Effect of the Embargo," *ibid.,* 209–211.
7. "Jefferson, the Virginia Gentleman," *ibid.,* 228–231.
8. "The Father of American Democracy," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia,* 5: 1880–1883.
9. "Thomas Jefferson," *America First,* 236–240.
10. "The Burning of the *Philadelphia,*" *ibid.,* 240–244.
11. "Thomas Jefferson," *Our Presidents,* 20–32.
12. "The Louisiana Purchase," *America the Great Adventure,* 189–190.
13. "Jefferson in Chart," *This Country of Ours,* 434–451.
14. "Thomas Jefferson," *The Book of Knowledge,* 3: 1042–1043.
15. "The Story of Thomas Jefferson," *The World Book Encyclopedia,* 6: 3646–3653.

CHAPTER XVI

WAGING A SECOND WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE

Madison as President. Although James Madison was well and favorably known long before he became President of the United States, his election aroused no great interest and excitement as that of Jefferson had done. The reason for this is plain. It was well known that Madison agreed fully with Jefferson in matters of government, and that no important changes would be made in the management of public affairs. As a matter of fact, Madison's administration may be looked upon as a continuation of that of Jefferson.



JAMES MADISON

James Madison was one of the most useful men in American history. He was a Virginian, a graduate of Princeton college, and the author of many able state papers.

But in social life there was a marked change. Much of Jeffersonian simplicity vanished. The President and his wife were fond of society and ceremony, and life in Washington was much more brilliant than in the time of Jefferson. Mrs. Madison, better known in history as "Dolly" Madison, was twenty years younger than her husband, and became a great social leader. She is now looked upon as one of the famous ladies of the White House.

The European War. American foreign affairs were, as we have seen (page 272), in a deplorable condition at the close of Jefferson's administration. Great Britain and France were committing outrages upon American commerce, which the United States was powerless to prevent. The Embargo Act had proved a failure and had been repealed; the Non-intercourse Act, which never amounted to much, expired early in 1810; other legislation intended to preserve peace and secure fair treatment had likewise proved useless and the country was being driven rapidly toward war.

The "War Hawks." Madison, like Jefferson, was a man of peace, but many of the younger Republican leaders thought that the time to fight had come. The President was not able to hold them in check. John C. Calhoun (kal hōōn′) of South Carolina, and Henry Clay of Kentucky, were especially eager for war. These "War Hawks," as they were called, finally had their way.

It was hard to decide, however, whether war should be declared against France or Great Britain, or both. As far as attacks upon American commerce were concerned, the two nations were both to blame. It was easily seen, however, that it would be folly to declare war against these two strong nations at the same time. But the offenses of Great Britain were more objectionable than those of France, chiefly because her greater navy had done more harm to American shipping. Besides, Great Britain had done one thing which France had not done. She had impressed American seamen into her naval service. In addition, the Americans were convinced that the British were inciting the Indians along the frontier to make attacks upon American settlements.

The Battle of Tippecanoe. The Indians were becoming active and hostile along the western frontier. Two great Indian leaders had arisen in the West—Tecumseh (tē kŭm′sĕ) and his twin brother, the Prophet. Tecumseh was one of the greatest leaders ever produced by the American Indians. He saw that the hunting-grounds of his people were being gradually taken by the whites. He tried to unite the Indian tribes in a great confederacy extending from Canada on the north to Florida on the south. He then planned to organize a great army from this confederacy and drive out the whites. He felt that this was a favorable time to strike, owing to the growing trouble between the United States and Great Britain.

Tecumseh made headway, but his plans were completely defeated by General William Henry Harrison, who at that time was Governor of the Indiana Territory. Harrison, having been informed of the intentions of the red men, marched against them with a small army from Vincennes, the territorial capital, and defeated them on November 7, 1811, in the decisive battle of Tippecanoe, fought about seven miles north of Lafayette, Indiana.

The victory of Tippecanoe broke the power of the Indians in the West and aided the Americans in the war with Great Britain, which followed soon after. The British saw in the Indian a valuable ally, and planned to make use of him in case of war. Tecumseh himself joined the British army the year after the defeat of his people at Tippecanoe.

War Declared. Indignation finally ran so high against Great Britain, and the pressure upon Madison from the "War Hawks" became so great that he sent a message to Congress recommending that war be declared against Great Britain. This was done on June 18, 1812, in the face of a strong opposition in each house of Congress.

The greater part of the vote in favor of the war resolution came from the South and the West. The war was based on four wrongs of which we complained:

(1) Impressing our seamen.

(2) Inciting the Indians to attack our settlements on the frontier.

(3) Ruining American trade by blockades and seizure of goods.

(4) Insulting the American flag by stopping and searching our ships.

It was unfortunate that the United States was obliged to enter upon an important conflict without the united support of all sections of the country. New England opposed the war, because her commerce with England was large and the conflict stopped this trade. The war had one great result in New England. The people turned to manufacturing, which soon grew to be the most important occupation there. The war stopped the importation of foreign goods and Americans had to manufacture their own. After the war they demanded a protective tariff to prevent an incoming "flood of foreign goods" (1816). It should be said, however, that although New England opposed the war and voted against it, she sent her share of fighting men to the front when warfare actually began.

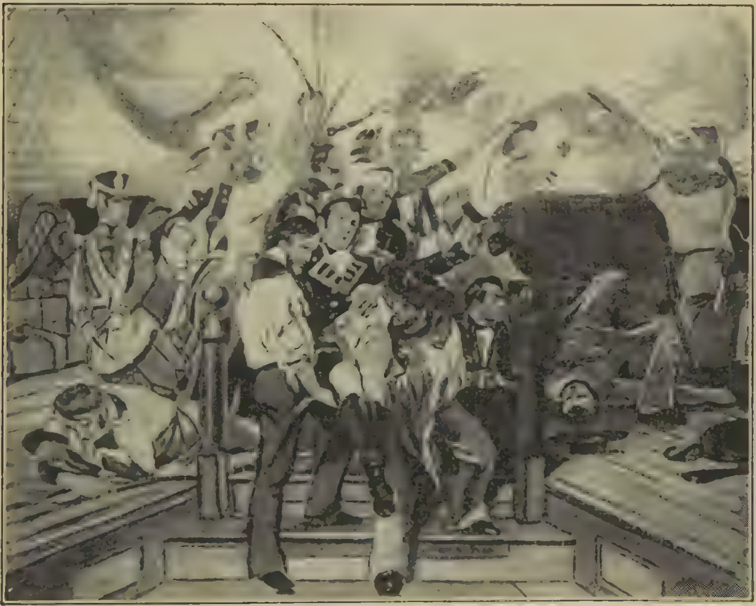
Had radio or cable communication between the United States and Great Britain been possible at that time, the War of 1812 might have been avoided. The American Congress declared war on June 18, two days after the English Government had decided to withdraw a part of the regulations offensive to American merchants. This news failed to reach the United States until after the war had begun. Moreover the other grievances remained. The British were engaged then in a bitter war with Napoleon and wished no other trouble.

Nevertheless, attacks were already being made on American ships and the people could not forget that 4000 American seamen had been impressed into British service and that many of them were at that moment prisoners on board British ships. An English writer (Cobbett) wrote at the time: "Great numbers of Americans have been imprisoned and are now in our navy. That many of these men have died on board our ships, that many have been worn out in service, there is no doubt." Another noted Englishman said with truth that England would not tolerate for a single hour such outrages upon her citizens and commerce as she had inflicted upon the Americans. President Madison, a man of peace, was forced to go to war to uphold the honor of his country and to protect her rights. In spite of such facts, some writers have called the War of 1812 "Mr. Madison's War."

Brilliant Victories of the Sea. It seemed rather bold for young America to go to war with such a power as Great Britain. The British had large armies — veterans who had fought against Napoleon. England was the greatest sea power in the world. America had no army to speak of and very few ships of war.

Yet the most striking feature of the War of 1812 was the success of the American Navy. American ships were manned by natural seamen — fishermen and others. The Yankee sailor was alert, bold, and vigorous. He was an able mechanic and a good gunner, and in war proved a fair match to the English seaman.

The Constitution Captures the Guerrière (gêr yêr′). Great Britain, the "mistress of the seas," suffered a series of defeats upon the ocean at the hands of the American sailors untrained to war. One of the first and most important of these was the defeat, August 19, 1812, of the *Guerrière* by the American frigate *Constitution,* under the command of Captain Isaac Hull. "In less than twenty minutes from the time that we got alongside the enemy," said Hull, "she was left without a spar standing." "This victory," says a noted American historian, "raised the United States in one half-hour to the rank of a first-class power." The *Constitution* came to be called "Old Ironsides." The old ship has been restored and is now preserved as an historic relic.



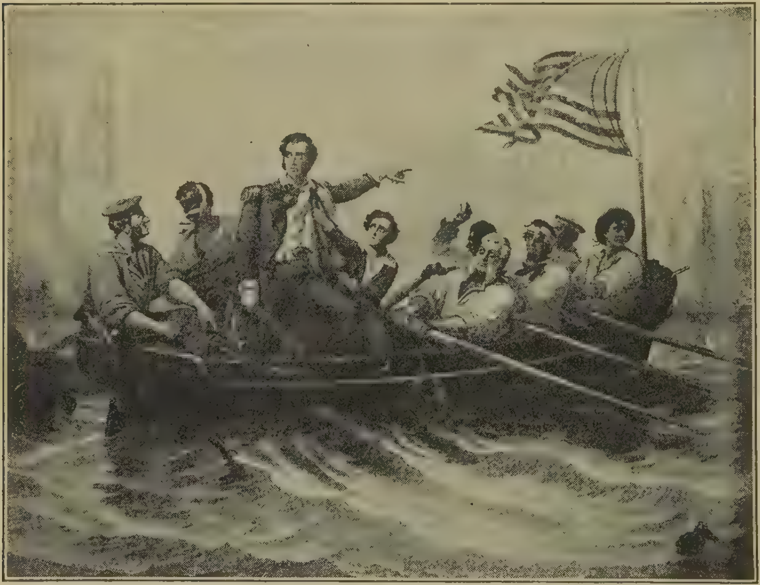
THE DEATH OF CAPTAIN LAWRENCE

"Don't give up the ship!"

The news of the defeat and destruction of the *Guerrière* was received with delight all over the United States, because this ship had been particularly active in the searching of American vessels.

The Capture of the Chesapeake. Reverses came to the Americans in June of the following year. The United

States frigate *Chesapeake* met the British ship *Shannon* off Boston and a notable battle ensued. In the course of the engagement Captain Lawrence of the American ship was mortally wounded, but called out to his men, while being carried below, "Don't give up the ship!" The American vessel was captured and taken to Halifax.



PERRY AT THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE

The English had larger vessels, but smaller guns. During the war England lost 2500 vessels; many of them were destroyed by privateers. Our largest ships were held in our harbors by the British blockade.

Perry's Victory on Lake Erie. In the same year as the defeat of the *Chesapeake* (1813) Commodore Perry of the American Navy won a brilliant victory on Lake Erie. Perry was only twenty-seven years old at the time and was fighting against Captain Barclay, one of the veterans of the British Navy. Perry's victory was complete and decisive, and his dispatch to General Harrison thrilled the nation: "We have met the enemy and they are ours. Two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop." When Perry was sent to Lake Erie, his instructions were to build and man a fleet. He cut down trees and with green timber built his vessels. He gathered and trained men to be sailors. When the vessels of the two countries met they were well matched.

American Victory Near Plattsburg. Fighting also took place on the small inland lakes. The British planned to invade New York, and placed a fleet on Lake Champlain to assist in the invasion. In September, 1814, Commodore Thomas MacDonough of the American fleet won a victory over the British off Plattsburg, after a hard-fought contest. MacDonough showed splendid skill in this battle and the people placed him side by side with Perry, the hero of Lake Erie. Congress tendered him a vote of thanks and struck a gold medal in his honor; the State of Vermont presented him with a farm overlooking the scene of his victory.

Land Battles: Invasion of Canada. The land forces did not do so well. It is really not too much to say that the War of 1812 was won by the American Navy.

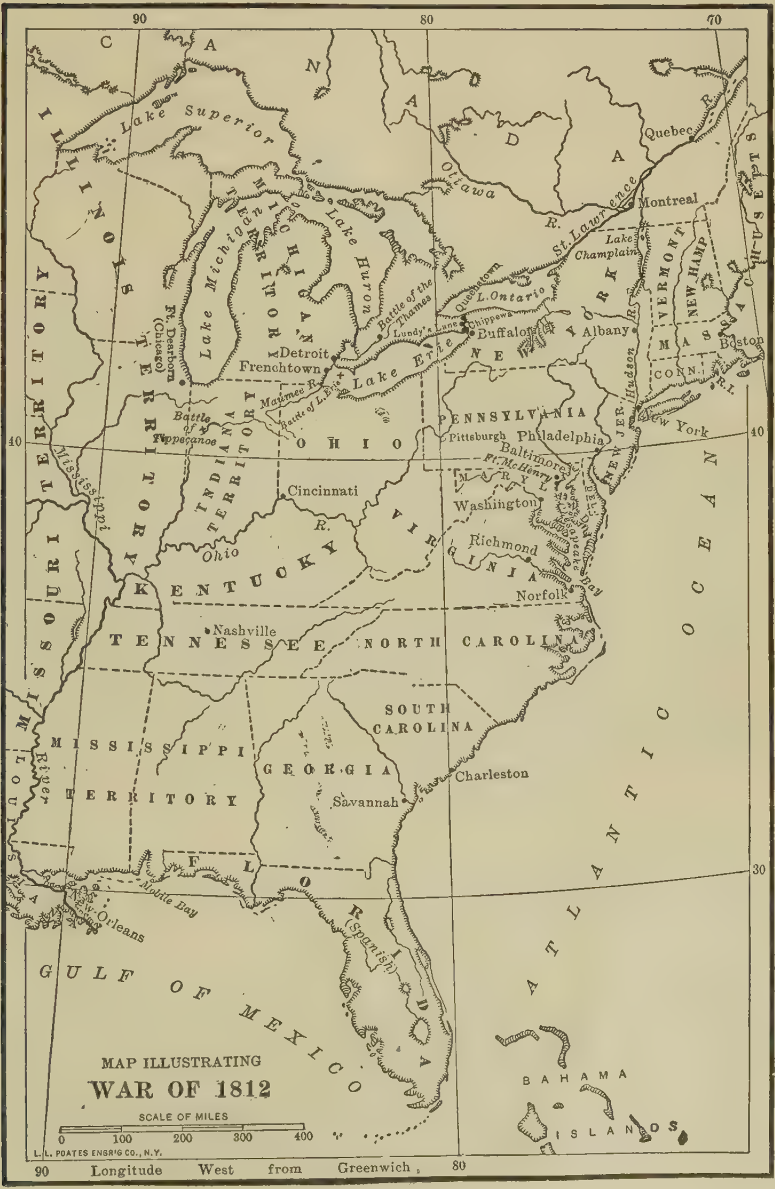
While our Navy made a brilliant record, our land forces met with many humiliating reverses. Most Americans believed that Canada could be taken in a few months. The War Department had to depend on the State Militia, however, as the Continental Congress had done during the Revolutionary War. Out of 500,000 men who enlisted, only 50,000 were regular troops. The men fought bravely but they were lacking in drill, in adequate firearms, and in skilled officers. Provisions were insufficient, equipment was bad, and they had neither surgeons nor hospital stores. They were further handicapped by inexperience in fighting against trained soldiers and by lack of confidence in their officers. A much smaller force of men, carefully drilled and skillfully commanded, might easily have conquered Canada.

The second year (1813) was one of mingled joys and sorrows. In this year General William Henry Harrison, having received news of Perry's victory on Lake Erie, passed Detroit, entered Canada, and defeated the British in October in the battle of the Thames. Tecumseh, the great Indian chief, was killed in this battle.

The Capitol Burned. England's war with Napoleon came to an end early in 1814, and as a result she had more men and more ships to use against the United States. She planned to invade America on three routes: (1) Lake Champlain, (2) the Atlantic coast, and (3) the Mississippi and New Orleans.

In 1814, accordingly, the British ravaged the Atlantic coast, and in August captured the city of Washington. The President, members of the Cabinet, and other officials departed in great haste. Mrs. Madison, the wife of the President, hastily gathered up some of her silverware as she fled, and the British afterwards said that they ate the dinner which was intended for the President and his household. The British army then burned the Capitol, the White House, and most of the other government buildings. The Americans themselves set the Navy Yard on fire so that the British could not seize the American vessels. Next day a heavy rain put out the fire and left the Capitol a mass of charred ruins.

From Washington, the British moved northward and made an attack on Baltimore, but met with spirited resistance. Fort McHenry, in Baltimore harbor, was fired upon and, during the bombardment, which lasted a day and a night without success, Francis Scott Key, a Baltimore man, then a prisoner on one of the bombarding ships, wrote the lines of "The Star Spangled Banner."



MAP ILLUSTRATING
WAR OF 1812

90
80
70
CANADA
Lake Superior
Ottawa R.
Quebec
Montreal
St. Lawrence R.
Lake Champlain
L. Ontario
Queenstown
Chippewa
Lundy's Lane
Buffalo
Battle of the Thames
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
MICHIGAN TERRITORY
Detroit
Frenchtown
Maumee R.
Battle of L. Erie
Lake Erie
ILLINOIS TERRITORY
Ft. Dearborn (Chicago)
Battle of Tippecanoe
INDIANA TERRITORY
OHIO
Cincinnati
Ohio R.
Mississippi
MISSOURI TERRITORY
KENTUCKY
VIRGINIA
Richmond
Norfolk
Washington
Baltimore
Ft. McHenry
MARYLAND
Chesapeake Bay
DEL.
PENNSYLVANIA
Pittsburgh
Philadelphia
NEW JER.
New York
NEW YORK
Albany
Hudson R.
VERMONT
NEW HAMP.
MASS.
Boston
CONN.
R.I.
DIST. OF MAINE
TENNESSEE
Nashville
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
Charleston
GEORGIA
Savannah
MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY
River
LOUISIANA
New Orleans
Mobile Bay
FLORIDA (Spanish)
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BAHAMA ISLANDS
40
30
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400
L. L. POATES ENGR'G CO., N.Y.
90 Longitude West from Greenwich 80

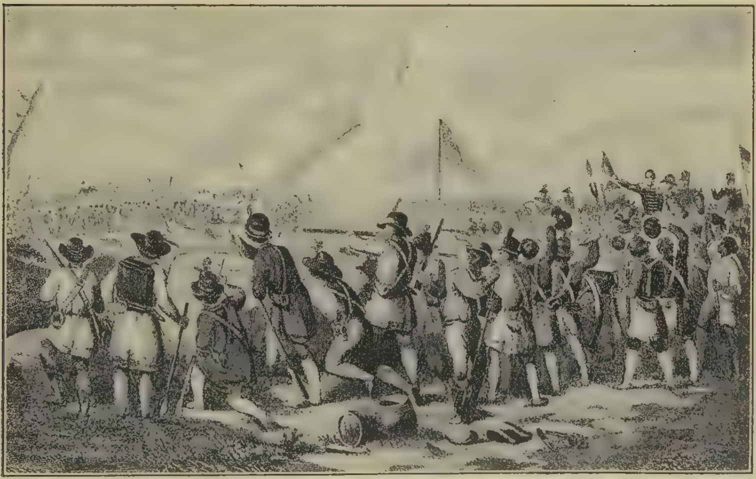
The Hartford Convention. Meanwhile difficulties of another sort had developed in New England. As we have already noticed, the war was brought on by the votes of the South and the West. From the outset New England was opposed to the conflict. She believed that the war was not just, but was being waged for the purpose of conquering Canada. One thing was certain — the war was playing havoc with the commerce of New England and this fact probably had much to do with the opposition to it.

Out of this opposition came the Hartford Convention of 1814. On December 15th of that year delegates from several of the New England States met at Hartford to discuss the war. It was feared at the time that the New England States might withdraw and that the Union might be broken, but this step was not taken. Several amendments to the Constitution were suggested by the Convention, and it was urged that the States be allowed to retain the custom duties collected within their borders. It was hinted also that the States might secede or withdraw from the Union in case their wishes were not complied with.

Jefferson's idea of nullification was endorsed, namely, that a State might nullify an act of Congress which it deemed unconstitutional. A committee was appointed by the Convention to lay the complaints of the members before Congress, but the treaty of peace had been made with Great Britain before the Convention adjourned and nothing came of the movement.

Jackson Wins the Battle of New Orleans. Late in the year the British attempted to capture New Orleans. Here they met Andrew Jackson, the hardy Indian-fighter, in command of a small American army. The British sent 21,000 soldiers to the task; Jackson's army, behind cotton bales, was about half as large. In the battle which followed, the British were repulsed with great loss. They lost 2100 men, killed and wounded, while the American loss was only 70. The battle of New Orleans took place on the 8th of January, 1815. It is a peculiar fact that the engagement was fought after the treaty of peace had been made.

Results of the War. On December 24, 1814—two weeks before Andrew Jackson won his victory at New Orleans—a treaty of peace was signed at Ghent (gĕnt) in what is now Belgium. If the ocean cable and the telegraph had been in use, the loss of life at New Orleans might have been avoided. At the time of the battle it was not known in America that a treaty had been made.



THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS

The terms of the treaty are not important. Things were left much as they had been before the war began. Nothing was said about impressment or the other causes of the conflict. In fact, the reasons for the war had now practically passed away. France and Great Britain were at peace and were no longer attacking our commerce.

Impressment also had ceased. It was agreed that each nation should give up the territory which it had conquered.

It would seem at first thought, then, that nothing was gained by the Americans in the second war with England. Yet certain results came out of the struggle:

(1) The war created a stronger national feeling.

(2) Commercial freedom was secured.

(3) The growth of American manufactures was encouraged.

(4) Public attention was now directed to such domestic problems as the tariff, a banking system, and public lands.

(5) A demand for "internal improvements" arose. The war showed the need of good roads. Highways and canals were needed for better transportation and to connect the West with the East.

The United States Bank. There were still other indirect results. The financial system of the country had fallen into a sad state during the war. The charter of Hamilton's bank had expired in 1811 and Congress had declined to renew it. The result was the establishment of a number of State banks, some of them almost without capital. It was now thought best to recharter the United States bank, and in 1816 Henry Clay and other influential leaders succeeded in getting a new charter for twenty years. One-fifth of the bank stock was to be owned by the Government.

The First Protective Tariff. The development of manufacturing in New England led to a demand for protection and the first American protective tariff law was passed in 1816. A general tariff act had been passed in 1789, but it provided taxation for revenue with only incidental protection; duties were placed on imported articles, such as tea, coffee, sugar, wines, iron manufactures, and glass. The people were taxed by their own representatives and they did not object as in colonial days. The protective act of 1816 differed from the act in 1789. It was intended not only to provide a revenue for the support of the Government, but also to protect American manufacturers by enabling them to charge higher prices for their goods. Before the British manufacturer, for instance, could place his goods in competition with American products, he had to pay, not only the cost of producing and transporting his wares, but also a tariff duty for the privilege of bringing them into American ports, which the American buyer finally paid. The duties imposed by the law of 1816 were far lower than they are now, the highest then being about 30%.

The Elections. In the first year of the war Madison was re-elected President by a large majority. He was not a candidate for a third term and the Republicans nominated and elected James Monroe of Virginia, Secretary of State in Madison's Cabinet. The "Father of the Constitution" now retired from public life, but, like Jefferson, he lived in retirement for many years and exercised a great influence upon public affairs. The Federalist Party appeared for the last time in this election of 1816.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. Why is the War of 1812 often called "The Second War for Independence"? Do events *after* the war, as well as *before* the conflict, help to explain the name?

2. Mention the services that Madison had rendered to the country before he became President.

3. Who were the "War Hawks"? Tell why they wanted war. Did they accomplish what they hoped from the conflict? Explain.

4. What was the battle of Tippecanoe? Tell why it was fought. What influence did it have upon the War of 1812?

5. State the chief reasons for the declaration of war against Great Britain. Which was the most serious? Why?

6. Explain the attitude of New England toward the war. How did she show her opposition? Did her attitude affect the outcome of military activities? Explain.

7. Tell about one of the duels at sea between the British and the Americans. Did Great Britain or the United States control the sea during the war?

8. How do you account for American victories at sea and for American defeats on land?

9. Which year of the war was most dangerous for the Americans? Why?

10. Which engagement in the conflict seems to have been most influential in determining the outcome of the war? Give reasons.

11. Tell how "The Star Spangled Banner" came to be written. A volunteer find out the appearance of the American flag at that time — the number of stripes, and the number and arrangement of the stars.

12. Explain the results of the war. Do you think it would make any difference to the United States today if the war had never been fought? Give reasons for your opinion.

THINGS TO DO

1. Debate this question: Resolved, That in 1812 the United States should have declared war against France rather than against Great Britain.

2. Choose a member of the class to find the circumstances which caused Oliver Wendell Holmes to write "Old Ironsides," and to read the poem aloud before the class.

3. Set aside a section in your notebook for "Famous American Slogans." Beneath each write a brief description of the

occasion when the slogan was first used, the person who uttered it, and similar points of interest about it. Here are two examples of notable slogans:

a. John Paul Jones, during the battle between the *Serapis* and the *Bon Homme Richard:* " I have not yet begun to fight."

b. Charles C. Pinckney, when faced by the demands for bribes from the French emissaries during the X Y Z affair: " No, no! Not a sixpence."

4. List the ways in which the War of 1812 was peculiar. Here is one example: None of the causes of the war was mentioned in the treaty of peace.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. " The War for Sailor's Rights," *The Book of the United States,* 158–162.
2. " Causes of the War," by James Madison, in *Source Book of American History,* 214–216.
3. " Capture of the Guerrière," by Captain Isaac Hull, *ibid.,* 216–218.
4. " Capture of Washington by the British," *ibid.,* 218–220.
5. " Battle of New Orleans," *ibid.,* 220–223.
6. " Dolly Madison," *Women in American History,* 101–114.
7. " The Man Who Wouldn't Give Up the Ship," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia,* 5: 1972–1973.
8. " The American War of 1812," *ibid.,* 8: 3670–3673.
9. " Old Ironsides," *America First,* 265–269.
10. " The Star Spangled Banner," *ibid.,* 274–278.
11. " James Madison," *Our Presidents,* 33–39.
12. " The War of 1812," *America the Great Adventure,* 231–233.
13. " Madison and the War with Great Britain," *This Country of Ours,* 452–463.
14. " Dolly Madison," *The Book of Knowledge,* 2: 394–395.
15. " The Story of the War of 1812," *The World Book Encyclopedia,* 12: 7601–7606.

LOOKING BACKWARD

A. ESTABLISHING A NEW GOVERNMENT

Make an outline of the main points in "The Making of Our National Constitution," following the form given below.

1. Ways in which the early English colonies in America were united.
   a. ____________________
   b. ____________________
   c. ____________________
   d. ____________________

2. Reasons why the English colonies were not at first bound together in an American union.
   a. ____________________
   b. ____________________
   c. ____________________
   d. ____________________

3. Causes which brought about plans for union in the colonies.
   a. ____________________
   b. ____________________
   c. ____________________
   d. ____________________

4. Important steps toward union.
   a. 1643, ____________________
   b. 1754, ____________________
   c. 1765, ____________________
   d. 1773, ____________________
   e. 1774, ____________________
   f. 1781, ____________________
   g. 1787, ____________________

5. Main defects in the Articles of Confederation.
   a. ____________________
   b. ____________________
   c. ____________________
   d. ____________________

6. Powers denied Congress by the Articles of Confederation.
   a. ______________________________
   b. ______________________________
   c. ______________________________
   d. ______________________________

7. Ways in which the main defects in the Articles of Confederation were remedied in the Constitution.
   a. ______________________________
   b. ______________________________
   c. ______________________________
   d. ______________________________

B. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Copy the following statements in the proper order so as to show the sequence of events in the development of the new Government. Write the event which took place first as number 1; the event which took place next as number 2; and so on.

Thomas Jefferson was inaugurated President of the United States.

The X Y Z affair almost caused war between France and the United States.

The second war for independence was fought with Great Britain.

George Washington was inaugurated President of the United States.

The battle of New Orleans was the greatest battle in the War of 1812.

The Louisiana Territory was purchased from France.

The first protective tariff law was passed as a part of Hamilton's financial plan.

Congress passed the Embargo Act to force England and France to treat the United States justly.

James Madison became President of the United States.

The United States was proclaimed as neutral in the war between France and England.

C. HISTORICAL TERMS

The terms given below are found in the story, Establishing a New Government. Choose the correct words for each blank in the sentences which follow. Write on your papers the number of the sentence and write after each number the correct letter to indicate the group of words which belongs in the blank.

a. Alien and Sedition Laws
b. Ordinance of 1787
c. Electoral College
d. Federalists
e. Republicans
f. impressment
g. Louisiana Purchase
h. Barbary pirates
i. Embargo Act
j. internal improvements

1. ______________ is the entire body of Electors who cast the votes of the States for President and Vice President.

2. ______________ followed Hamilton and believed in increasing the power of the Federal Government.

3. ______________ was the act of seizing American sailors and forcing them into British service.

4. ______________ were the political party which followed Jefferson and believed in giving more power to the States and less to the Federal Government.

5. ______________ means the improvement of harbors and rivers and the building of roads and canals within a country.

6. ______________ were sea robbers who lived on the northern coast of Africa.

7. ______________ prohibited American ships from starting for foreign ports.

8. ______________ provided for the government of the Northwest Territory.

9. ______________ was a vast territory purchased from France in 1803.

10. ______________ were acts of Congress which interfered with the rights of American citizens and foreigners living in the United States.

PART FIVE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION

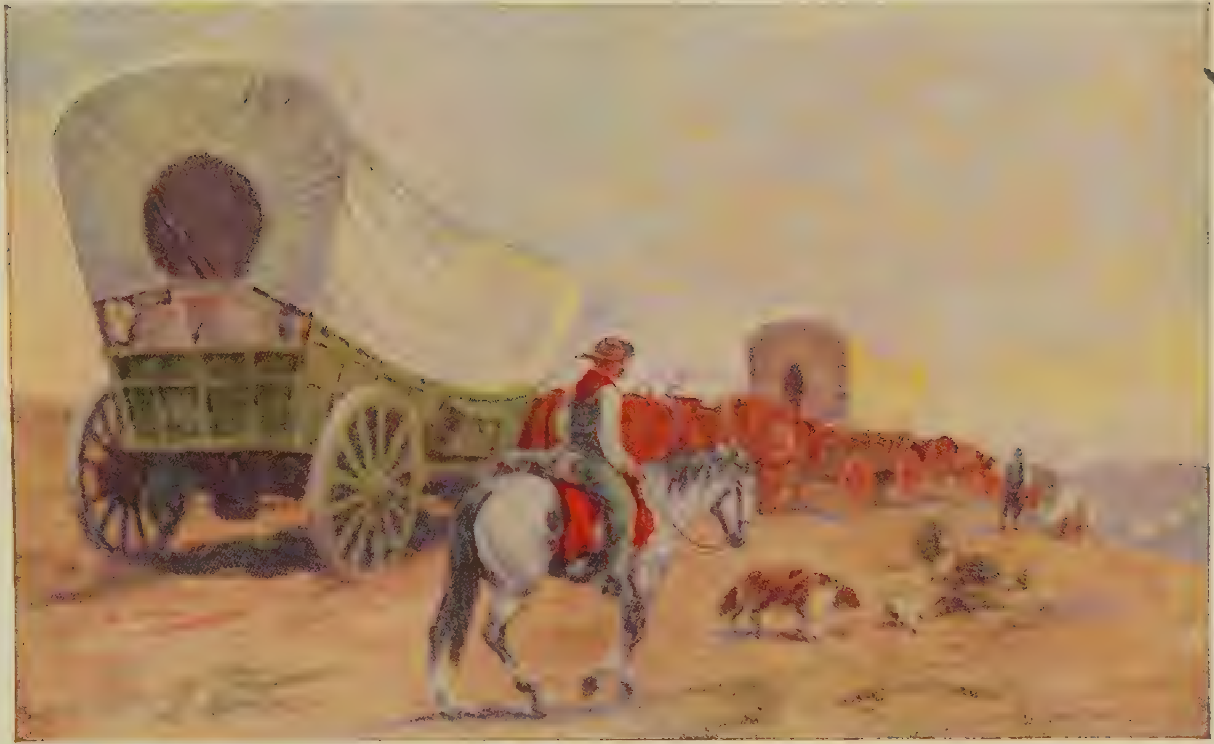
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION

After the War of 1812 the United States stretched itself like a young giant and began to grow. A wave of national pride passed over its citizens; the "era of good feeling" set in. There was no longer danger from its neighbors, because of the purchase of Louisiana and Florida. The young nation even warned the great powers of Europe not to interfere with any American country. Bold speaking from an infant in the family of nations!

In its haste to grow the nation felt the need of servants stronger than man himself. Iron slaves that never tired were imported from England, such as the steam engine and machines for spinning and weaving. American citizens invented other machines which would work faster than men, and would save labor. No task seemed too difficult. Some Americans even ventured into literature and began to create poems and novels.

Land was the object of greatest interest, however, particularly the cheap land in the West. Younger sons, immigrants, and laborers, dissatisfied with conditions in the new factories, sought the greater opportunities on the frontier. On foot, on horseback, by slow-moving ox-teams, or by flatboats, the people journeyed to the unoccupied areas. To make the passage easier canals were built, then steamboats were used, and finally the railroads were constructed.

Before long the Middle West was occupied by vigorous young men — plain people, rough-and-ready, among whom equality existed. Unlike the situation in the older Eastern settlements, the right to vote belonged to every free man, even to men who owned no property. Thus at last democracy appeared, and the plain people sent one of themselves — Andrew Jackson — to the White House as President.



West-Bound Wagon Train Crossing the Prairies

PART FIVE
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION

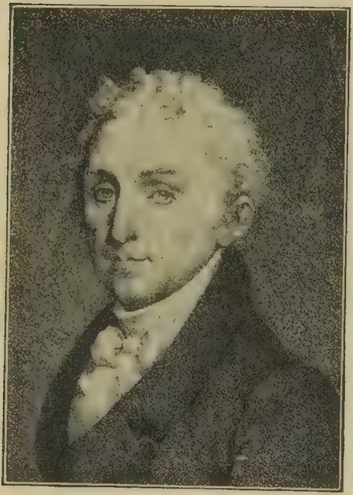
CHAPTER XVII

THE ERA OF GOOD FEELING

James Monroe was a well-known public man when he became President in 1817. He had been a soldier in the Revolution, a foreign minister, a United States Senator, a Cabinet member, and Governor of his native State, Virginia. His election did not create any great national excitement, as it was known that the Republican policies of Jefferson and Madison would be continued.

"Era of Good Feeling." Monroe's presidency is sometimes called the "Era of Good Feeling." The war was over, American rights were respected, and American ships were safe upon the ocean. Then, too, the Federalist Party was dead and the hatred caused by party strife had largely vanished. In fact, Monroe may be looked upon as the representative of the people rather than of the Republican Party. They had all become Republicans as Jefferson had hoped.

It should be said also that the Republicans had changed their policy somewhat since the time of Washington. They had adopted many of the ideas of the Federalists and had gradually become less strict in the construction of the Constitution. John Marshall said that the Jeffersonians "had killed the Federalist party by adopting its principles." Louisiana, for instance, had been purchased and the United States Bank had been rechartered under the "implied powers" of the Constitution. The Republicans were very sensible and practical in changing their ideas to suit the new conditions.



James Monroe

Monroe was born in Virginia in 1758, not far from the birthplace of Washington. In this same vicinity dwelt Richard Henry Lee, "Light Horse Harry" Lee, and his son, General Robert E. Lee, leader of the Confederate Army in the Civil War. Monroe entered William and Mary College, but soon left it to fight the battles of the Revolution.

The Purchase of Florida, 1819. Florida was acquired during Monroe's administration. Spain's weak rule had made the region a constant source of danger to our settlers in the Southeast. Florida was the haven of runaway slaves, smugglers, and pirates. From their safe refuge in the swamps lawless individuals came forth to plunder and kill the people in Georgia. The Seminole Indians helped them.

General Andrew Jackson was sent to end these raids. He defeated the Indians, captured the Spanish forts, and hanged two British subjects who, as Jackson thought, were stirring the Indians to war. Spain resented these attacks on her soil, but finally decided to sell Florida to the United States.

Since the purchase of Louisiana from France in 1803, there had been a disagreement between Spain and the United States in regard to the boundary between Florida and Louisiana. The purchase of Florida by the United States for $5,000,000 furnished an easy way out of all these difficulties. By the treaty the western boundary of Louisiana was clearly defined, the United States gave up her claim to Texas, and Spain surrendered her claims to the Oregon country. The treaty was signed on Washington's birthday, 1819, and Florida became part of the territory of the United States, but was not admitted into the Union as a State until 1845.

The Monroe Doctrine, 1823. More important than the purchase of Florida, however, was the publication of the Monroe Doctrine, in December, 1823.

During the early years of the nineteenth century Mexico and the Spanish colonies of South America rebelled against the mother country and set themselves up as independent republics — just as the English colonies had done half a century before. In 1822 the independence of these colonies was recognized by the United States. Several of the European monarchies — Austria, Prussia, Russia, and France, which were naturally opposed to republican government — had formed the "Holy Alliance," so called, and thought of interfering for the purpose of replacing the American republics under the power of Spain. At about the same time Russia laid claim to a large part of the Pacific coast (including a part of Oregon) to which the Americans thought she was not entitled. By the purchase of Florida and Louisiana the United States had removed two dangerous neighbors. Russia's advance south from Alaska presented a new danger.

These acts on the part of Russia and the Holy Alliance alarmed the people of the United States. John Quincy Adams, the far-sighted Secretary of State, came to the conclusion that it was not well for the nations of Europe to meddle with affairs on the American continents or to claim more land here. The United States did not interfere in European affairs and he thought that Europeans should not meddle with American affairs. He pressed the matter upon the attention of the President and induced him to make a declaration, in his message to Congress, of the now famous Monroe Doctrine.

The Monroe Doctrine consists of two parts. In the first place, the President declared that the American continents should not "be considered as subjects for colonization by any European powers." In this statement he had in mind both the Russian claim and the British Hudson Bay Company of fur traders, which was exploring and making settlements in the far Northwest. In the second place, Monroe declared that the United States would consider it an "unfriendly act" for any European nation to interfere with the government of any republic established on American soil. He said that he considered it "dangerous to our peace and safety" for European nations to extend their power in the western hemisphere. This part of the Monroe Doctrine was directed against the designs of the Holy Alliance.

President Monroe's protest had the desired effect and the Spanish republics were not interfered with. England opposed the designs of the Holy Alliance and took our side. The next year (1824) Russia made a treaty with the United States by which the southern boundary of Alaska was fixed as it is now, at 54° 40′ north latitude.

The Monroe Doctrine has been much enlarged since it was first announced. It was not a law of Congress nor a part of international law, but merely a presidential proclamation of policy. Since 1823 it has meant different things to different Presidents at different times.

Lafayette Visits the United States. In 1824 Congress sent an invitation to the Marquis de Lafayette to visit the United States as the nation's guest. Monroe, the personal friend and companion-in-arms of Lafayette in the Revolution, was eager to entertain his old friend. Lafayette accepted the invitation and remarked that he would visit America, "the beloved land," as "an adopted son." He did so in company with his son, and went into every one of the twenty-four States. He was met by the people everywhere with love, respect, and rejoicing.

The Elections. At the close of his first term (1820) President Monroe was re-elected almost unanimously, receiving the vote of every Elector but one.

Four years later (1824) a more vigorous contest occurred. No less than seventeen men were ambitious to succeed Monroe, and for this reason the election of 1824 is sometimes called "the scrub race for the presidency." Some of our greatest men were in this race—John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, Daniel Webster, William H. Crawford. This was called the period of "personal politics." Four of these men received votes in the Electoral College.

Party lines had vanished, as there were no great political issues at stake. Each candidate represented a different section of the country and had his personal and local following. The contest was a bitter one, and much bad feeling was aroused. Jackson received 99 electoral votes, Adams 84, Crawford 41, and Clay 37. No one was elected, since no candidate had received a majority of the votes in the Electoral College. It thus became the duty of the House of Representatives to choose a President from the three highest on the list. Clay was thus left out and the House proceeded to ballot on the other three names. Clay threw his influence to Adams and the latter was elected, much to the anger of Jackson and his friends. A short time after the election, Clay was appointed Secretary of State and it was charged that he had sold his influence to Adams for a position in the Cabinet. There was much talk about a "corrupt bargain" between Adams and Clay, but no foundation existed for such a charge.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. Explain the title to this chapter. Is it as appropriate for the events described at the close as for those pictured at the beginning? Give reasons.

2. Why was only one political party in existence during Monroe's term? Tell what is necessary in order to cause political parties to organize (review pages 251–253). Describe the character of politics during the ten years following the War of 1812.

3. Tell why the United States wanted to annex Florida.

4. Explain the reasons for issuing the Monroe Doctrine. Did the United States have any right to interfere in a quarrel between Spain and her colonies? Why? How did Monroe "issue" his declaration?

5. Would it be more accurate to call the Monroe Doctrine the Adams Doctrine? Explain.

6. What were the immediate results of the Monroe Doctrine? How did the declaration affect our future foreign policy?

7. Describe the election of 1824. On what earlier occasion was a presidential election decided by the House of Representatives? Was the need for a decision by the House in 1824 the same as the need for a decision by that body on the earlier occasion? Explain.

THINGS TO DO

1. List all the facts you can find that seem to make the period following the War of 1812 an "era of good feeling." In a second column list the facts that seem to make the period an "era of ill feeling."

2. Add a bar of proper length to the graph you began in response to No. 2 on page 280 to show the area secured by the annexation of Florida.

3. One pupil find a copy of the Monroe Doctrine and read it aloud to the class. Point out the three most important statements in the Doctrine.

4. Find statements by earlier Presidents that announce in part the same ideas as are contained in the Monroe Doctrine (see pages 254 and 268). Point out ideas in Monroe's declaration that were *new*.

5. The Monroe Doctrine may be summed up in two words: (1) Non-colonization; (2) non-intervention. Can you explain these terms as applied to America in 1823?

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

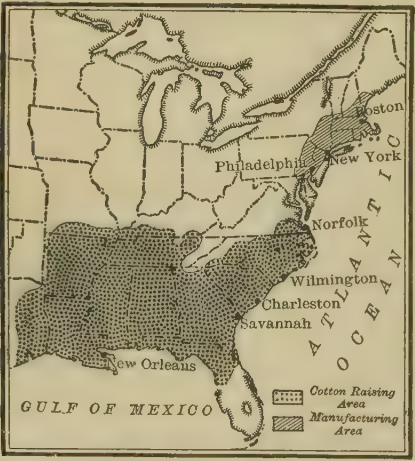
1. "The President Who Said to Europe: 'Hands Off!'" *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia,* 6: 2305–2307.
2. "The Monroe Doctrine," *ibid.,* 6: 2307–2308.
3. "Lafayette's Return to America," *America First,* 282–286.
4. "Osceola, the Seminole Chief," *ibid.,* 286–291.
5. "James Monroe," *Our Presidents,* 40–46.
6. "Monroe and His Famous Doctrine," *This Country of Ours,* 464–468.
7. "The Story of James Monroe," *The World Book Encyclopedia,* 7: 4602–4608.
8. "The Monroe Doctrine," *ibid.,* 7: 4608.

CHAPTER XVIII

INDUSTRIAL AND LITERARY PROGRESS

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Agriculture. In the days of Washington, Jefferson, and Madison agriculture, as in colonial times, was still the most important industry in the United States. Agricultural methods were careless and wasteful. The early pioneer killed the forest trees, Indian fashion, by girdling them, and then broke the ground with rude implements and planted corn, wheat, and other crops. After a time the dead trunks were cut down, rolled into piles, and burned in order to get them out of the way.


Boston
New York
Philadelphia
Norfolk
Wilmington
Charleston
Savannah
New Orleans
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
▦ Cotton Raising Area
▨ Manufacturing Area

The Regions of Cotton Growing and of Manufactures

In the South cotton and tobacco were grown year after year upon the same piece of land until the soil was exhausted. Manures and other fertilizers were not used, as it was easier to abandon the worn-out soil and take up new land.

The tools of the farmer were rude, clumsy, few in number, and expensive. The plow, one of the most important farm implements, was made mostly of wood and was very awkward and hard to manage. It was also easily broken among the roots and stumps. In 1797 a cast-iron plow was invented, but the farmers of the time refused to use it, fearing that iron would poison the soil and kill the crops. A few years later (1825), when the farmers became more enlightened, a cast-iron plow came into use. A scythe equipped with a cradle, invented in 1803, was a vast improvement in the cutting of grain over the scythes and sickles which had been used for that purpose up to that time.

Patents. The industries of a country cannot be developed to any great extent without the use of labor-saving machinery. In order to encourage the invention of such machines, the United States Government gives to the inventor the exclusive right to manufacture and sell his machine for a period of seventeen years. This right is called a patent. At the end of seventeen years, if the patent is not renewed, any one may manufacture the machine and offer it for sale.

The number of patents which were granted during the early national period is a good indication of the progress which was being made in agriculture and manufacturing. In the early part of this period, the Government granted on an average 77 patents each year. At the close of the period the average per year was 544. The list contains small tools, farm implements, and various other kinds of labor-saving machines. These inventions aided greatly in the industrial progress of the nation.

The Steam Engine. One of the most important inventions ever made in any country was the steam engine. It would have been impossible to make very much progress in manufacturing or transportation without the use of steam power. If the locomotives were taken off our railroads and the steam engines out of our factories, operations would come to a standstill.

James Watt, an Englishman, had invented the modern condensing steam engine in 1769. Engineers regard this as the greatest invention in human history, judged by its results. But this engine was not much used in America until the early part of the nineteenth century. As late as 1803 there were only three steam engines in the United States, and there were no locomotives at all.

Manufacturing. Next to agriculture, manufacturing was the most important industry in the country. In colonial times and even after the Revolutionary War, almost everything was made in the household by hand. At a later time machines came into use and factories were built.

The greatest progress was made in the textile or cloth-making industries. The reason for this is that a remarkable series of inventions had been made in England and were later brought to the United States. At first the spinning of yarn was a very slow process, a single thread being made at a time. An English weaver, however, invented a machine which, in honor of his wife, he called the "spinning jenny." A little later the old hand-loom gave way to a power-loom and the weaving of cloth was also done with great rapidity.

England tried to keep these labor-saving machines to herself. She saw their importance and passed laws prohibiting their exportation. Parliament made it illegal to send or carry out of the country any plans or drawings from which the machines could be made. The English Government also tried to prevent skilled workmen from going to other countries. In spite of such efforts, however, the new machinery was soon in use in the United States. Factories were established in important cities, and gristmills, sawmills, cotton mills, and woolen mills dotted the streams of the United States.

Slater's Mill. A good example of the way in which these inventions came to the United States is found in Slater's mill. The first complete cotton mill in this country was set up at Pawtucket (pạ tŭk′ĕt), Rhode Island, in 1789, by an Englishman named Samuel Slater. He made from memory all of the machinery used in this factory, as he was not allowed to bring over machines or plans from England. Slater has well been called the "Father of American Manufactures."

Picking Cotton

Although the first cotton mill in the United States was established in the first year of Washington's administration, the business of cotton manufacturing did not amount to much until after the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney in 1793. But almost immediately after Whitney's invention, the amount of cotton grown in the United States was greatly increased and the raising of cotton became very profitable.

The increase in cotton naturally led to an increase in the number of cotton mills. In 1803 there were only four cotton mills in the United States, but shortly after that time, due in large measure to the Embargo policy (see page 272), the number of mills increased rapidly and busy factory towns such as Fall River, Lowell, and

Lawrence, sprang up on the rivers of New England and adjoining States.

Wool Manufactures. The manufacture of woolen cloth was also carried on extensively in this period. Many of the great inventions employed in the manufacture of cotton were also useful in the making of woolen goods. By the use of labor-saving machinery, the cost of weaving a yard of broadcloth was reduced from 50 cents to 15 cents. Woolen mills were set up in various parts of the country, but more particularly in New England. The woolen industry did not grow so rapidly as the cotton industry, because the raw material was scarcer. It was easier to raise cotton in the field than it was to grow wool upon the backs of sheep.

Iron Manufacture. Many of our industries depend upon the use of iron. Gold and silver are called the precious metals, but iron is the most useful one. If we were to take iron out of our industries at the present time, little would remain.

Iron furnaces were set up in the United States at an early date. Wood and charcoal were at first used as fuel for smelting. The business, however, made little progress until the introduction of the use of anthracite coal as fuel about 1840.

Anthracite or hard coal, which we now prize so highly, was considered almost worthless a century ago. The first boat load of "stone coal," as it was then called, was brought to Philadelphia in 1803, and the people said that it was good for nothing but to "gravel foot-walks." It seemed almost impossible to start the hard lumps to burning. A Pennsylvania blacksmith, however, Joseph Smith by name, and the inventor of the iron plowshare, succeeded in getting the coal to burn freely. He built a grate, placed the coal upon it, and thus made a strong draft and a hot fire. Soon afterwards hard coal was used extensively in the smelting furnace and caused a revolution in the iron business.

Humble Inventions. While studying the history of great industries such as cotton, wool, and iron manufacturing, we should not lose sight of the many humble inventions which have made life more easy and pleasant. Eli Terry, for instance, made the first American clock. He whittled out its rude wooden wheels with a pocket knife at the cost of much labor and patience. Brass clocks were introduced in 1821. The friction match, which displaced the old flint and steel of early times, was invented in 1827. The sewing machine, a wonderful labor-saving device, was invented in 1846 by Elias Howe. Although Howe is credited with the invention, others had long been working on the problem, in both England and the United States.

Commerce. Commerce naturally follows agriculture and manufacturing, as men must find a market for their surplus products. Trade went on between different parts of the United States and much commerce developed with European lands and with other foreign countries. In many instances American products were carried great distances. As early as the latter part of the eighteenth century, the United States carried on an important trade with China and the East. It was no easy matter to make a voyage half-way around the globe with the small ships and crude instruments then in use, yet many such voyages were successfully made by American sailors. In one instance, a boy of nineteen took a ship from Calcutta to Boston, with no chart to guide him except a small map of the world torn from a school geography of the time. These ships brought tea, coffee, muslin, silk, and other valuable products from the East.

There was also a valuable commerce with the West Indies. In return for agricultural products of all kinds, the American trader brought back molasses, sugar, wine, pepper, coffee, and a long list of other goods.

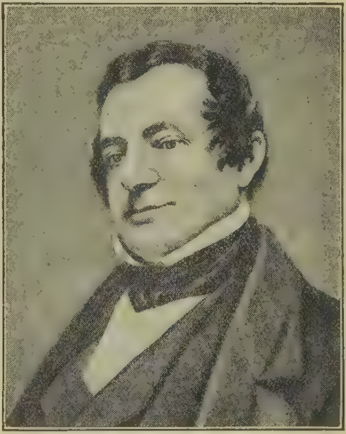
Ship-building. Sea-going commerce of course cannot be carried on without ships, and ship-building early became an important industry in the United States. Many men were also engaged in the whale and cod fisheries, and these industries, too, required good sailing vessels. The forests produced an abundance of ship-building timber of the very best kind. The American ship carpenter became very skillful, and many fine sailing vessels were made in New England and Philadelphia.

Land Travel. A large part of the freight and passenger traffic in those days was carried on over land. Before the railroad came into use in 1830, the stagecoach was the principal means of land travel. The coach was a heavy, clumsy, uncomfortable box-like affair. It had no glass windows, but was supplied with leather curtains to be drawn down in stormy weather. The rude coaches, drawn by horses, in harness sometimes made of rope, lumbered along at the rate of 40 miles a day in summer and 25 miles in winter. The day, moreover, began at three o'clock in the morning and lasted until ten o'clock at night.

In many cases the passengers were obliged to get out and push in order to get the coach out of the mud. Miry spots of quicksand were marked by stakes to warn travelers, and sometimes the coach had to take a circuit through the fields over an entirely new course. There were no bridges over the large rivers. The coach crossed on the ice in winter and on rude ferryboats or rafts in summer. When the ice was breaking up in the spring and when it was thin in the early winter, the crossing of the rivers was a dangerous undertaking. Land travel in the United States before the building of railroads was an exceedingly tiresome and expensive process.

THE BEGINNINGS OF AMERICAN LITERATURE

Literary Progress. During this period progress in the United States was not all of a material kind. Literary advancement was made and the foundations of American literature were laid. Washington Irving wrote of the scenes on the Hudson River, James Fenimore Cooper told fascinating stories of the Indian and the sea, and William Cullen Bryant produced some of the best of his poems. These three men may be looked upon as the founders of American literature.

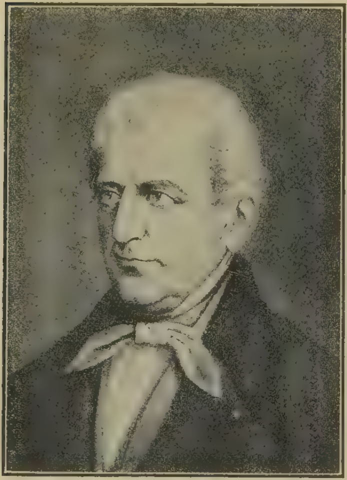


Washington Irving

The creator of "Rip Van Winkle," and the first American man of letters to receive recognition in Europe.

Washington Irving, 1783–1859. Washington Irving was the first American author to receive recognition in Europe. In 1820 Sidney Smith, a British writer, sneeringly remarked: "Who reads an American book?" Only a short time after this remark was made, the writings of Irving were read and greatly appreciated in Smith's own country.

Irving was born in New York on the same day that General Washington took possession of that city (April 3, 1783). Sixty years later he finished his greatest literary work, *A Life of Washington,* in five large volumes. It is not for his historical writings, however, that Irving is best known, but for his sketches of old Dutch life along the Hudson River. Thousands of persons have read with delight the *Legend of Sleepy Hollow* and the story of Rip Van Winkle. "There is no finer character sketch in all literature than that lovable old vagabond, Rip, as he goes slouching through the village, his arms full of children, a troop of dogs at his heels, and the shrill pursuing voice of Dame Winkle dying away in the distance."



James Fenimore Cooper
The first great American novelist

James Fenimore Cooper, 1789–1851. Cooper, the first great American novelist, was born in the year of Washington's first inauguration. Cooper spent his boyhood days on the shores of Otsego Lake (New York) on the edge of an almost boundless forest. Here he lived in close communion with nature, tramping through the forests with hunters, trappers, and Indian fighters, and listening to their tales of forest life and adventure.

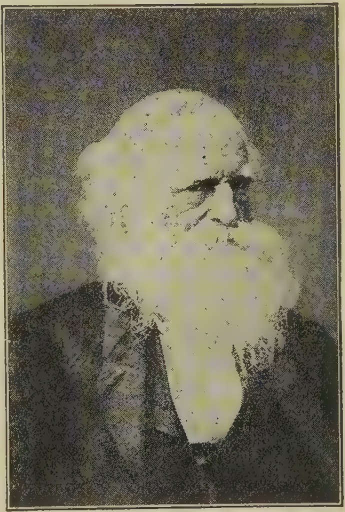
After attending Yale College for three years Cooper went to sea, and was later a sailor on Lake Ontario, which was then surrounded by forests in which the white man's ax had made no change. This course of training prepared him to write his stories of adventure on land and sea. He was more intensely American in his ideas than Irving.

Cooper began his literary career in an unusual way. He had led a somewhat aimless life after retiring from the sea, and was one day reading an English novel which did not please him. He turned to his wife and said, "I believe I could write a better story myself." His wife dared him to try it, and he did so. The result was a failure, but his second story, *The Spy,* a tale of the American Revolution, was a great success.

The mere titles of Cooper's stories give a good idea of their general character. He wrote *The Pilot, The Pioneers, The Last of the Mohicans, The Pathfinder, The Deerslayer, The Red Rover, The Pirates,* and a number of other stories relating to the Indian and to life in the wilderness and on the sea.

William Cullen Bryant, 1794–1878. Bryant was the first great American poet. Like Cooper, he was a student of nature. He loved to walk in the pathless woods. When a young man of twenty-two, while climbing a hill at sunset, he saw a waterfowl "darkly painted on the crimson sky." That night he wrote one of his most famous poems, "To a Waterfowl."

Several years before, when Bryant was but seventeen years of age, he wrote "Thanatopsis" (thăn′ȧ tôp′sĭs). This poem is in some ways the best of his writings, and has been pronounced "the greatest poem ever written by so young a man." Bryant served for years as the editor of the New York *Evening Post.*


William Cullen Bryant
The first great American poet

Other Writers. While speaking of these three great authors, mention should also be made of a few other writers of the period. John Howard Payne, of Long Island, will always be remembered for "Home, Sweet Home," which has been sung thousands of times the world over. During this period also Samuel Woodworth of Massachusetts wrote "The Old Oaken Bucket." Joseph Rodman Drake, a young physician who died in

1820 at the age of twenty-five, wrote the inspiring patriotic poem entitled "The American Flag," which begins,

> When Freedom from her mountain height
> Unfurled her standard to the air.

Drake was a fine spirit and would probably have made a notable mark in literature if his life had been spared. It was of him that the poet Halleck wrote:

> Green be the turf above thee,
> Friend of my better days;
> None knew thee but to love thee,
> Nor named thee but to praise.

General Progress. Progress was also made during this period along other lines. Life in the cities became safer and more healthful. The streets of New York and Philadelphia were lighted by gas. Crime was greatly reduced. The condition of the prisons was improved and the inmates were treated more humanely. The poor and other unfortunate classes were better cared for; schools and colleges increased in number, and the quality of instruction was improved.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. Describe the agricultural methods used in the United States in the days of Jefferson and Madison.

2. What kinds of manufacturing were important in our country during the first part of the nineteenth century?

3. Tell about the "humble inventions" that were made during the period under consideration.

4. Why did ship-building become an important industry in the United States?

5. Which way of travel was more pleasant a century ago — by land or by water? Why?

6. Name the three chief founders of American literature. Mention selections or books by them that you have read. Which of the three authors do you enjoy the most?

THINGS TO DO

1. One of the boys volunteer to make or draw a "clipper ship," such as was in use during the first part of the nineteenth century, for the historical collection of the school (see page 46).

2. Another boy volunteer to make or draw a stagecoach for the collection.

3. Make a special study of one of the writers mentioned in this chapter and give a floor-talk upon his life and writings.

4. Bring to class your favorite among Cooper's novels, Bryant's poems, or Irving's stories (see *The Sketch Book* or *The Alhambra*). Read aloud passages you like, making your selections such that you can read them in three minutes.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "Progress and Invention," *The Book of the United States,* 186–195.
2. "John James Audubon, Naturalist," *Makers of Our History,* 147–158.
3. "Agassiz, Teacher of Science," *Heroes of Progress,* 79–90.
4. "Loud Schools," *Readings in Community Life,* 91–93.
5. "Learning from a Bulldog," *ibid.,* 93–100.
6. "Old Time Textbooks," *ibid.,* 101–102.
7. "Founders of American Literature," *The Book of Knowledge,* 13: 4625–4630.
8. "The Pioneers of American Literature," *The World Book Encyclopedia,* 1: 253–255.
9. "Inventions," *ibid.,* 6: 3493–3497.
10. "Washington Irving," *ibid.,* 6: 3559–3560.

CHAPTER XIX

THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT

Beginnings of the Westward Movement. The westward movement began in colonial times, settlers slowly ascending the streams and gradually pushing their way toward the mountains. Just before and during the Revolution, Boone, Robertson, Sevier, and other hardy pioneers crossed the Alleghenies and led bands of settlers to Kentucky and Tennessee. The rush to the new country was especially rapid after the Revolution. "During the latter half of 1787 more than 900 boats floated down the Ohio, carrying 18,000 men, women, and children, and 12,000 horses, sheep, and cattle, and 650 wagons." In succeeding years other pioneers made their way into the West and established their homes in the wilderness. The movement continued in this way for a century, or until all of the attractive land in the West was taken up.

After the War of 1812. In the years that followed the War of 1812 the tide of settlers became larger than ever. Everybody seemed to be moving west. If a man was too poor to go with horses and wagons or to take passage upon a river boat, he set out on foot. It was not uncommon in those days to see a man headed for the West with his entire baggage in a hand-cart and his family following, sometimes barefoot, in the rear. "All America," said a writer in 1817, "seems to be breaking up and moving westward."

"Westward the course of empire takes its way." The westward march of the people in the nineteenth century was a momentous movement in American history. It meant the conquest of a continent.

Making Their Way to the West
The patient oxen pulled the heavy wagon over the rough roads at a very slow pace, the cattle being driven ahead, or tied behind.

Internal Improvements. The movement to the West caused a demand for better and easier modes of travel. The railroad did not come into use before 1830, and meanwhile the pioneer was compelled to make his way westward over wagon roads and waterways. He often huddled his family into a covered wagon, somewhat like the "prairie schooner" of a later time, and set out to find a new home in the wilderness. He carried food, a stove, simple cooking utensils, an ax, and a few crude tools. He camped at night by the roadside, preparing his meal and eating it under the trees, and sleeping in his wagon or in the open air.

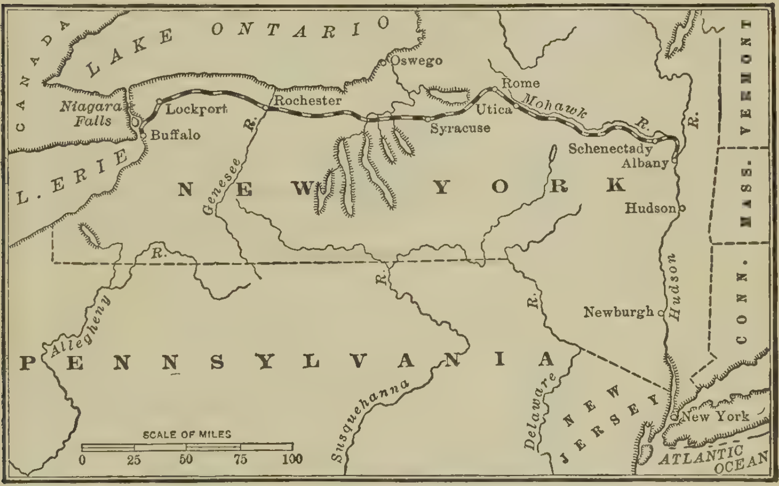
Sometimes rude boats upon the rivers furnished a more easy and comfortable journey. These were the days of the "jolly boatmen" who floated with song and laughter down the great rivers. One of the men often sat on a stool or keg at the end of the long boat and scraped away upon a battered violin, while his companions joined in jigs and dances of various kinds.

The "family boat," carrying the pioneer and his family together with horses, cattle, hogs, and other domestic animals, passed more quietly down stream. Now and then the noise and smoke of a crude steamboat would startle an Indian in his wigwam, or scatter the deer from their feeding-places along the river.

Traveling, on the whole, was painfully slow and difficult, and the demand became more and more insistent for the construction of roads and the improvement of waterways leading into the West. The problem, however, caused a marked difference of opinion. Almost every one was in favor of better transportation facilities, but many thought that the improvements should be made by the various States or by private individuals or companies, while others thought that Congress should provide money for the purpose.

For a number of years funds came from both public and private sources. In 1806 Congress provided for the building of a national road, or highway, from the East to the West. The contracts were let in 1811 and the road was built from Cumberland, Maryland, to Wheeling, West Virginia; in later years the road was extended almost straight across the country nearly to the Mississippi. The National Government did not build the road beyond Vandalia, Illinois, because the coming of the railroads made such construction unnecessary. But for years this highway was filled with the wagons of settlers going to make homes for their families in the West.

The Erie Canal. The States, too, helped to provide internal improvements, and a number of them built roads and canals at their own expense. The most important undertaking of the sort was the construction of the Erie Canal by the State of New York. This canal extended from Buffalo to Albany, a distance of 363 miles.

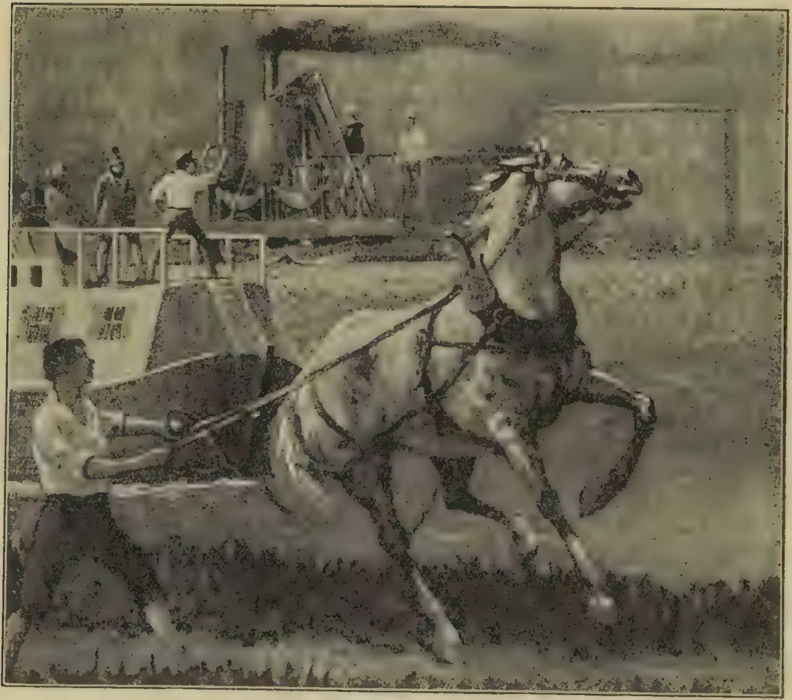

CANADA
LAKE ONTARIO
Oswego
Rome
Mohawk R.
Utica
Syracuse
Rochester
Lockport
Niagara Falls
Buffalo
L. ERIE
Genesee R.
NEW YORK
Schenectady
Albany
Hudson
R.
VERMONT
MASS.
CONN.
Hudson R.
Newburgh
Delaware R.
NEW JERSEY
New York
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PENNSYLVANIA
Susquehanna R.
Allegheny R.
SCALE OF MILES
0
25
50
75
100

THE ERIE CANAL, 1825

The most important waterway of its kind in the United States. It was largely due to the energy of Governor De Witt Clinton of New York that the canal was pushed across the State from Albany and Troy to Buffalo, a distance of 363 miles, a large part of it through a dense wilderness. The value of property along the line of the canal greatly increased, and the State received a large revenue from tolls.

The canal was begun in 1817 and finished in 1825, after eight years of the hardest kind of work. Its completion was celebrated with elaborate ceremonies at Buffalo and also at New York when the first boats arrived. The Erie Canal was a great success, and in ten years its tolls and revenues had repaid the entire cost of construction. It aided wonderfully in opening up and developing the West.

The success of the Erie Canal encouraged similar undertakings in other parts of the United States. On July 4, 1828, President Adams pulled off his coat in the presence of a large company of people at Washington, and with a spade broke ground for the beginning of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal.



RIVALS

The artist has attempted to show the new Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in competition with the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal boats.

On the same day that President Adams was breaking ground in Washington for the canal, Charles Carroll was doing a similar service in Baltimore, forty miles away, for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. This railroad was the first to be constructed in the United States and Mr.

Carroll felt that he was taking part in a very important event. "I consider this," he said, "among the most important acts of my life, second only to my signing the Declaration of Independence, if even it be second to that."

Canals, turnpikes, rivers, and other highways made possible the great westward march of population which took place at this period. The stream of immigration flooded the western country and soon flourishing farms and settlements occupied the regions where, a few years before, thousands of buffaloes licked salt in the valleys and on the hillsides.

Western Settlements. After the settler had reached his destination in the western wilderness and had purchased a tract of land or had taken possession of it without purchase, as was often the case, he proceeded to build his home. Cutting away the trees from a small piece of ground, he selected some of the best and straightest of the timber for his log hut. After getting the logs ready with his ax, he had what was called a *raising* — that is, he gathered together a few neighbors, if such could be found, and with their help he put his cabin together. The only pay which his helpers received was the prospect of being assisted in a similar way at some future time. The early settlers usually had a jolly time at these raisings of cabins or barns.

Having housed himself and family, the settler then made preparations to cultivate the soil. The trees around the cabin were killed by girdling, and corn and other vegetables were planted. At a later time, when he wished to clear off the land rapidly, the settler cut down the trees, trimmed away the limbs, and then chopped up the trunks into logs of convenient lengths. Some of the logs were split into rails for fences, but most of them were rolled up into piles and burned. For this purpose the pioneer again called his neighbors together and a merry "log-rolling" was the result.

The western pioneer was usually a strong, self-reliant character, but in certain instances he was shiftless and lazy. He sometimes preferred hunting, fishing, or trapping to the more serious business of farming. He had few opportunities for education, religious development, or refinement of any kind, although log schoolhouses were constructed here and there at an early time, and the circuit-riding minister soon appeared.

Livestock. The raising of livestock was an important part of the business of the pioneer farmer. He raised horses to do his work, and cattle, sheep, and hogs to supply food and clothing for himself and family. When he raised more livestock than he needed for his own use, he sent the surplus to an eastern market, to New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston. As early as 1805 a drove of fat cattle was driven from the Ohio over the mountains to Baltimore.

Farmers also began to take pride in the kind of cattle which they raised. Fine breeds such as Durhams, Short Horns, and Herefords were imported into this country at an early day, and fairs and livestock shows were held as early as 1810.

Hogs were easy to raise and were a source of great profit. They fattened upon acorns and other nuts (mast) which grew in great abundance in the forests. Early travelers in the West sometimes met four or five thousand hogs in a single drove on the way to an eastern market.

Western Towns. As other settlers came into the neighborhood, they built their houses in little clusters on the bank of some stream or lake, and there a small town sprang up. The gristmill, sawmill, blacksmith shop, and a general store, usually containing the post office, when there was one, were the most important features of the new town.

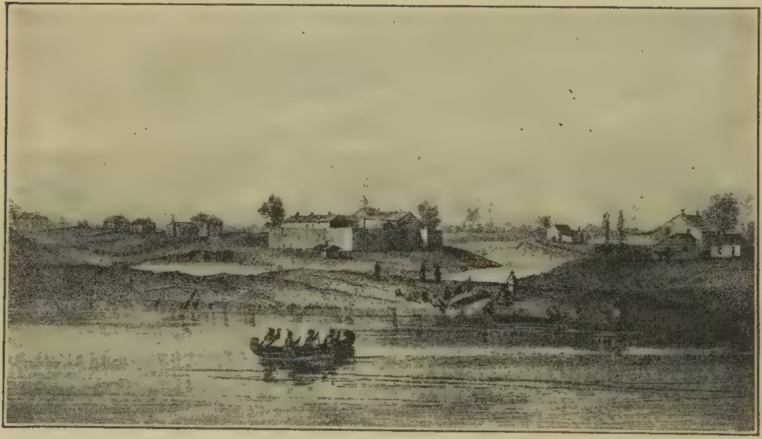
Here the little community lived almost entirely shut in from the outside world. The people were cut off from the Atlantic coast cities and were compelled to raise their own food and to make most of their manufactured goods. Most of their agricultural products were disposed of by being placed on shipboard and sent down the Mississippi to New Orleans.

Western settlers had their choice of the most fertile and desirable land for $2 an acre, and at first this low price might be paid to the Government in installments. In 1820 the price was reduced to $1.25 an acre and payment in cash was required. Many settlers, however, paid nothing; they simply picked out an attractive piece of land and proceeded to build their cabins. Such settlers were called "squatters"; they had no legal title to the land and as a rule they soon had to move on.

Freight from the East. Tools, implements, and other manufactured goods were usually supplied from the East. Freight came from the Atlantic seaboard on river boats and in large covered wagons drawn by several spans of horses. Progress was slow, both on the river and the road. Twenty days were needed at this time for a wagon load of freight to go from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. The journey is now made by rail in a few hours.

Cities and Posts. Many trading posts were established in the West which have since developed into prosperous cities. Fort Dearborn, where the city of Chicago now stands, was built in 1803; Buffalo and Detroit were then mere villages. Chicago and Milwaukee were trading stations in the midst of an Indian country. About 1830 St. Louis had a population of 6000 and Cincinnati, the "Queen City of the West," with 25,000, was second only to New Orleans in the Mississippi valley.

Transportation. At first the pioneer had to be contented with the narrow Indian trail and the waterway. He then cut down trees and widened the trail into a dirt road. At a later time he covered the surface of the road with stone or gravel and made a turnpike. Then the canal was constructed, and later on the steamboat appeared upon the rivers and the Great Lakes.

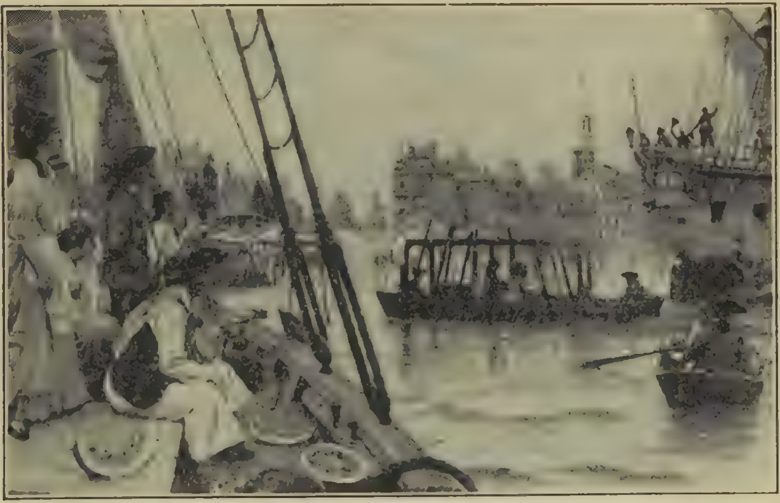


CHICAGO ABOUT 1830

The Steamboat. The invention of the steamboat marks a new era in transportation. It helped greatly in the opening of the western country, as it soon displaced the clumsy flatboats then in use. It was also much more comfortable and less expensive than the stagecoach.

Men had long been experimenting with steam navigation. John Fitch, a Connecticut Yankee living in Philadelphia, was the real inventor of the steamboat. He ran a steamboat on the Delaware River as early as 1786, twenty-one years before Fulton ran his *Clermont* on the Hudson. Fitch died in 1798, having failed to obtain the aid or means to make his invention known to the world. The task of making the steamboat a commercial success fell to the lot of Robert Fulton who, using some of Fitch's ideas, deserves the credit for bringing the steamboat to permanent and practical usefulness.

People laughed at Fulton and said that his plan was nonsense. They nicknamed his boat "Fulton's Folly," and learned engineers said that he could never succeed in his undertaking. Latrobe, who was the leading engineer in the United States at the time, said in 1803 that the attempt to propel boats by steam power would certainly end in failure. He said that the engine and fuel would be too heavy and occupy too much space; that the motion of the engine would strain the boat and cause it to leak; that the expense of running the vessel would be too great; and that the paddles or oars would be likely to break. He would open his eyes in astonishment today if he could see a modern ocean steamer a sixth of a mile

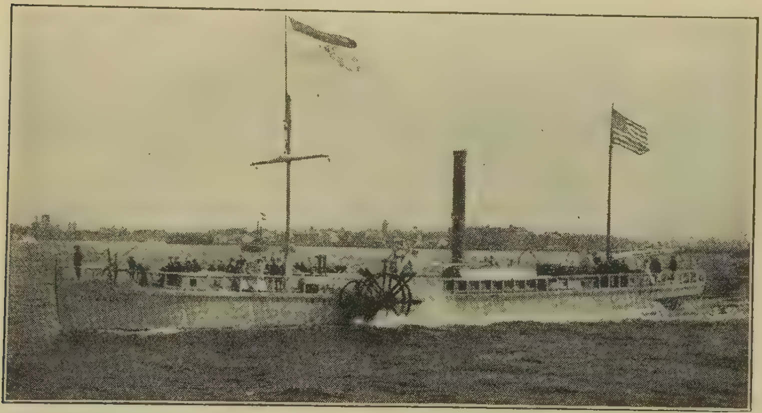


FITCH'S SKIFF-STEAMBOAT

This is a copy of Clyde O. De Land's painting in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D. C. The spectators are watching the successful trial trip of this new invention on the Delaware River, at Philadelphia.

long plowing the seas at the rate of twenty-five knots an hour with 5000 people on board.

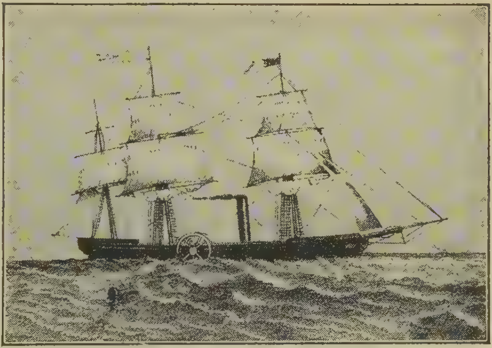
In spite of ridicule Fulton persevered in his efforts, and in 1807 ran his boat, the *Clermont,* from New York to Albany, a distance of 150 miles, in thirty-two hours. Like Fitch before him, he had demonstrated the practicability of using steam power in navigation and his critics were silenced. At a later time he wrote: "The morning I left New York there were not perhaps thirty persons in the city who believed that the boat would even move one mile per hour."



FULTON'S *Clermont*

This picture represents an exact copy of Fulton's steamboat. It was built for the Hudson-Fulton celebration held in New York City in September, 1909, and made the trip from New York to Albany, stopping at various places on the way. Most of the passengers on board were dressed in the costume of Fulton's time.

The Steamboat in the West. The steamboat appeared on the western rivers soon after the successful trip on the Hudson. Some difficulties, however, were found in navigating the Mississippi River, and it was not until 1816 that a boat was made strong enough to go up from New Orleans against the current. From this time on steamboats multiplied rapidly and by 1830 two hundred of them were on the Western rivers. These boats could be built almost anywhere and could obtain an abundant supply of fuel along the banks of the rivers. It was now possible to make long trips. In 1820 a steamer required thirty-five days to go from New Orleans to Pittsburgh. Only ten days were needed to make the return trip. For several years Mark Twain, the famous American humorist, was a pilot on the Mississippi. In his writings he frequently mentions life on the great river which he loved.



THE STEAMSHIP *Savannah*

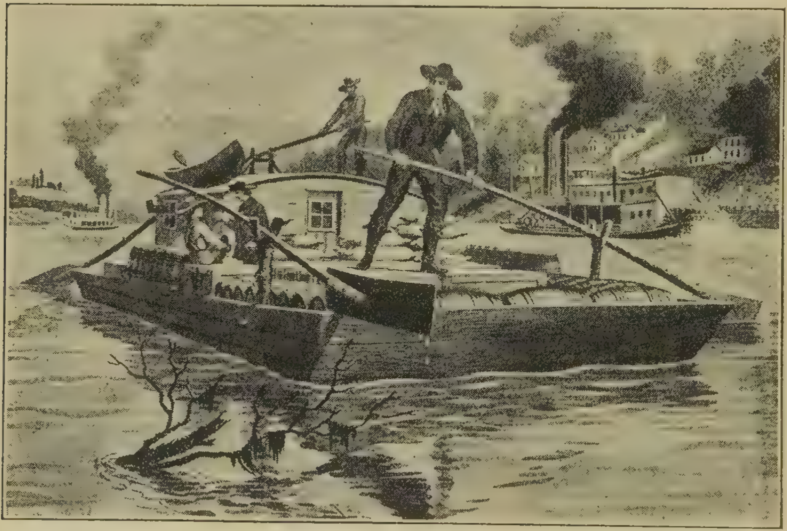
The *Savannah* was the first steamer to cross the Atlantic Ocean. She sailed from Savannah in June, 1819, and reached Liverpool in eighteen days. She used steam power for only seven days on the trip. When about to enter St. George's Channel, near the coast of Ireland, the smoke from her funnel was spied by the commander of the British fleet, who, thinking the vessel on fire, sent two boats to her rescue. She was met by a large crowd at Liverpool and given an enthusiastic reception.

The old flatboats were also in use. They could be floated down stream easily enough, but it was almost impossible to bring them back against the current. When the end of the journey was reached, they were usually broken up and sold for lumber.

New States from the West. The improvements in transportation were important causes of the rapid growth of population in the West. So quickly was the wilderness settled that State after State was admitted to the Union within less than ten years after the War of 1812. In 1816 Indiana became a State; in 1817

Mississippi entered; in 1818 Illinois was admitted; in 1819 Alabama entered; and in 1821 Missouri — the first State west of the Mississippi River — became a member of the Union.

Importance of the Westward Movement. It is not easy to estimate the importance of the westward movement in American history. It helped to make America into a *nation.* No other single force "did so much to shape the policies of the Government and to mold the character of the people and their industries." The movement furnished land, practically free, to Western settlers and had a marked influence upon slavery, immigration, wages, transportation, internal improvements, the tariff, the annexation of additional territory, and almost all other problems of the time.



A MISSISSIPPI RIVER FLATBOAT

This clumsy box, laden with produce of various kinds, meandered like a tortoise down the great river to New Orleans.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. When did the westward movement begin? Explain what you mean by the westward movement.

2. Why did many people go west after the War of 1812?

3. What are "internal improvements"? Explain the connection between such improvements and the westward movement. Are internal improvements now in progress in your part of the country? Explain.

4. Tell how the Erie Canal influenced the settlement of the West. Explain the part of the steamboat. Which had the greater influence upon the development of the West — the Erie Canal or the steamboat? Give reasons for your opinion.

5. In 1820 Chicago was a mere trading post; in 1840 Chicago was the second largest city north of the Ohio River. Account for the growth of Chicago during the years mentioned.

6. Mention the most pressing problems a pioneer would face in taking up land in Illinois or Wisconsin about 1820.

THINGS TO DO

1. One of the boys in the class volunteer to make a large map of the Erie Canal. Above the map and below it, make pen-and-ink drawings showing the canal locks, the tow path, and the early canal boats.

2. Imagine that you were living in 1830 in Boston and that you had decided to move to northern Illinois to buy land from the Government. Write two or three paragraphs telling the route you would follow and the means of travel you would use to reach your desination.

3. Suppose that you had reached your destination, as explained in No. 2, and had bought land from the Government and gone to farming. Write a letter to your brother or sister

in Boston describing your experiences on your journey westward and on your new farm.

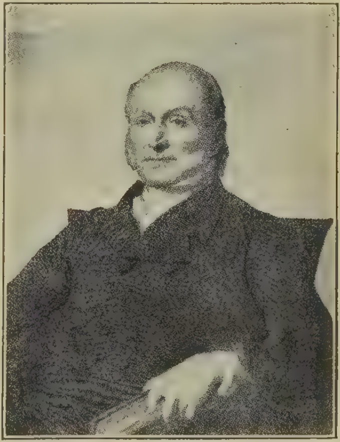
4. Volunteer to make a model flatboat or river steamer for the Historical Museum of your school.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "Daniel Boone, Backwoodsman," *Makers of Our History,* 51–67.
2. "The New Country," *The Book of the United States,* 163–172.
3. "Robert Fulton and the Steamboat," *Makers of Our History,* 112–122.
4. "The West," *Source Book of American History,* 166–168.
5. "Religious Life in the West," *ibid.,* 231–234.
6. "A Settler in Illinois," *ibid.,* 237–240.
7. "Jemima Johnson," *Women in American History,* 72–79.
8. "Lincoln's Books," by Carl Sandburg, in *Readings in Community Life,* 111–114.
9. "The Western Pioneer," *ibid.,* 161–165.
10. "Life in the Backwoods," by Theodore Roosevelt, *ibid.,* 166–168.
11. "Pioneers! O Pioneers!" by Walt Whitman, *ibid.,* 169.
12. "Social Gatherings in Pioneer Times," *ibid.,* 339–341.
13. "The Adventures of Daniel Boone," *America First,* 121–124.
14. "Traveling by the Canal," *ibid,* 278–282.
15. "West of the Alleghanies," *America the Great Adventure,* 179–186.
16. "Highways, Steamboats, and Railroads," *ibid.,* 194–206.
17. "The Growing West," *The Book of Knowledge,* 6: 1905–1912.
18. "The Erie Canal," *ibid.,* 13: 4881–4888.
19. "The Father of the Steamboat," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia,* 4: 1381.
20. "The First Steamboat," *ibid.,* 17: 6397–6404.

CHAPTER XX

THE TRIUMPH OF DEMOCRACY



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

After retiring from the presidency, Adams was, for many years, a member of the House of Representatives from Massachusetts. During this period he became known as "The Old Man Eloquent" and as a vigorous opponent of slavery. He was one of the ablest of American Presidents.

Adams as President. The "era of good feeling" for which Monroe's administration was notable soon passed away. It had been rudely disturbed by the "scrub race for the presidency," which stirred up much bitter feeling. The friends of Jackson claimed that their candidate was really the people's choice in 1824, but that he had been deprived of the office by trickery and underhand work. They therefore sought revenge, and Adams was hardly seated in the presidential chair before plans were laid to defeat him for a second term.

When John Quincy Adams became President, he seemed to be the ideal man for the place. He had studied at Harvard and in one of the European universities. Later he became a distinguished lawyer and statesman.

He also had strong personal qualities. He was a fearless champion of what seemed to him to be right, a splendid speaker, and an excellent writer in both prose and verse. In addition, he had had a wide and successful experience in public affairs. He had been a foreign minister, a United States Senator, and a Cabinet officer.

Internal Improvements. One question of consequence before the country was the subject of internal improvements. Adams belonged to the group that believed that such enterprises ought to be promoted and paid for by the National Government. In his inaugural address, therefore, he urged Congress to appropriate money for the construction of roads and canals. In spite of opposition about $2,500,000 was appropriated by Congress for internal improvements during his administration.

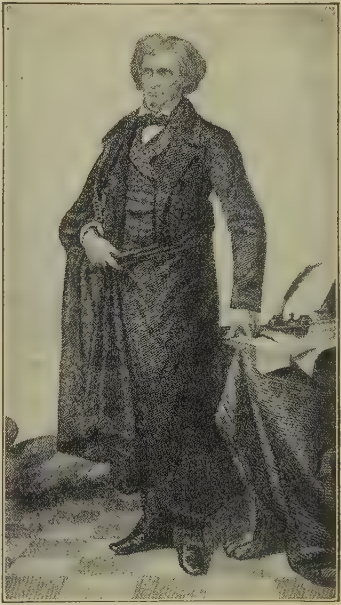
The Tariff. In 1824 Congress had passed an act increasing the import duties. Since there was a demand on the part of manufacturers for still greater protection from European competition, a new tariff act was framed and passed in 1828.

The line was now quite clearly drawn between those for and those against a protective tariff. The North favored protection, while the South was opposed to it. The reason for this difference is plain. Manufacturing had come to be an important industry in New England and was demanding protection from foreign competition. In the South, on the other hand, there were few factories, and the people opposed the tariff because it made them pay more for the manufactured goods which they bought.

The Act of 1828 is called the "Tariff of Abominations" because it had so many objectionable features Many of the duties were exceedingly high. The duty on wool, for example, was raised from about 30% to about 70% The measure undoubtedly did not meet with the approval of the people of the United States, and it is difficult to see why President Adams signed the bill, but he did. He was in favor of the protective system advocated by Henry Clay and probably hoped that the act would be amended so as to remove some of its abominations. This was done at a later time.

The voice of the South was immediately raised against this tariff measure. Five States at once protested and John C. Calhoun became the spokesman of the opposition. He held that Congress had no right to pass such a bill and advised South Carolina to declare the act "null and void within the limits of the State."

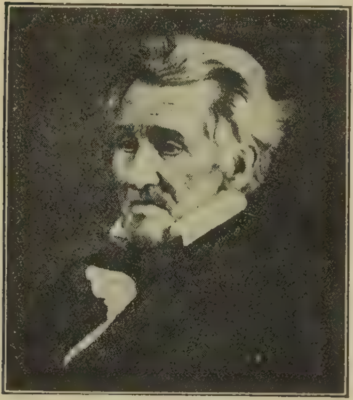
The Election of Andrew Jackson. In the presidential election of 1828 Adams and Jackson were the opposing candidates. The issue was largely a personal one between the two men. No important governmental questions were at stake. Men talked a great deal about the tariff and internal improvements, but no one really cared what Jackson thought in regard to either. "Hurrah for Jackson" was the platform of his party followers in 1828. They wanted Jackson, who embodied their principles. Jackson swept the South and the West and was elected over Adams by a vote of more than two to one.



JOHN C. CALHOUN

Born in South Carolina in 1782, died in Washington, D. C., in 1850. He was of Irish ancestry. He favored the War of 1812, was Congressman, Secretary of War, Vice President, Secretary of State, advocate of the doctrine of nullification, defender of slavery, states rights, and the interests of the South as he understood them.

The personality of Andrew Jackson was an important factor in the election. "Old Hickory," as he was affectionately called, was honest and upright in all his dealings. It was said that he lacked refinement and polish. He had rough Western ways when they were needed, but he had fine manners, too, and all the stately gallantry of a gentleman. No one ever questioned his integrity or patriotism. When a boy of fourteen, he had fought against Great Britain in the Revolution; he had protected the frontier from Indian attacks; and he had defeated the British at New Orleans in the War of 1812. He was thus a great popular hero and the Western people rallied around his standard with enthusiasm.

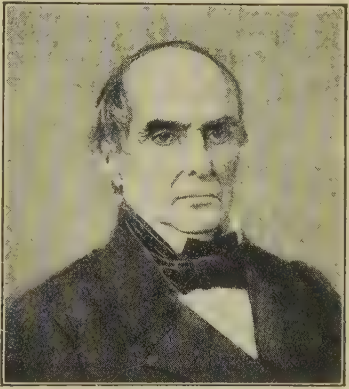


Andrew Jackson

"Old Hickory," "The Hero of New Orleans," and the frontier statesman and Indian-fighter, was born in North Carolina in 1767 and died in Tennessee in 1845.

The West in Politics. Jackson represented a new force in American politics. Up to this time the Presidents of the United States had been chosen from Virginia and Massachusetts. They represented the culture and the refinement of the East. Jackson, the rough-and-ready son of the West, introduced a new element. He stood for that Western democracy which overwhelmed the aristocracy of the East. The West was democratic. Until the slavery question became prominent in politics, all the Western States generally voted for the Democratic Party. There were no rich people among the Western settlers; all were on the same plane of social equality. It was not popular to be suspected of being an "aristocrat." The people were interested in politics and would go for miles to hear the oratory of their " stump speakers " After Jackson's time the Westerners were always a force to be reckoned with in political contests.

New Political Parties. We have already seen that party lines vanished in the " era of good feeling." During the administration of Adams new parties were formed. All claimed to be Republicans. The followers of Adams and Clay called themselves " National Republicans," while the Jackson men were known as " Democratic Republicans," and later as " Democrats." The National Republicans, soon to be known as " Whigs," may be looked upon in a general way as the descendants of the old Federalist party, while the Democrats represented the Republican party that had been founded by Jefferson.



Daniel Webster

Webster is considered one of the greatest of American orators He was a graduate of Dartmouth College, a famous lawyer, a senator, and Secretary of State He is best known as "The Expounder of the Constitution."

A New National Era. With Jackson's entrance into the White House a new era in American history begins. It was felt that the " plain people " had at last come into possession of the government. From all parts of the United States Jackson's supporters came to witness the inauguration of their leader. A writer of the time states that they swarmed into the White House, overturned bowls of punch, smashed glasses, and climbed with muddy cow-hide boots upon the upholstered furniture in order to get a glimpse of their hero. Daniel Webster wrote as follows on the day of Jackson's inauguration:

"Today we have had the inauguration. A monstrous crowd of people is in the city. I never saw anything like it before. People have come 500 miles to see General Jackson, and they really seem to think that the country is rescued from some frightful danger."

New Statesmen. The older statesmen, who had drafted the Constitution and put it into operation, had for the most part passed away. Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, and John Adams were dead, and Madison and Monroe no longer took an active part in politics. The leading men of the new era were Andrew Jackson, the frontier statesman and hero of New Orleans; Martin Van Buren, the polished gentleman and shrewd politician, the "peacemaker" in politics; Henry Clay, "the mill boy of the slashes" and the noted compromiser; and John C. Calhoun and Daniel Webster, great orators and students of the Constitution.

The "Spoils System." The new era also brought new political methods. The "spoils system," as it is called, sprang up at this time. Before Jackson's administration, faithful and capable men were kept in office, for the most part, without regard to the political party to which they belonged; but now a great change took place. Many of the men who had been in office for a long time were suspected, in most cases without good reason, of being dishonest; at least, they were not "friends of Jackson" and some of them had opposed his election.

Jackson and his friends believed in the doctrine that "to the victors belong the spoils." They believed that the offices, with their salaries, should be given as rewards to the men who had helped to elect a new President. Jackson therefore made a "clean sweep" by turning out most of the Government officers and putting new men in their places. It is only fair to add, however, that in making these wholesale removals Jackson was following a practice already in use in some of the States, especially in New York and Pennsylvania.

Many evil results have come from the spoils system. In the first place, it is wrong in principle to remove capable and experienced officers every few years and to put in their places men without experience. It is neither good business nor common sense. A merchant or a manufacturer would not think of conducting his business in that way. Naturally the President was misled and made a number of unwise appointments. The worst feature of the whole matter was that the spoils system did not end with Jackson's administration. Later Presidents followed Jackson's example and the spoils system has continued to some extent even to the present day.

Other Changes in the Government. In addition to the spoils system, the administration of Jackson marks the introduction of several other notable changes in our government.

The use of the veto power was enlarged. Earlier Presidents had vetoed measures passed by Congress only when they considered them unconstitutional. Jackson vetoed bills which he considered unwise, even though they were in harmony with the Constitution. If he disapproved a bill which Congress passed, he vetoed it. For such acts his opponents denounced him as "King Andrew." They wanted to have the veto power taken from the President, or to allow Congress to overcome it by a majority vote.

Jackson became an independent leader. He dominated the whole government and generally ignored his Cabinet. When in need of advice, instead of calling a Cabinet meeting, he consulted a few intimate friends whom the newspapers called the "Kitchen Cabinet." Men referred to the regular Cabinet as the "Cabinet proper," and to the Kitchen Cabinet as the "Cabinet improper."

During Jackson's presidency the nominating convention and the regular party "platform" were first used. Before this time, nominations were made by congressional caucuses and by State legislatures. Now the national convention was introduced. The same plan is in use today. Delegates from all the States and territories assemble in some convenient city for the purpose of nominating candidates for the presidency and vice presidency. In these conventions the States were represented as they were represented in Congress, two delegates at large corresponding to the senators, and as many other delegates as the State had representatives in Congress. After 1848 the number of delegates from each State was doubled.

The party platform also came into use in Jackson's time. It is now customary for political parties, when assembled in conventions, to pass resolutions expressing their opinions on important political questions of the day. These resolutions constitute the "platform" upon which the party stands. Both of these devices tend to give the people a larger control over the government.

Jackson's Views. What changes will the new President make in the government? What are his views on the great questions of the day? These were the inquiries which every one asked. The Democratic party had come into power without any definite platform, but every one knew that Jackson had a mind of his own. It soon became evident that Jackson was in favor of a strict construction of the Constitution, as Jefferson had been, and, as a result of this view, was opposed to national aid for internal improvements, to the United States Bank, and to a protective tariff, although his views on the tariff seemed somewhat uncertain. These three important problems took a large part of his attention during his eight years of office.

Nullification and the Tariff. An old and important question had been left over from the preceding administration. It will be remembered that the "Tariff of Abominations" was passed in the administration of John Quincy Adams (page 334). The South protested against this law. Agriculture was the main business of the South and consequently that section was not interested in protecting the factories of New England and the North.

South Carolina took the lead in opposing the tariff and John C. Calhoun was the leader of South Carolina. He insisted that the law should not go into effect. He said that any law passed by Congress might be declared null and void by any State that considered the law contrary to the Constitution. This was the doctrine known as "nullification." It was making some headway and its advocates hoped to induce the President to declare himself in its favor.

In this hope they were disappointed. On April 13, 1830, a number of political leaders met at a banquet to celebrate the birthday of Thomas Jefferson. In the course of the speeches several of the men approved the doctrine of nullification. When it came General Jackson's turn to speak, he boldly announced as his toast, "Our Federal Union: it must be preserved." This brought a sudden shock to those who favored nullification. It was plain that the President would not favor allowing any State to set aside the laws of the United States. There was no doubt as to where the President stood, and in his bold and positive stand he did a great service for the cause of the Union. Although Jackson did not greatly favor a protective tariff, he did favor the enforcement of law.

The Great Debate. While the contest over nullification was in progress, a notable debate took place in the

American Senate between Robert Y. Hayne, of South Carolina, and Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts (January, 1830). Hayne insisted that the Constitution was a mere "compact" formed by sovereign States, and intimated that any State might withdraw from the compact whenever it wanted to do so. He also held that a State had the right to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional and therefore null and void.

Webster replied in a forcible speech. He said that the Constitution was not a compact. He denied the right of a State to nullify a law of Congress. He maintained that the Supreme Court, and not the States, had the right to declare a law of Congress unconstitutional; that it would be absurd to allow twenty-four judges, or the twenty-four States, each to say for itself what laws were constitutional and should be obeyed. He closed his address with these well-known words: "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable." Hayne's view is usually called the "compact theory" of the Constitution, and Webster's the "national theory." The dispute was finally decided by the Civil War, when Webster's view was enforced by the nation.

South Carolina was not alone in her doctrine of nullification. New England took the same view in the Hartford Convention of 1814. Nullification had been advocated in many States, North as well as South, before this date. It should also be remembered that the doctrine was not so objectionable in 1830 as it would be now. The times have changed. National spirit and love for the Union have grown steadily stronger. Webster's speeches and Jackson's emphatic stand did much to develop the national spirit.

The New Tariff Law, 1832. Another change was now made in the tariff. Many people outside of South Carolina did not like the "Tariff of Abominations," and in 1832 Congress passed a new law modifying the tariff to go into effect on March 3, 1833.

The new tariff law did away with most of the abominations, but the South did not want any protective tariff law at all. It made South Carolina and Calhoun more angry than ever. Acting upon Calhoun's advice, South Carolina passed (November 24, 1832) the famous "Ordinance of Nullification." This ordinance declared the national tariff acts null and void within the limits of the State. It also prohibited the citizens of the State from paying any tariff duties after February 1, 1833. In addition, the Ordinance declared that South Carolina would withdraw from the Union if the Federal Government attempted to enforce its tariff law in that State. The situation now began to look serious.

Jackson's Vigorous Action. While these events were taking place, Jackson was not idle. In the fall of 1832, while South Carolina was making her protests, he had been re-elected President over Henry Clay, the candidate of the new Whig Party, by a tremendous majority. He naturally concluded that the people approved his course, and kept up his fight against nullification. In the early part of November he sent instructions to the collector of customs at Charleston to collect all tariff duties and to use force in doing so if necessary. When the Ordinance was passed by South Carolina, he issued a proclamation in which he denounced nullification as contrary to the Constitution and added firmly, "The laws of the United States must be executed."

A little later he asked Congress to pass a law permitting him to use the army and navy of the United States to protect the collectors of revenue. Congress did so, and the "Force Bill," as it was called, became a law on March 2, 1833, one day before the new tariff law was to go into effect.

General Scott was sent to Charleston with instructions to enforce the law and collect the duties as usual, and he was prepared to do so. The people of South Carolina made preparations for resistance. Her legislature passed acts to assert her authority against the National Government. Hayne, now governor of South Carolina, threatened that South Carolina would withdraw from the Union and declare its independence if the National Government used force to make her citizens pay the high tariff duties on cloth and other goods. He claimed the people there were growing poorer, while the Northern manufacturers were getting richer at their expense. Hayne demanded free trade. He had resigned from the Senate to become governor of South Carolina in order to carry out the nullification policy which he had advocated in the Senate against Webster.

The Danger Averted. Just when it seemed that civil war was about to break out, a fortunate settlement of the question took place. Henry Clay, who is known in American history as the "Great Compromiser," came forward and did a very useful piece of work. He advised Congress to pass a new law reducing some of the tariff duties. This was done and the law went into effect on March 2, 1833—one day before the tariff law of 1832 was to become effective. This pleased South Carolina, and her Ordinance of Nullification was repealed soon after. Thus the nullification trouble was settled by a compromise; the objectionable tariff was not actually enforced against the nullifying State; and some claimed that the United States had "knuckled down" to South Carolina.

Jackson and the United States Bank. Much excitement also occurred in Jackson's administration over the United States Bank. Jackson was a man of strong likes and dislikes, and he disliked the United States Bank as much as he liked the Federal Union. He considered the Bank unconstitutional and looked upon it as the representative of the "money power" and as the enemy of the common people. Accordingly, when a bill was passed by Congress (1832) renewing the charter of the Bank, Jackson promptly vetoed the measure on the ground that the Bank was "an unnecessary, useless, expensive, un-American monopoly."

When the charter of the Bank expired in 1836, the institution went out of existence as a United States Bank, and was reorganized as a State bank under the laws of Pennsylvania.

Van Buren Elected President, 1836. The new party, the Whigs, nominated General William Henry Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe, for President in 1836. Martin Van Buren, who was Vice President at the time, was Jackson's choice and he was accordingly nominated by the Democrats. He was elected by a large majority, and his administration may be looked upon as a continuation of that of Jackson.

The Panic of 1837. President Van Buren began his work under very unfavorable conditions. The country was on the verge of a period of hard times, usually called a *panic* or *crisis*. Removal of Government funds (nearly $10,000,000) from the United States Bank and its branches to be deposited in State banks (called Jackson's "Pet Banks"); the refusal of the Government to take anything but specie (gold or silver) in payment for public lands as provided in the "Specie Circular"; and over-speculation encouraged by the "Wild Cat Banks" led to the financial panic of 1837. The chief cause was probably speculation in Western land. Banks and business houses failed, debtor farmers lost their farms, poor people found it hard to make a living, and bread riots occurred in New York City.

The Election of 1840. Things did not go well with Van Buren. Several good laws were passed during his administration, but he suffered because of many matters for which he was really not to blame. When hard times come on, the people generally blame the President whether he has had anything to do with bringing them on or not. Such was the case with Van Buren. Then again, the spoils system had led to scandals and Van Buren was blamed. He was looked upon as the man who had brought the system from New York. On account of his skill in politics, he was called " The Little Magician," and his opponents said he was tricky and untrustworthy. As a matter of fact, a great injustice was done to Van Buren. He was a capable man, and would have given the country a good administration under more favorable circumstances.

The Democrats nominated Van Buren for a second term and the Whigs again chose William Henry Harrison. The campaign was picturesque and exciting. It has been called " a huge frolic," and " a campaign of hullabaloo." The people did not seem to think seriously about public questions, but attended political meetings in order to have a good time. Soon after the nomination of Harrison an Eastern paper remarked that he should not try to become President of the United States, but should content himself with his log cabin, coon skins, and hard cider. This statement played an important part in the campaign, and log cabins, coon skins, and kegs of cider were numerous at political gatherings. The Whigs sang:

Farewell, dear Van,
You are not our man,
To guard the ship,
We'll try old Tip.

And they voted as they sang, Harrison receiving about four times as many electoral votes as Van Buren.

This whole period of twelve years was dominated by the personality of Andrew Jackson. He was the most influential man of his time, and, in fact, the most influential man in American politics from the days of Jefferson to the Civil War. After retiring from the presidency he went to his home in Tennessee, called the "Hermitage," and there became a planter. He died in 1845 at the age of 77.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. How was John Quincy Adams an ideal man for the presidency? Tell why his administration was not more successful.

2. How was the election of Andrew Jackson a triumph for democracy? Mention ways in which Jackson differed as President from all his predecessors.

3. Why were new political parties formed between 1825 and 1835? Compare the principles of the new organizations with the principles of the early political parties. What new political practices were developed during Jackson's administration? Do they represent progress in democracy? Explain.

4. What was the "spoils system"? Tell why it was introduced. Is it a democratic way of dealing with the public offices? Give reasons. What evils did it cause?

5. Explain Jackson's ideas about the presidency. What changes in the government did he introduce? Do you think his changes were of benefit to the country? Give reasons. Has our present President followed Jackson's example?

6. In your opinion what would be the attitude of most Westerners in Jackson's time on the protective tariff? Why? Explain the attitude of New England; of the South.

7. Tell the story of South Carolina and nullification. Which won the struggle — South Carolina or the United States? Give reasons for your opinion.

THINGS TO DO

1. Suppose you were a cartoonist living in 1828. Draw, or suggest, a cartoon portraying Jackson as viewed by the Adams men, or Adams as looked upon by Jackson's followers.

2. Two boys volunteer to secure selections from the speeches of Webster and Hayne in their famous debate of 1830. Read aloud to the class the passages that seem most effective or eloquent.

3. Add whatever notable statements you find in the chapter to your Famous American Slogans (see No. 3, page 292).

4. One of the members of the class volunteer to make a model of Harrison's log cabin as used in the campaign of 1840 for the Historical Museum (see page 44).

5. Write a short historical or imaginative composition on one of the following subjects:

   a. Jackson as an Indian fighter
   b. The inauguration of Jackson
   c. The Kitchen Cabinet
   d. Jackson's retirement at "The Hermitage"
   e. Incidents in the panic of 1837
   f. The "Log-Cabin, Hard-Cider" campaign
   g. Why I admire Adams, Jackson, Clay, or Webster

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "Jackson and the Union," *The Book of the United States,* 180–182.

2. "John Quincy Adams, Statesman," *Makers of Our History,* 135–146.

3. "Daniel Webster, Orator and Statesman," *ibid.,* 159–172.

4. "Jackson's Responsibility," *Source Book of American History,* 266–268.

5. "Liberty and Union," by Daniel Webster, *Readings in Community Life,* 452–453.

6. "Old Hickory," *America First*, 294–298.
7. "John Quincy Adams," *Our Presidents*, 47–56.
8. "Andrew Jackson," *ibid.*, 57–72.
9. "Martin Van Buren," *ibid.*, 73–80.
10. "The Frontierman Who Became President," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia*, 5: 1855–1858.
11. "The Indian Fighter Who Became President," *ibid.*, 4: 1593–1594.
12. "Changes in Political Parties," *America the Great Adventure*, 234–237.
13. "Adams and Jackson," *This Country of Ours*, 469–477.
14. "The Man Who Always Did His Best," *The Book of Knowledge*, 3: 1043–1045.

LOOKING BACKWARD

A. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION

In your notebook outline the main points in the story of The Development of the Nation, following the form given below.

I. Reasons for the "Era of Good Feeling"
  1. ______________________________
  2. ______________________________
  3. ______________________________

II. Main declarations in the Monroe Doctrine
  1. [illegible] ______________________________
  2. ______________________________

III. Important inventions between the adoption of the Constitution and the election of Jackson
  1. [illegible] ______________ by ______________
  2. [illegible] ______________ by ______________
  3. [illegible] ______________ by ______________

IV. Means of travel in 1830
  1. ______________________________
  2. ______________________________
  3. ______________________________

8

V. Changes brought about by improvements in transportation

1. ______________________
2. ______________________
3. ______________________

VI. Questions in dispute between 1815 and 1840

1. ______________________
2. ______________________
3. ______________________

VII. New political methods and agencies

1. ______________________
2. ______________________
3. ______________________
4. ______________________

VIII. The founders of American literature

1. ________Irving________, the first American author recognized in Europe.
2. ________Cooper________, the first great American novelist.
3. ________Bryant________, the first great American poet.

B. HISTORICAL TERMS

The following terms are used in the story of The Development of the Nation. Copy the statements given below, filling each blank with the correct term.

Monroe Doctrine
Holy Alliance
"Fulton's Folly"
protective tariff
spoils system
patent
Erie Canal
turnpike
veto power
nullification
Kitchen Cabinet
Congressional caucus
political platform
National Republicans
Democratic Republicans

1 The practice of giving public offices as rewards for political service is called the ______________.

2. The President's friends whom he consulted instead of his cabinet were called the ______K______.

3. The act of declaring a law of no force is an act of ______________.

4. ______________ is a road or highway with tollgates.

5. Robert Fulton's steamboat was called ______C______.

6. ______G______ is a connecting waterway between Lake Erie and the Hudson River.

7. A law levying duties upon imported goods in order to protect home manufacturers from foreign competition is called a ______________.

8. The ______________ is the power to prevent a bill passed by a legislative body from becoming a law.

9. The exclusive right to make and sell an article is called a ______F______.

10. The policy of President Monroe concerning interference in American affairs by European powers was set forth in the ______A______.

11. The political party which favored greater national power and a loose construction of the Constitution became known as the ______N______.

12. A number of European monarchies which opposed republican government formed the ______B______.

13. The principles for which a political party stands are called the party's ______M______.

14. The political party which favored greater power to the States and less power to the Central Government was called the ______O______.

15. ______E______ was a meeting of the members of Congress belonging to a political party to select the candidates of the party for public office.

C. IMPORTANT NAMES

Copy the names of important persons in the period of history which you have just studied. After each name write brief statements which tell the part that person played in the story.

James Monroe
Henry Clay
Andrew Jackson
John Quincy Adams
John C. Calhoun
Martin Van Buren
Daniel Webster
Robert Y. Hayne
Samuel Slater
Eli Whitney
Washington Irving
James Fenimore Cooper
William Cullen Bryant
William Henry Harrison
~~Andrew Jackson~~

D. IMPORTANT DATES

Copy the dates given below and after each date write the event you associate with it.

a. 1819, ______________________________
b. 1823, ______________________________
c. 1825, ______________________________
d. 1830, ______________________________

E. FLOOR TALKS FOR VOLUNTEERS

1. One pupil represent Daniel Webster, another represent Robert Hayne, and debate the question of nullification.

2. Two pupils discuss the panic of 1837, one pupil placing the responsibility for the panic on Van Buren, the other pupil defending him.

3. One pupil represent a manufacturer of the East, another a Southern planter, another a Western farmer, and present the views of each on the question of a protective tariff.

4. One pupil talk on changes in travel between 1750 and 1830. Use pictures or pencil sketches to illustrate the talk.

PART SIX
THE STRUGGLE OVER SLAVERY

THE STRUGGLE OVER SLAVERY

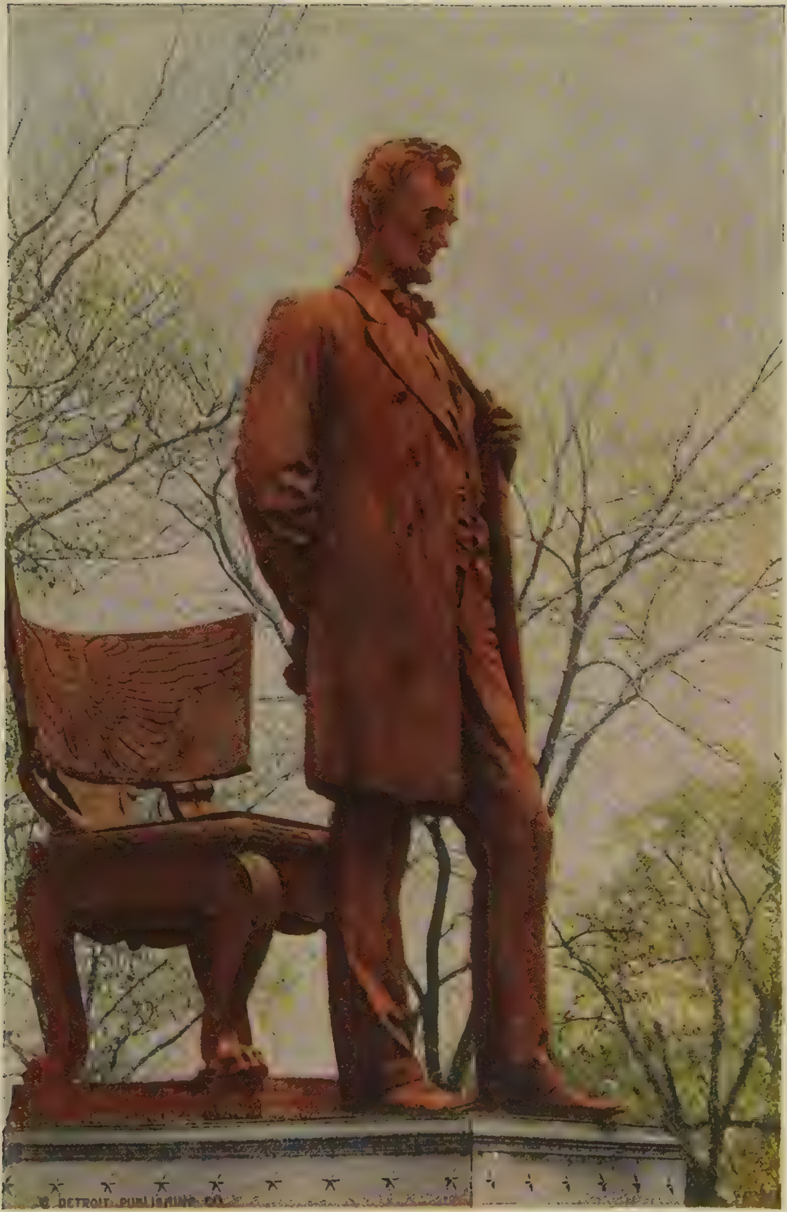
As the nation developed the seeds of a controversy grew which soon threatened its very life.

In colonial days slaves had been held by Northerners and Southerners alike. Slave labor did not pay in the North, however, and the system soon died out. But in the South slaves were used in the cotton fields, and the planters came to believe that the system was essential for their welfare. This difference between the North and the South caused little trouble at first, for there was no thought of doing away with slavery in the States in which it existed. But after new territories were acquired, the advocates of slavery expected that the institution would be allowed there, while the anti-slavery people were determined to keep it out.

To settle the controversy, a line was drawn through the Louisiana territory, the region to the north of the line to be free and that to the south to be open to slavery. Thirty years later another plan was tried, and the people in the territories were allowed to choose for themselves. But the question would not stay settled; in one aspect or another it came up again and again.

At last the Republican Party was formed with the purpose of keeping slavery out of the territories altogether. In 1860 this party elected Abraham Lincoln as President. The South was greatly alarmed. Believing that their most cherished rights were in danger, eleven States withdrew from the Union. The North, however, declared that no State *could* leave the Union; and a great civil war ensued.

The superior resources of the North in man power and in money, factories, and railroads finally brought victory to the Federal Government, for the South was defeated. Since that time the United States has been united in fact as well as in name — "an indestructible union, composed of indestructible States."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STATUE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN LINCOLN PARK, CHICAGO

PART SIX
THE STRUGGLE OVER SLAVERY

CHAPTER XXI

THE FIGHT FOR MISSOURI

A Divided Country. Slavery existed in very early ages and among all peoples. We have seen how it was introduced into Virginia in the early days of the colony (see page 71). Gradually slavery spread into all the colonies, North as well as South. Few people, if any, thought it wrong

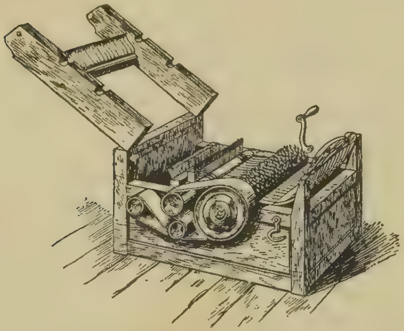
When people needed slaves for their work, they bought them if they could afford to do so. There was no apparent difference of opinion between the Puritan of New England and the Cavalier of Virginia on the right to hold slaves. However, by 1850 the right or wrong of slavery was the most hotly contested question between the North and the South. The people of New England had become convinced that slavery was wrong, while the people of the South (or most of them) held with equal honesty that it was right.

Why did this change of opinion come about? Largely because slavery did not pay in the North and because it paid in the South. Slaves could be used in field labor, but not so well in factory labor. Besides, "the long cold winters of New England produced such a long idle season, requiring so much food, clothing, and shelter, that slavery in the North cost more than it yielded and died a natural death in colonial days."[1]

---

[1] Smith, J. Russell, *North America,* page 6.

Here we have a good illustration of the way men's *interests* govern their *opinions.* John Adams pointed this out in the Continental Congress when the members were discussing whether slaves should be counted in determining the number of representatives each State should have. He said, "Reason, equity, justice never had weight enough to govern in the councils of men; it is *interest* that does it." Henry Ward Beecher, while speaking against slavery, once said: "When Uncle Tom sold for only $300, slavery was a positive evil to be gotten rid of as soon as possible. When Tom had risen in value to $800, slavery was a 'necessary evil'; we would like to be rid of it, but 'it was impossible'; but, when Uncle Tom came to sell for $1500, slavery had become 'a divine institution.'"

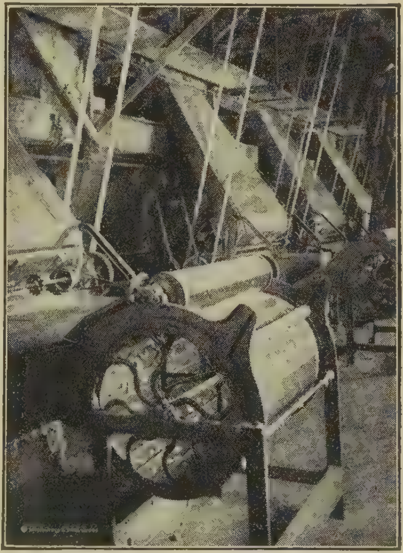


ELI WHITNEY'S COTTON GIN CONTRASTED WITH A MODERN MACHINE (see page 357)

The modern cotton gin plucks the fiber from the seed by means of a combing process. The principle of the gin has never changed, although Whitney's has been greatly improved upon.

It was a question of the pocketbook. It was not so with all men, but with the common run of men. Many Southerners opposed slavery and set their slaves free at a sacrifice of their worldly interests. The early anti-slavery movement had its supporters in the South as well as in New England. In a short-sighted sense, it may be thought profitable for men to make other men work for them for their "board and keep," but in the long run and in a broader economic sense slavery did not pay anywhere. It was a wasteful system of labor and, of course, harmful to both the slave and his master. The South has prospered much more without it. Yet the matter of slavery was determined largely by the supposed *interest* of the white man.

When our independence was declared, there were slaves in all parts of the country. But here and there people in all sections spoke against slavery. John Wesley did so in Georgia; the Quakers and the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians did so in Virginia and the Carolinas. By the time the Constitution was adopted, slavery was disappearing in the North. It was, for the most part, looked upon as an evil in both sections, and most people expected that it would gradually die out in the South as well as in the North. The slave system did not pay well in Maryland and Virginia, and Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, George Mason, and other Virginians spoke against slavery and expected to see it disappear.



MODERN COTTON GIN

In spite of this opposition, the slave interests were still strong in the South in 1787. By 1800 two clearly marked sections could be seen — a slave section and a free section. Would the time ever come when the country would be all free?

The Cotton Gin. The invention of the *cotton gin* alone seems to have prevented the early disappearance of slavery. This was an event of great importance. The fiber of the cotton clings to the seed. The purpose of the gin is to make easier the separation of the two. Removing the fiber from the seed by hand was a slow process. Not more than four or five pounds of cotton could be cleaned by one man in a day. This added so greatly to the cost of cotton that only a small amount was used.

Eli Whitney had gone to Georgia to teach school. He was a guest in the home of Mrs. Nathaniel Greene, the widow of the famous General Greene of the Revolutionary War. Whitney saw the difficulties under which cotton was prepared for use. He at once set himself to invent a machine by which the fiber could be cleaned more quickly. The result was the cotton gin, with which one man could clean a thousand pounds in a day and do the work better than when the task was done by hand. The first cotton gin was operated by hand, by means of a hand crank, but later horse power, then water power, and finally steam power were applied, and now cotton is ginned in the South with great rapidity.

The principle of Whitney's machine was very simple. By turning a crank a series of saw-like teeth drew the fiber of the cotton through holes which were too small for the seed to pass through. In this way the seeds were pulled off and the cotton cleaned. (See page 356.)

One result of Whitney's invention was to make slavery more profitable. The raising of cotton was immensely increased and the way was opened for cotton to become the one great crop of the South. When John Jay made his famous treaty with England (1794) he did not seem to know that cotton was an article of export from the United States, so small was the crop at that time. But with the help of the cotton gin, America became a great cotton-producing country. Slave owners moved to the Southwest to raise cotton; the demand for slaves became greater; slaves rose in value; and gradually the industries of the South came to depend on slavery.

Slavery and the "Equilibrium." At the close of Washington's administration there were eight slave States and eight free States. The boundary line separating Pennsylvania (a free State) and Maryland (a slave State) was known as "Mason and Dixon's Line," receiving its name from the two English surveyors who had fixed the line in 1767. Historically, Mason and Dixon's Line came to be known as the line that separated the North from the South, or the slave States from the free States.

North of Mason and Dixon's Line population increased more rapidly than south of it. The result was that the free section had more representatives in Congress and more votes in the Electoral College than did the slave section. In the Senate the States have equal power, each State having two votes. If the "equilibrium," or balance, were to be preserved, it could be done only by keeping the slave States equal in number to the free States. This balance of power in the Senate, the slave States believed, would prevent the passage of laws that might be harmful to slavery, and this idea or policy came to have great weight.

Slavery and Missouri. Slavery existed in Louisiana when the United States bought that territory in 1803, and afterwards slaveholders from the Southern States settled in the new territory with their slaves. The State of Louisiana was admitted to the Union in 1812 with no dispute over slavery, but it was soon seen that if nothing were done, other slave States would spring up in that vast region.

Such was the case in 1819 when Missouri applied for admission as a slave State. People from the South had settled there with their slaves, and they now wished Arkansas to be set off as a new territory and Missouri to be made into a slave State. It was clear that if

Missouri and Arkansas were left alone, as Louisiana had been, they would choose to be slave States.

Northern men proposed that Missouri, before being admitted, should provide for gradually freeing her slaves, and in time become a free State. The Northern men declared that no more slave States should be made from the Louisiana purchase. They said that slavery was a blight to a new land, worse than poisonous weeds, or disease, and that such an evil ought to be restricted.

The South stood up for the right of Missouri to come into the Union as she pleased. Southern men said that it was not against the evils of slavery that the North was contending, but for an unfair share of power in the National Government. They said it would be unconstitutional to require Missouri to abolish slavery; that the original States were allowed to decide for themselves whether they would have slavery or not, which was true, and that if Missouri were not allowed to decide for herself, she would be wronged, as she would not have equal rights with the other States. The Senate voted to admit Missouri as a slave State, but the House refused. This made a deadlock, that is, neither side could get its way and the question went over until the next meeting of Congress.

When Congress met again, in December, 1819, Maine applied for admission as a free State.[1] The House readily consented to admit Maine, but the Senate attached the Missouri bill (admitting Missouri as a slave State) as a "rider" to the Maine bill in the hope of forcing the friends of Maine to admit Missouri. Missouri was to ride into the Union on the back of Maine, or the two States were to stay out together.

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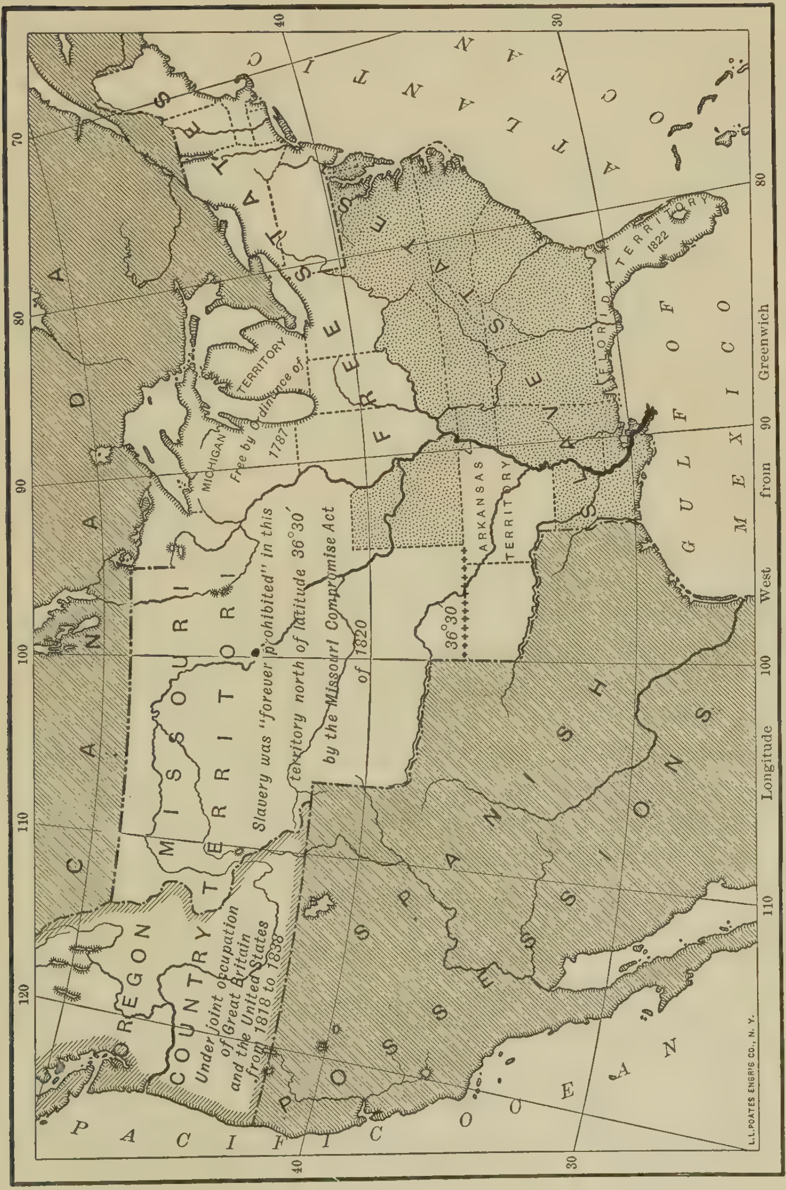
[1] Ohio (free) was admitted in 1803, Louisiana (slave) in 1812, Indiana (free) in 1816, Mississippi (slave) in 1817, Illinois (free) in 1818, Alabama (slave) in 1819. Therefore the slave and free States had been keeping an even pace.


CANADA
UNITED STATES
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MICHIGAN TERRITORY
Free by Ordinance of 1787
FREE STATES
SLAVE STATES
FLORIDA TERRITORY 1822
GULF OF MEXICO
ARKANSAS TERRITORY
36°30'
MISSOURI TERRITORY
Slavery was "forever prohibited" in this territory north of latitude 36°30' by the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820
OREGON COUNTRY
Under joint occupation of Great Britain and the United States from 1818 to 1838
SPANISH POSSESSIONS
PACIFIC OCEAN
70
80
90
100
110
120
40
30
Longitude West from Greenwich
L.L. POATES ENGR'G CO., N. Y.

MAP ILLUSTRATING THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE

The Missouri Compromise. Both sides stood out firmly and the two houses were again in a deadlock. A compromise was necessary. A compromise is a plan for the settlement of a question by which both sides give up some of the points for which they are contending. A conference committee was appointed, consisting of members from each house which, after heated argument, agreed to the following compromise proposed by Senator Thomas of Illinois:

1. That Maine should be admitted as a free State.
2. That Missouri should be admitted as a slave State.
3. That in all the rest of the Louisiana territory north of 36° 30′ (which is the southern boundary of Missouri) "slavery shall be and is hereby forever prohibited."

This agreement was approved by both houses of Congress in 1820. Such was the famous Missouri Compromise between the North and the South.

The Importance of the Missouri Struggle. This was the first hard contest between the States over slavery. Bitterness had arisen; States had threatened to leave the Union. The struggle showed that in such a contest the South would stand by slavery, and that opposition to slavery might be expected from the North. A geographical line was now recognized dividing the North from the South. For the first time under the Constitution, Congress had exercised the power to prohibit slavery in the territories.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. Mention three important differences between a slave and a free man. How did slavery begin?

2. Why was slavery introduced in America? In how many of the colonies did it exist at the beginning of the Revolution? Why did slavery gradually die out in the North?

3. Explain the effect of the cotton gin on slavery. Why did the invention of the reaper not have a similar influence?

4. What is meant by the "balance of power" between the slave States and the free States? Why did the *number* of slave States and of free States make any difference? Explain.

5. Describe the struggle over the admission of Missouri, explaining the attitude of both the North and the South.

6. State the terms of the Missouri Compromise.

7. Give three reasons why the Missouri Compromise is important in our history.

THINGS TO DO

1. Show on an outline map of the United States the territory of (1) the United States at the end of the Revolution, (2) the Louisiana Purchase, and (3) the Northwest Territory. Indicate by a broken red line what was known in 1819 as Mason and Dixon's Line, and by a connected red line the Missouri Compromise line, 36° 30′.

2. Two pupils volunteer to give the arguments of the North and the South on the admission of Missouri, one pupil presenting the views of the North and the other pupil the views of the South.

3. Take Massachusetts and Virginia as typical States of the North and South.

Write a series of sentences in which you try to prove that slave labor would not be profitable in Massachusetts while it would be profitable in Virginia.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. “The Darkening Cloud,” *The Book of the United States,* 204–213.

2. “Eli Whitney, Inventor of the Cotton Gin,” *Makers of Our History,* 123–134.

3. “A Southern Criticism of Slavery in Colonial Days,” by William Byrd, in *Source Book of American History,* 119–121.

4. “Missouri Compromise,” by John Quincy Adams, *ibid.,* 234–237.

5. “The History of Slavery,” *Compton’s Pictured Encyclopedia,* 8: 3248–3250.

6. “Slavery Divides the Country,” *The Book of Knowledge,* 6: 1912–1914.

CHAPTER XXII

THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT

Lundy and the Beginnings of Abolitionism. The excitement over the Missouri struggle soon died away and for ten years little attention was given to the subject of slavery. When Jackson became President in 1829, therefore, slavery was stronger than ever. It seemed that the anti-slavery spirit of Washington's time was dying out. In the South a new generation had arisen, composed of men who were eager to develop rich cotton lands and who were not much moved by the rights of men as Jefferson and Patrick Henry had been in the days of the Revolution. Slavery had come to be looked upon as a fixed system in Southern life, and as a result many anti-slavery men and women in the South moved to the Northwest.

Following 1820 only a few voices here and there were raised against the slave system. Benjamin Lundy, a New Jersey Quaker, traveled through the country on horseback and on foot, trying to make people see the wrong in slavery. He founded a little journal with a big name, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation,* which he distributed on his travels. For a time he settled in Baltimore, continuing to publish his paper. Here among his exchanges he noticed the *Journal of the Times,* published in Bennington, Vermont. Interested by the anti-slavery sentiments in the paper, Lundy went to Boston and from Boston to Bennington, a distance of 125 miles, which he traveled on foot, his knapsack on his back, amid the snows of winter. There he met the young editor, William Lloyd Garrison. "Two bright stars in the moral firmament" had come together.

By his zeal and devotion Lundy persuaded Garrison to go to Baltimore to help on the *Genius*. Soon after coming to Baltimore Garrison was jailed for an anti-slavery article which he published. After his release he went to Boston and there, on January 1, 1831, he established the *Liberator*. From that time on there was no more peace on the subject of slavery.

William Lloyd Garrison
1805–1879

Garrison and Abolitionism. Garrison soon became the most noted of the extreme anti-slavery men known as *abolitionists*. He was a bold agitator who would not yield. In his *Liberator* he announced: *"I will be as harsh as truth, as uncompromising as justice. I am in earnest, I will not equivocate, I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard."*

Garrison demanded the immediate emancipation, or freeing, of the slaves, without payment to their owners and without taking the slaves from the country. He cut loose from and denounced the American Colonization Society, which had been organized in 1816 to remove the free blacks from America. To help this Society the National Government in 1822 established the colony of Liberia on the west coast of Africa, and by 1830 about 1100 emancipated Negroes had been sent there, where most of them died from malaria. Garrison believed that the slaveholders who belonged to this Society merely wished to get rid of the free blacks and not to disturb the slave system.

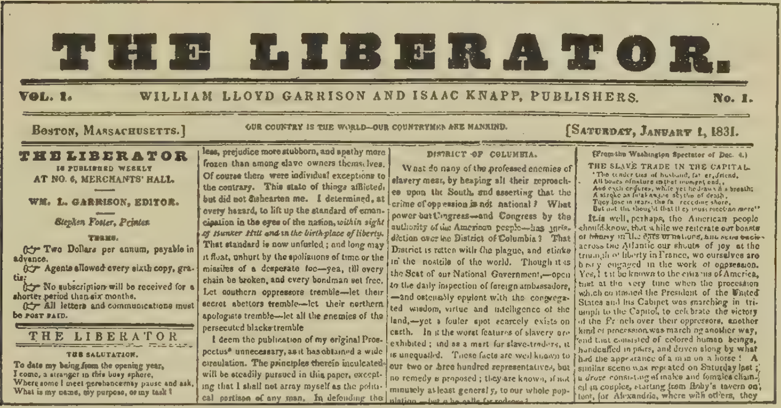
In 1833 Garrison, Whittier, and others formed the American Anti-Slavery Society at Philadelphia. Their declaration of principles is an important document in the history of the United States, because it marks the beginning of a movement that aroused the country on slavery and finally broke up political parties and divided the Union. The abolitionists admitted that under the Constitution each State had the right to retain and regulate slavery within its borders, but they demanded that Congress stop the interstate slave trade, put an end to slavery in the territories and the District of Columbia, and that no more slave States be admitted to the Union. The Anti-Slavery Society proposed to send agents to speak against slavery and to organize local anti-slavery societies in every city and village in the land. By 1840 over 200 local societies had been formed with nearly 200,000 members. These positive anti-slavery men and women denounced slaveholding in unsparing terms as man-stealing and robbery, as a sin and a crime and a disgrace.

Effect of Abolitionism on the South. The South was soon aroused by these attacks. The slaveholders were indignant at what they regarded as insults. They felt no guilt in holding slaves. Their slaves, they claimed, were treated kindly and were taken care of far better than they could care for themselves, and much better than many Northern factory hands. They claimed that the Negroes were happier as slaves than they would be if free, with no one to care for them, and that the slaves were well fed and well clothed.

The Southerners felt that the Southern people were responsible for Southern slavery; they wanted no meddling, and they declared that Northern abolitionists should mind their own business, give attention to their own sins, and leave the South alone. Since the South had over a *billion dollars* invested in slave property, it was not in human nature for the slave owners meekly to submit and give up this property. Southerners believed that to abolish slavery would be ruinous to the South, especially to the cotton belt where cotton raising was profitable, and where the planters claimed cotton could not be produced successfully without slave labor. They felt, too, that the abolitionists were attacking not only their property but their *characters,* since the slaveholders were constantly spoken of as criminals and cruel oppressors. People are especially sensitive when their characters are attacked.

Slave Insurrection. The Southerners said that if the slaves were set free a horrible race war would result, and that the only effect of the abolition agitation would be to arouse the slaves to slaughter their masters and to destroy the homes of the whites. The very year Garrison's *Liberator* first appeared, the Nat Turner Insurrection took place in Virginia, in which sixty whites were killed and thousands of dollars worth of property destroyed before the uprising of the slaves was put down. Although there was no connection between the *Liberator* and this insurrection, Southern people believed that such Negro uprisings would result if the abolition agitators were not stopped. The " black terror " always hung like a nightmare over the Southern communities. John Randolph said that a mother in the South never heard the fire bell in the night without clasping her children to her arms in fear of a slave insurrection. As the result of such fear and of the agitation by the abolitionists, the lot of the slaves became harder. They were not allowed to learn to read, or to leave the plantation, or to go out at night, or to meet together in groups. Runaways were harshly treated.

Stirred up by fear and anger, the South demanded that the abolitionists be put down and that their societies be broken up by law. The legislature of Georgia offered a reward of $5000 to any one who would kidnap Garrison and bring him to that State for trial. The mayor of Boston was called upon to suppress the *Liberator*. He reported that he had "ferreted out the paper," which he had not heard of before, "and that Garrison's office was an obscure hole, his only visible help a Negro boy." Later, James Russell Lowell made this the text of his poem, "To W. L. Garrison," beginning:



THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. 1. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND ISAAC KNAPP, PUBLISHERS. No. 1.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.] OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE MANKIND. [SATURDAY, JANUARY 1, 1831.

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THE LIBERATOR

THE SALUTATION.

To date my being from the opening year,
I come, a stranger in this busy sphere,
Where some I meet perchance may pause and ask,
What is my name, my purpose, or my task?

less, prejudice more stubborn, and apathy more frozen than among slave owners themselves. Of course there were individual exceptions to the contrary. This state of things afflicted, but did not dishearten me. I determined, at every hazard, to lift up the standard of emancipation in the eyes of the nation, *within sight of Bunker Hill and in the birth-place of liberty.* That standard is now unfurled; and long may it float, unhurt by the spoliations of time or the missiles of a desperate foe—yea, till every chain be broken, and every bondman set free. Let southern oppressors tremble—let their secret abettors tremble—let their northern apologists tremble—let all the enemies of the persecuted blacks tremble.

I deem the publication of my original Prospectus* unnecessary, as it has obtained a wide circulation. The principles therein inculcated will be steadily pursued in this paper, excepting that I shall not array myself as the political partisan of any man. In defending the

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

What do many of the professed enemies of slavery mean, by heaping all their reproaches upon the South, and asserting that the crime of oppression is not national? What power but Congress—and Congress by the authority of the American people—has jurisdiction over the District of Columbia? That District is rotten with the plague, and stinks in the nostrils of the world. Though it is the Seat of our National Government,—open to the daily inspection of foreign ambassadors,—and ostensibly opulent with the congregated wisdom, virtue and intelligence of the land,—yet a fouler spot scarcely exists on earth. In it the worst features of slavery are exhibited; and as a mart for slave-traders, it is unequalled. These facts are well known to our two or three hundred representatives, but no remedy is proposed; they are known, if not minutely at least generally, to our whole pop-

(From the Washington Spectator of Dec. 4.)

THE SLAVE TRADE IN THE CAPITAL.

"The tender ties of husband, father, friend,
All bonds of nature in that moment end,
And each endures, while yet he draws his breath,
A stroke as fatal as the scythe of death.
They lose in tears the far receding shore,
But not the thought that they must meet no more."

It is well, perhaps, the American people should know, that while we reiterate our boasts of liberty in the ears of nations, and send back across the Atlantic our shouts of joy at the triumph of liberty in France, we ourselves are busily engaged in the work of oppression. Yes, let it be known to the citizens of America, that at the very time when the procession which contained the President of the United States and his Cabinet was marching in triumph to the Capitol, to celebrate the victory of the French over their oppressors, another kind of procession was marching another way, and that consisted of colored human beings, handcuffed in pairs, and driven along by what had the appearance of a man on a horse! A similar scene was repeated on Saturday last; a *drove* consisting of males and females chained in couples, starting from Roby's tavern on foot, for Alexandria, where with others, they

PART OF THE FIRST ISSUE OF *The Liberator*

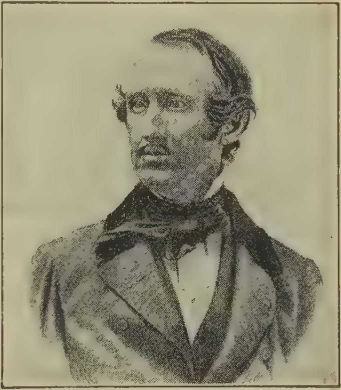
In a small chamber, friendless and unseen,
  Toiled o'er his types one poor, unlearned young man:
The place was dark, unfurnitured and mean,
  Yet there the freedom of a race began.

The Effect of Abolitionism on the North. The abolitionists were almost as unpopular in the North as in the South. Mobs tried to suppress them. Garrison and his followers were everywhere abused and denounced. Their meetings were broken up, their speakers stoned, and for a time it seemed that free speech and a free press were to be denied to them.

Prudence Crandall in Connecticut had her school broken up, her school house stoned and set on fire, because she had admitted a few Negro girls to the school. James G. Birney, an abolitionist writer in Cincinnati, had his printing press destroyed and thrown into the Ohio River; Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, another abolitionist leader in the West, was killed at Alton, Illinois, while defending his press against a pro-slavery mob (1837). At a meeting in Boston Garrison was seized and dragged through the streets amid a howling mob. The police had the greatest difficulty in saving his life, putting him into jail for safety.

Growth of Abolitionism. In spite of such attacks the abolitionists stood their ground, and the persecutions they suffered made friends for their cause. Many anti-slavery men who were not abolitionists joined them in defending free assembly, free speech, and a free press. One of these supporters, William Ellery Channing, a noted minister who had written a powerful essay against slavery, said the abolitionists had won everlasting honor for the courage with which they had met the mob outrages that were heaped upon them.

Another defender was Wendell Phillips, a rich young lawyer in Boston, who saw Garrison dragged through the streets by the mob. The sight led Phillips to devote his life to the cause of the slave. He became the most noted of anti-slavery orators, and a powerful champion of the abolition cause. One of the most dramatic scenes in the anti-slavery struggles took place in Faneuil Hall, Boston, in 1837, when Phillips made his famous speech on the death of Lovejoy. "In the annals of American speech there had been no such scene since Patrick Henry's electrical warning to George III. Three such scenes are illustrious in our history, Patrick Henry at Williamsburg, Wendell Phillips in Faneuil Hall, and Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg — these three and there is no fourth."



WENDELL PHILLIPS
1811–1884

The Abolitionists and the Government. The slavery question could not be kept out of Government activities. The abolitionists sent by mail to all parts of the country, their papers, pamphlets, and illustrated almanacs describing the abuses of slavery. Southern people objected vigorously to this use of the mails and demanded that the abolitionists be prevented from sending their documents through the post office. They declared that such documents were "incendiary," that is, that they would stir up the slaves to insurrection or induce them to run away. The abolitionists insisted upon their right to use the mails as part of the freedom of the press guaranteed in the Constitution. No law was passed against them in this matter, but many postmasters refused to deliver abolitionist literature, and much discussion was aroused.

The Right of Petition — Gag Rule. Another cause of excitement was the petitions which the abolitionists sent to Congress asking that body to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, where it had continued to exist after Maryland and Virginia had given the District to the United States for a capital. The anti-slavery men felt that the whole nation was responsible for slavery at the national capital and they wished it abolished. Hot discussions arose in Congress and at one time all the Congressmen from the South threatened to leave in a body, angrily declaring that they would not permit slavery to be discussed and slaveholders denounced on the floor of Congress. They insisted that they would not stay in a Union or continue to support a Government in which they and their property interests were attacked in such an outrageous way. The party leaders were anxious, therefore, not to have the question of slavery discussed at all in Congress, as such discussion would tend to divide their parties and to destroy the Union.

To prevent the bringing up of the slavery question in Congress a " gag rule " was adopted to shut off the abolition petitions. This rule provided that all petitions, or papers, relating to slavery should be laid aside without notice. This action raised a new issue. The right to petition the Government is guaranteed in the Constitution and down to this time (1834–1837) Congress had always treated petitions with respect. Should this right now be denied? The attempt to destroy it and the effort to " gag " the anti-slavery men brought them a new and fiery champion, John Quincy Adams, who henceforth was a sturdy enemy of slavery and an able ally of the abolitionists.

After retiring from the presidency, Adams had been elected in 1831 to the House of Representatives. He was not an abolitionist, and he did not favor the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. But he did not wish the slavery interests to control the Government and he was ready to fight for free petition and free debate. He denounced the " gag rule " and said that the people had a right to the proper reception of their petitions on any subject. Adams kept up the fight for eight years, until the " gag policy " was abandoned in 1844. This struggle and the effort to prevent the discussion of slavery tended to increase the anti-slavery ranks and to arouse the abolitionists to fight harder than ever for their cause.

The Anti-Slavery Movement and Politics. By 1840 the abolitionists had split into two factions—the "Garrisonians" and the "Liberty Party Men." Garrison and his followers were the more radical faction. They refused to vote, or to go into politics, or to try to elect any one to public office. They were satisfied to denounce wrongs and to stir people up. Garrison was even ready to break up the Union. "No Union with slaveholders," he declared, and he denounced the Constitution as "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." He believed that it was a pro-slavery document. He represented an extremely small wing of anti-slavery men.

The "Liberty Party Men," on the other hand, believed in forming a political party, going into politics, and trying to get control of the Government. They believed that the Constitution was "a liberty document." They denounced certain pro-slavery clauses in it, such as the fugitive-slave clause, but they believed that if its general purpose and spirit were carried out slavery could be limited and in time destroyed. In 1840, therefore, they organized the Liberty Party and nominated James G. Birney for President. In the presidential election that year this party polled only 7000 votes, but it deserves to be remembered as the beginning of a political movement against slavery. Four years later the Liberty Party again nominated Birney for the presidency, and cast 62,000 votes for him.

The next four years were to witness the disappearance of the party, but were to see its successor, the Free Soil Party, muster several hundred thousand Americans to its support.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. What did the early abolitionists want to accomplish? Give their reasons.

2. Explain the methods used by the abolitionists. Which seems to have been most effective? Why?

3. Why did the abolitionists oppose the colonizing of free Negroes in Africa?

4. What was the effect of the abolitionist movement on the slave-owners? How did it affect the condition of the slaves? Which argument in defence of slavery would be the hardest for the anti-slavery people to meet? If possible, read "A Southern Defence of Slavery," by Governor McDuffie, in A. B. Hart's *Source Book of American History*, 244–248.

5. Tell why many Northerners opposed the abolitionists. Were their motives similar to the motives of the slave-owners? Explain.

6. In what ways did the slavery question cause trouble to the Government? Mention ways in which it had caused difficulty before the abolition movement started.

7. For a volunteer: Tell what happened in each of the "three scenes" referred to on page 370 and explain how each was important.

8. How did the policies and activities of the pro-slavery leaders in Congress affect the growth of anti-slavery sentiment? Give reasons.

9. Why did the party leaders wish to stop the discussion of slavery in Congress?

10. Explain the chief reasons for the split of the abolitionists. If you had been an abolitionist, which faction would you have joined? Why?

THINGS TO DO

1. Have three pupils give a dialog on slavery, one presenting the views of an abolitionist, one the ideas of a slaveholder, and one the views of an anti-slavery man.

2. Four pupils debate this question: Resolved, That in 1840 most of the slaves were better off than most Northern factory workers.

3. Volunteers present as scenes in a motion-picture episodes in the lives of Lundy, Garrison, Whittier, Wendell Phillips, and John Quincy Adams.

4. Volunteers secure volumes of the poems of Longfellow, Whittier, or Lowell, and read the class anti-slavery poems written by these men.

5. Choose a committee to prepare a scrap-book containing pictures of anti-slavery leaders and of places associated with incidents to the slavery controversy. Members of the class contribute pictures. Keep the scrap-book on the reading table for use by the class.

6. Make a front page illustration for Garrison's *Liberator.*

7. Reports for volunteers:
    a. The mobbing of Garrison
    b. The killing of Lovejoy

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "A Western Abolition Argument," *Source Book of American History,* 242–244.
2. "An Anti-Abolitionist Mob," by William Lloyd Garrison, *ibid.,* 248–251.
3. "The Internal Slave Trade," *ibid.,* 251–254.
4. "A Slave's Narrative," *ibid.,* 255–257.
5. "Farewell of a Slave Mother," by John G. Whittier, *ibid.,* 258–260.
6. "Lucretia Mott," *Women in American History,* 115–131.
7. "Harriet Beecher Stowe," *ibid.,* 132–153.
8. "Slavery," *The World Book Encyclopedia,* 10: 6639–6640.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE EXTENSION OF SLAVERY

If slavery had been confined or restricted to the Southern States, it would probably have died a natural death or the Southern people would have abolished it. Only a handful of people in the North really desired, or intended, to interfere with slavery in the slave States. The great majority were willing to let it alone. The abolitionists could not make much headway by trying to stir people up over slavery in States where slavery did not exist. It was chiefly when territorial expansion occurred or when new territories were to be organized that the slavery question became a sore subject of discussion between the North and the South. This appears clearly in the annexation of Texas and the events that followed.

Early Settlements in Texas. Texas was first claimed by the United States in 1803 as a part of the Louisiana Purchase. By the Florida treaty of 1819, however, we gave up our claim and Texas became a part of Mexico. Many Americans thought Texas ought not to have been surrendered and the United States on several occasions tried to buy the territory back, but Mexico, which had become independent of Spain, refused to sell it.

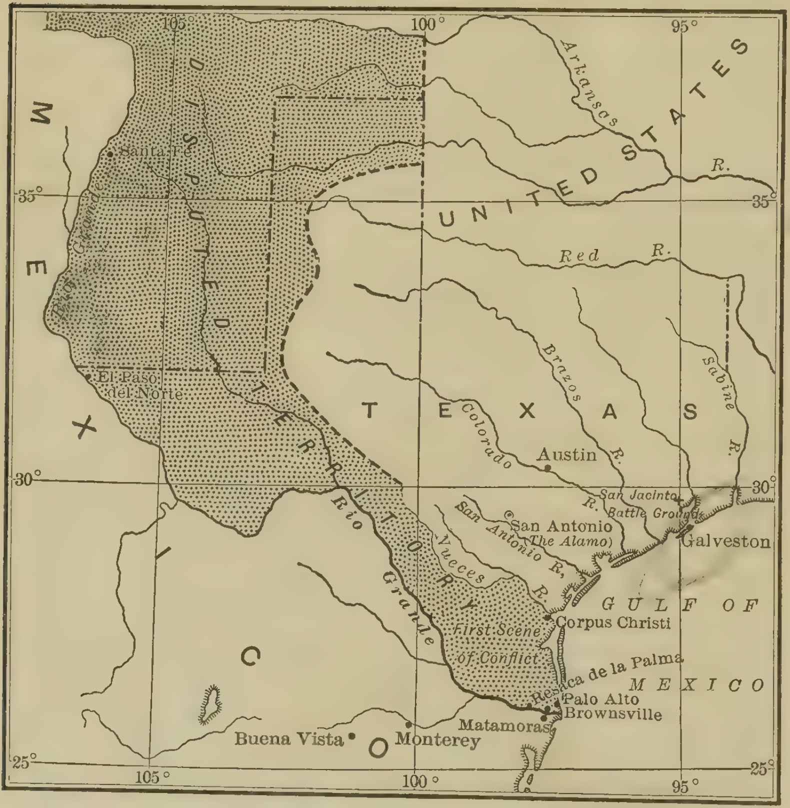
Meanwhile an American named Moses Austin obtained from Mexico a grant of land for an American colony in Texas. Soon afterward Austin died, but his son, Stephen F. Austin, the founder of modern Texas, led a colony of several hundred American families into the region. Other Americans came from year to year, as land in Texas was fertile and cheap and could be bought at a very low price. In 1832 Sam Houston (hūs′tŭn) came. He was a friend of Andrew Jackson and had been Governor of Tennessee and a member of Congress. Houston became noted as a Texan leader.

The Texan Revolution. These American Texans did not like the Mexican Government. The ruler, Santa Anna, was a dictator, and in 1835 changed the constitution of Mexico, reducing Texas to a province and depriving her people of local self-government. Mexico had abolished slavery (1829) and now sought to prevent other American slaveholders from coming into Texas. The Texans felt that their lives and property were not protected. They differed from the Mexicans in both race and religion, and they wanted a republican local government of their own, such as they had been accustomed to in the United States. In 1835 they rose in revolt against Mexico and declared their independence.

Under Houston, Bowie (bō′ĭ), and Crockett, the Texans fought bravely for freedom. Their struggle was marked by heroic courage and devoted patriotism. At Goliad (gō′lĭ ăd′), 370 Texans, who had been compelled to surrender to a large force of Mexicans, were marched out and shot down like cattle on the plea that they were American "filibusters," that is, organized outlaws invading a foreign country. A few months later (1836), a band of 183 Texans were besieged at the Alamo (ä′lä mō) in San Antonio by an army of 1000 Mexicans. Colonel Travis, the Texan commander, said that he would "never surrender nor retreat." The Mexicans attacked the building from three sides and a desperate hand-to-hand struggle followed in which all but a half dozen of the

Texans died fighting. The survivors were all massacred, not a man being left alive to tell the tale.

The Texans never forgot Goliad and the Alamo. Their brothers who died in those battles were regarded as martyrs to liberty, and the Texans resolved never again to submit to Mexican rule.


UNITED STATES
MEXICO
TEXAS
DISPUTED TERRITORY
Santa Fe
El Paso del Norte
Rio Grande
Arkansas R.
Red R.
Brazos R.
Colorado R.
Sabine R.
San Antonio R.
Nueces R.
Austin
San Jacinto R.
San Jacinto Battle Ground
San Antonio (The Alamo)
Galveston
GULF OF MEXICO
Corpus Christi
First Scene of Conflict
Resaca de la Palma
Palo Alto
Brownsville
Matamoras
Monterey
Buena Vista
105°
100°
95°
35°
30°
25°

Texan Independence and the Mexican War

Several weeks later the Texans defeated the Mexicans and put them to flight in the decisive battle of San Jacinto (sȧn ja sĭn′tō). The Texans charged in a terrible onset, shouting their war cry, "Remember the Alamo." The Mexicans lost 1600 men, twice the number of the whole Texan army, while only two Texans were killed and twenty-three wounded. Soon afterward Texan independence was recognized by Great Britain, France, and the United States, and for nine years (1836–1845) Texas was the independent "Lone Star Republic."

The Movement for Annexation. The Texans and many Southern leaders wished Texas to be annexed to the United States. Texas was a large and fertile country in which slavery was allowed by the new Texan government. Many Southerners believed that the region was necessary for the extension of slavery; they looked upon the Texans as brother Americans; and they maintained that the annexation of Texas would be only the re-annexation of territory that ought never to have been given up. They also felt that more slave States were needed in order to preserve the "balance of power" in the Senate. Owing to its enormous size Texas could be subdivided and more slave States obtained. The region was so vast that six States the size of Ohio, or seven the size of Indiana, or thirty as large as Massachusetts, could be made out of it. The act proposing the annexation of Texas provided that the State might be subdivided into four more States.

Opposition to Annexation. The reasons that caused slavery leaders to urge the annexation of Texas caused anti-slavery men to oppose annexation. They declared that at all hazards slavery extension must be prevented. They had little sympathy with the Texan struggle for independence. To admit Texas, they maintained, would be like seizing the territory of a weaker nation. Such an act would surely cause war with Mexico and would only strengthen the control of the slaveholders over the National Government. Some of them even said that if Texas were annexed the Union ought to be broken up.

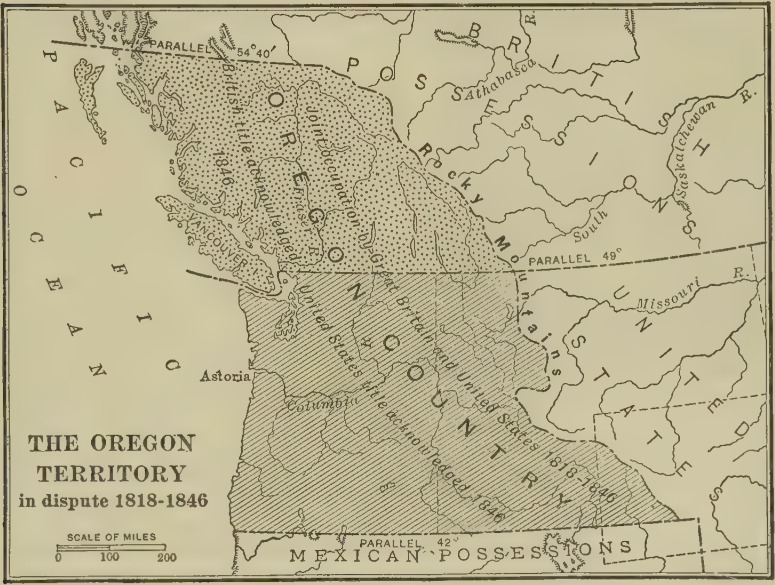
Annexation and the Election of 1844. The question of annexation became the leading issue in the presidential election of 1844. It was expected that Van Buren would again be the Democratic candidate, but he had opposed annexation and the Southern leaders would not have him. Instead, they nominated James K. Polk of Tennessee. He is called the first "dark horse" in American politics, because he had not been talked of for the presidency before he was nominated. Polk came out openly for annexation.

The Whigs nominated Henry Clay, their great leader and the advocate of a protective tariff. They thought he would surely defeat the obscure and commonplace Polk. But Clay's attitude on annexation was not clear. Some Southern Whigs feared that he would oppose annexation and some anti-slavery men in the North were afraid that he would favor it; as a result he lost both kinds of voters and Polk was elected. The campaign song of the Democrats helped to bring them victory:

Hurrah for Polk and annexation,
Down with Clay and high taxation.

The Liberty Party again nominated Birney, who received nearly ten times as many votes as he had received in 1840. Since many anti-slavery Whigs voted for Birney because of their distrust of Clay, the third-party abolitionists were blamed for Clay's defeat.

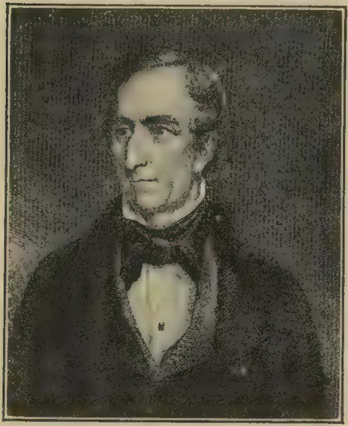
Oregon and "Fifty-Four-Forty or Fight." In the election of 1844 the Democrats were aided in the election of Polk by their bold claim to all of the Oregon country. Sixty-two years before (1792) the Columbia River had been discovered by Captain Gray of Boston. In 1805 the Northwest had been explored by Lewis and Clark, and a few years later a trading post had been established by John Jacob Astor at Astoria, near the mouth of the Columbia. During succeeding years American missionaries came into Oregon to work with the Indians, and in 1843 Dr. Marcus Whitman led a band of missionaries and settlers into what is now the State of Washington.


THE OREGON TERRITORY
in dispute 1818-1846
PARALLEL 54°40′
PACIFIC OCEAN
OREGON COUNTRY
British title acknowledged 1846
Joint occupation by Great Britain and United States 1818-1846
United States title acknowledged 1846
Fraser R.
VANCOUVER I.
Astoria
Columbia
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
Athabasca R.
Rocky Mountains
South Saskatchewan R.
PARALLEL 49°
Missouri R.
UNITED STATES
PARALLEL 42°
MEXICAN POSSESSIONS
SCALE OF MILES
0
100
200

These events gave the United States a good claim to the Oregon country, a claim that was disputed, however, by the British who had also made early discoveries and had established trading posts in the region.

In the campaign of 1844 the Democrats declared that they were for the "re-annexation of Texas and the re-occupation of Oregon." They said that they favored more territory for the North as well as for the South, and this was popular. "All of Oregon or none," "Fifty-four-forty or fight!" they shouted.

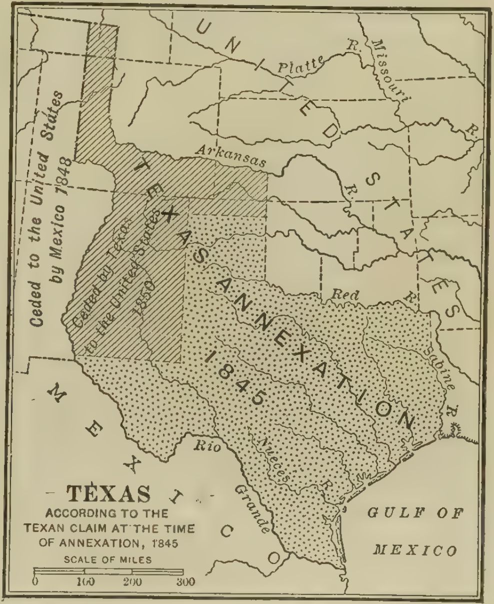
The Oregon country was west of the Rockies and extended from the northern boundary of California to the southern boundary of Alaska, or from 42° to 54° 40′. In 1818 Great Britain and America agreed to occupy the region together, but the time had now come when the ownership had to be settled. There was talk of war to decide the dispute, but neither nation wished an armed conflict and neither would give up all its claim to the other. Therefore a compromise was agreed to and the territory was divided by a treaty made the year after Polk became President. By the treaty the forty-ninth parallel was made the boundary between the United States and the British possessions. Thus by a compromise we gave up part of our claim in the Northwest and avoided war with Great Britain.



President John Tyler

John Tyler was born in Virginia in 1790 and was graduated from William and Mary College seventeen years later. He was the first Vice President to succeed to the presidency. He served as a member of the House and also of the Senate. Like Jefferson, he was an excellent violinist. But unlike Jefferson, he was an excellent public speaker. He later served as Chancellor of William and Mary College and spent the last seventeen years of his life in the retirement of his country home on the James River. He died there in 1862.

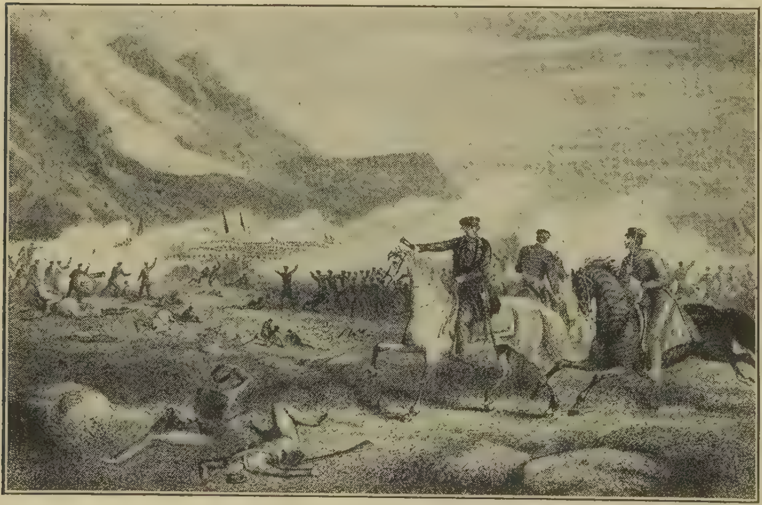
Texas Annexed and Slavery Extended. John Tyler, as Vice President, succeeded to the presidency after the death of President Harrison in April, 1841. Tyler was a warm friend of annexation, and after Polk's election in 1844, which President Tyler interpreted as a command from the people to annex Texas, he urged Congress to act in the matter. A joint resolution passed Congress in the last days of Tyler's administration (March 1, 1845), providing for the admission of Texas. The Texan Congress gave its consent and Texas became a State in December, 1845—the last slave State that ever came into the Union.


UNITED STATES
Platte R.
Missouri
R.
Arkansas
R.
Red R.
Sabine R.
Ceded to the United States by Mexico 1848
Ceded by Texas to the United States 1850
TEXAS ANNEXATION 1845
MEXICO
Rio Grande
Nueces R.
GULF OF MEXICO
TEXAS
ACCORDING TO THE
TEXAN CLAIM AT THE TIME
OF ANNEXATION, 1845
SCALE OF MILES
0
100
200
300

So far the "equilibrium" in the Senate had been preserved. Arkansas, a part of the Louisiana purchase, south of 36° 30′, had become a slave State in 1835, but was offset by Michigan, a free State, in 1837. Texas and Florida, slave States, admitted in 1845, were balanced by Iowa and Wisconsin in 1846 and 1847. By these admissions the "equilibrium" was maintained, but another great contest over new territory was near at hand.

Causes of the Mexican War. The annexation of Texas led directly to war with Mexico, as the anti-slavery men had declared it would. Mexico had not given up her claim to Texas and, when Texas was admitted to the Union, Mexico ordered her minister to leave Washington; that is, she refused to have any further dealings with the United States.

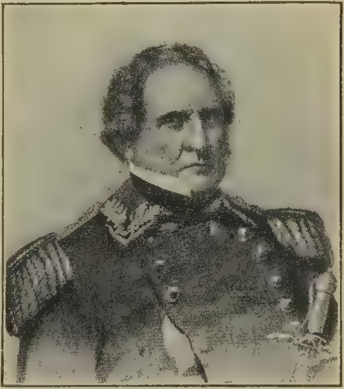
Texas claimed the territory east of the Rio Grande (rē ō grän′då) from the mouth of that river to its source. Mexico said that the land between the Nueces (nwā′sĕs) and the Rio Grande was not a part of Texas. President Polk held that when we annexed Texas we annexed all that Texas claimed, and he ordered General Taylor with 4000 men to the Rio Grande "to protect the Texan frontier." The Mexicans looked on this act as an invasion of their territory and attacked some of Taylor's men in the disputed district. When Taylor's dispatch announcing the attack reached Washington, Polk sent a war message to Congress (May 12, 1846) in which he said that Mexico had invaded our territory and had "shed American blood on American soil." Congress adopted Polk's view and, without taking time to inquire into the truth or justice of the claim, declared that "war exists by the act of the Republic of Mexico." Polk was blamed for taking a step that was sure to result in war, instead of leaving the dispute about the territory open to settlement through conference.



THE BATTLE OF BUENA VISTA, 1847

The artist's conception of the battlefield when General Taylor won his decisive victory over the Mexicans.

The question might have been settled by arbitration and the war could have been avoided. But there were other provoking matters. Mexico refused to pay for American property seized in raids or destroyed by revolutions in Mexico. On the other hand Mexico resented the aid Americans had given to the Texan revolutionists. Besides, President Polk was very eager to acquire California, which was then a part of Mexico. The expansion fever had set in among Americans and it was claimed that our "manifest destiny" should lead us to the Pacific coast. All these things led to war with Mexico.



General Winfield Scott

Hero of Lundy's Lane in the War of 1812, victor at Cerro Gordo in the Mexican War, a Virginian and a Union man in the Civil War.

The War and Its Results. The Mexican War was soon ended. It lasted less than two years, from May, 1846, to February, 1848. General Taylor beat the Mexicans at Palo Alto (pă′lō ăl′tō) and Resaca de la Palma (rå sä′kȧ då lä päl′mȧ) on May 8 and 9, 1846. He then crossed the Rio Grande and stormed the walls of Monterey (mŏn′tē̇ rā′) on September 24, 1846. At this time he was ordered to send 10,000 of his men to General Scott, who was planning to invade Mexico from another direction. With only 5000 men remaining, Taylor was attacked by Santa Anna, the Mexican commander, with 20,000 men. Santa Anna told Taylor he must surrender or be cut to pieces; but Taylor chose his ground and against great odds totally defeated the Mexicans in the decisive battle of Buena Vista (bŭ′nȧ vĭs′tȧ), February 23, 1847. As a result of his victory northeastern Mexico was conquered and the "Hero of Buena Vista," or "Old Rough and Ready," as Taylor was affectionately called by his men, began to be thought of as a good candidate for the presidency.

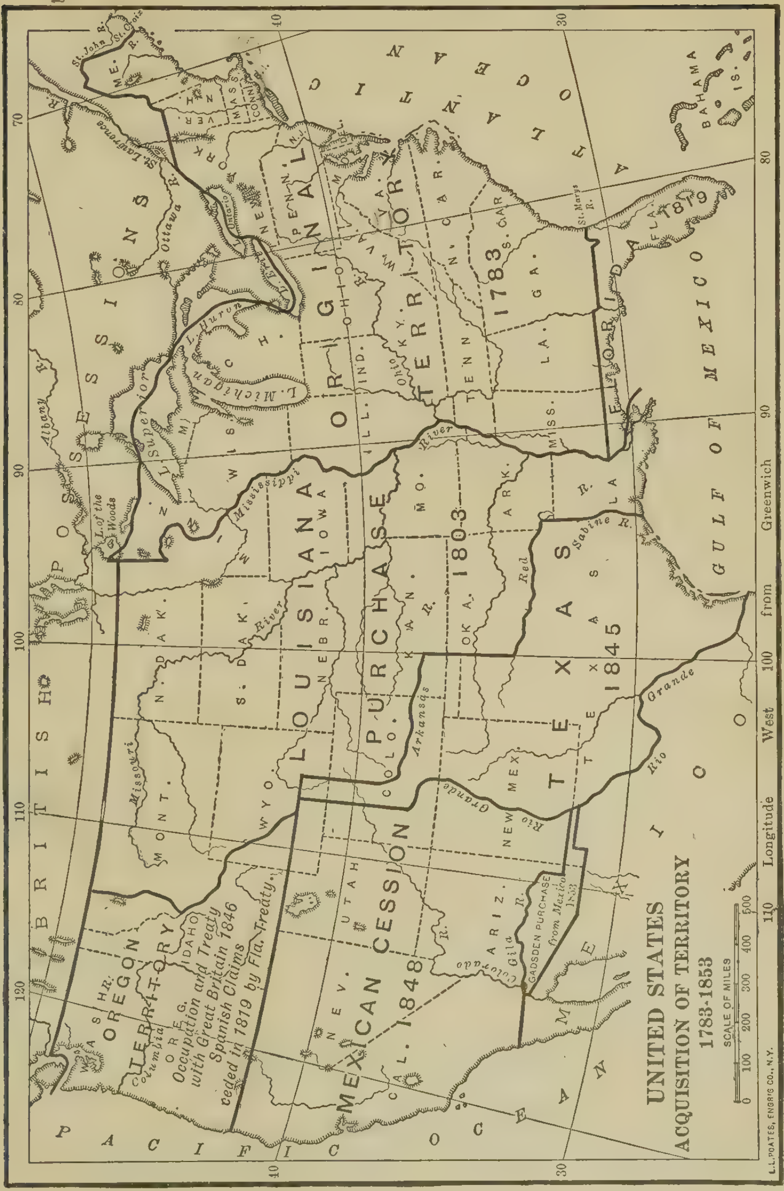
General John C. Frémont

General Frémont was born in Georgia in 1813. His father was a Frenchman and his mother a Virginian. He spent a large part of his early life as an explorer and was familiarly known as the "pathfinder." He fought with distinction in the Mexican and Civil Wars. He was a United States Senator from California, and a candidate for the presidency on the Republican ticket in 1856. He died in New York in 1890.

General Scott captured Vera Cruz (vā̊′rȧ kro͞os′) early in 1847 and at once began a march of two hundred miles to the Mexican capital. He stormed the mountain pass of Cerro Gordo (sĕr′rō gôr′dō̊), and after several rapid victories led his triumphant army into the City of Mexico, September 14, 1847. Meanwhile General Kearny (kär′nĭ), marching from Missouri by the old Santa Fé trail, had conquered New Mexico; and General John C. Frémont with the help of several ships and a few hundred American settlers had conquered California. All the vast regions westward from Texas to the Pacific Ocean, which had been Spanish-Mexican territory, were now in the possession of the victorious armies of the United States.

Mexico was conquered. Her territory was overrun, her armies helpless, her government broken up, her capital in the hands of the enemy, and she had to submit. A few Americans favored annexing all of Mexico to the United States, but President Polk said that he had been

R ont
1 Or. Tra
Cali
2 Santa F


BRITISH POSSESSIONS
ORIGINAL TERRITORY 1783
FLORIDA 1819
LOUISIANA PURCHASE 1803
TEXAS 1845
MEXICAN CESSION 1848
GADSDEN PURCHASE from Mexico 1853
OREGON TERRITORY
Occupation and Treaty with Great Britain 1846
Spanish Claims ceded in 1819 by Fla. Treaty.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
MEXICO
BAHAMA IS.
ME.
N.H.
VER.
MASS.
CONN.
N.Y.
N.J.
PENN.
DEL.
MD.
VA.
W.VA.
N.CAR.
S.CAR.
GA.
FLA.
OHIO
IND.
ILL.
MICH.
WIS.
MINN.
IOWA
KY.
TENN.
ALA.
MISS.
LA.
ARK.
MO.
KAN.
NEBR.
S.DAK.
N.DAK.
MONT.
WYO.
COLO.
OKLA.
TEX.
NEW MEX.
ARIZ.
UTAH
NEV.
CAL.
IDAHO
OREG.
WASH.
St. John R.
St. Croix R.
St. Lawrence R.
Ottawa R.
Albany R.
L. Ontario
L. Erie
L. Huron
L. Michigan
L. Superior
L. of the Woods
Mississippi
Ohio River
Missouri River
Arkansas R.
Red R.
Sabine R.
Rio Grande
Colorado R.
Gila R.
Columbia R.
St. Marys R.
40
30
70
80
90
100
110
120
Longitude West from Greenwich
SCALE OF MILES
0
100
200
300
400
500
L. L. POATES, ENGR'G CO., N.Y.

UNITED STATES
ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY
1783-1853

"falsely charged with a war to gain territory by overpowering Mexico," and that he would not permit it.

By the treaty of peace (1848) Mexico was compelled to give to the United States all territory north of the Rio Grande and the Gila (hē′lȧ) Rivers, including New Mexico, California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming—about 800,000 square miles in all. The United States agreed to pay $15,000,000 to Mexico and to pay $3,500,000 more of claims that our citizens had against the Mexican Government.

The war cost about $100,000,000 and 13,000 lives. As the result of the conflict the United States became a power along the Pacific, and a new westward movement began, which we shall describe in a later chapter. We must now notice the problems that immediately followed the war.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. Why would slavery probably have died out in the South by a natural death or by the action of the Southern people if slavery had been kept within the existing slave States?

2. Explain the main causes for Americans settling in Texas. For what reasons might Mexico welcome such settlers? Suggest reasons why the Mexicans might look upon Americans as undesirable immigrants.

3. Why did the Texans declare themselves independent of Mexico? Did they have as good reasons as the Americans in 1776? Explain.

4. Tell how the Texans gained their independence. Why did they want to be annexed to the United States?

5. Give two reasons why American slave-owners favored the annexation of Texas; two reasons why anti-slavery men opposed the annexation of Texas.

6. Mention three issues in the election of 1844. Which of the three most concerned the extension of slavery? Explain the campaign song and the campaign slogans of the Democrats. (See page 380.) How would you have voted had you been a voter in 1844? Why?

7. Was the extension of slavery involved in the Oregon question? Explain. Tell how the Oregon controversy was settled.

8. How was the "equilibrium" between the slave and the free States maintained between 1830 and 1848?

9. Explain the main causes for the Mexican War. Suggest ways by which the war might have been avoided.

10. Abraham Lincoln served his only term in Congress between 1846 and 1848. In your opinion why did he oppose the Mexican War?

11. How do you account for the rapid and decisive victories of the Americans over the Mexicans? Why do you think President Polk ordered General Taylor to send a large part of his army to General Scott when General Taylor had been winning brilliant battles?

12. State the results of the Mexican War. Did the conflict extend slavery? Give facts to support your opinion.

13. In your judgment, what problem connected with slavery was raised by the outcome of the Mexican War?

THINGS TO DO

1. Three pupils volunteer to present in a dialog the views of the Democrats, the Clay Whigs, and the Liberty Party men in the campaign of 1844.

2. Suggest or draw a cartoon representing one of the following:

a. Henry Clay, as regarded by a Democrat
b. Polk, as looked upon by a Garrisonian abolitionist
c. Birney, as viewed by a slave-owner

3. Trace on a map the military campaigns of Taylor and of Scott during the Mexican War.

4. Reports for volunteers:

   a. Early American settlers in Texas
   b. The defense of the Alamo (see A. M. Williams, *Life of Houston,* 137–154)
   c. Lincoln's "spot" resolution
   d. Grant and Lee in the Mexican War
   e. Grant's account of the war with Mexico (see his *Memoirs*)

5. Copy the form given below and fill the blank spaces:

New Territories Acquired Between 1845 and 1848

Territories	Date Acquired	From Whom Obtained	How Obtained
Texas			
Oregon			
Mexican Cession			

✓ 6. Copy and fill in the following outline:

States or Parts of States Formed from Each New Territory

I. Texas
   A.
   B.
   C.
   D.
   E.
   F.

II. Oregon
   A.
   B.
   C.
   D.
   E.

III. The Mexican Cession

A.
B.
C.
D.
E.
F.
G.

7. Color an outline map of the United States to show:
   - *a.* The United States according to the Treaty of 1783.
   - *b.* Territory acquired by the Florida Treaty, 1819.
   - *c.* The Louisiana Purchase, 1803.
   - *d.* Territory acquired by the annexation of Texas, 1845.
   - *e.* The Oregon Treaty, 1846.
   - *f.* Territory acquired by the treaty with Mexico in 1848.

8. Color another outline map of the United States to show the extent of slavery in 1840 and in 1848. Be able to account for the change.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "Sam Houston, Pioneer," *Makers of Our History*, 201–215.
2. "A Satire on the Mexican War," by James Russell Lowell, in *Source Book of American History*, 271–276.
3. "The War between Mexico and the United States," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia*, 5: 2207–2208.
4. "The President Who Won the Pacific States," *ibid.*, 6: 2871–2873.
5. "The Heroes of the Alamo," *America First*, 317–320.
6. "Sam Houston Wins Freedom for Texas," *ibid.*, 321–324.
7. "William Henry Harrison," *Our Presidents*, 81–88.
8. "John Tyler," *ibid.*, 89–95.
9. "James Knox Polk," *ibid.*, 96–102.
10. "Enlarging the United States," *This Country of Ours*, 483–495.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE COMPROMISES OF 1850

The New Territory and the Wilmot Proviso. Look at the map and see the territory which the United States acquired from Mexico. Should this territory be slave or free? This question now had to be answered. Thus the slavery issue flamed up again.

When President Polk asked Congress in 1846 and 1847 for money to pay Mexico for territory, an act appropriating $3,000,000 was proposed, and David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, offered an amendment, or proviso (prȱ-vī′zȱ), declaring that slavery should never exist in any territory to be obtained from Mexico. This was the famous "Wilmot Proviso." The Proviso caused much discussion, but it was not adopted when the bill was finally passed.

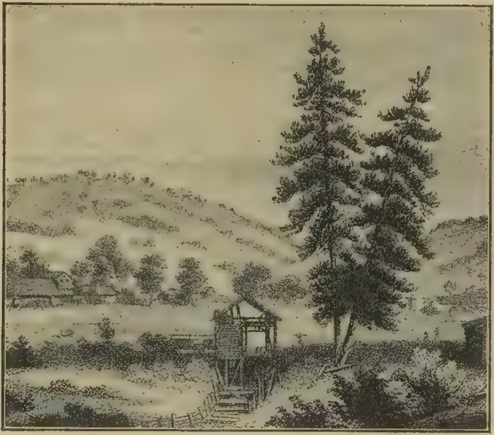
The proposal to keep slavery out of the new territory greatly offended the people of the South. They declared that the territory belonged to all the States; that a citizen of a slave State should be allowed to go into the territories with his property (slaves) and be protected there on equal terms with a citizen of a free State with his property, such as horses and cattle. The Southerners insisted that whatever was recognized as property in any State must be protected by the National Government as property in the territories. This is what Calhoun called "equal rights in the territories." He and his followers claimed that the South would be barred from the territories if slavery were excluded. Thus we see the South was bent not only on defending slavery from attack, but also on extending it to the new territory. Any attack on slavery was taken as an attack on the South.

The Election of 1848 and the "Free Soilers." In the midst of this discussion over slavery in the new territory the election of 1848 came on. The Whigs nominated General Taylor, who was a slaveholder, but they did not adopt any platform. The Democrats chose as their candidate General Cass, who came out for "popular sovereignty" in the territories, that is, for the right of the people in the territory to decide for themselves whether they should have slavery or not. Thus both the old parties were afraid to take a definite stand on the slavery question.

Dissatisfied with the silence of the two parties on the main issue of the day and aroused by the aggressive attitude of the Southern leaders, many anti-slavery Whigs and Democrats left their old parties and formed the Free Soil Party. These "Free Soilers" believed that their first duty was to oppose the extension of slavery. They did not propose to interfere with slavery in the States where it already existed, but they said, "No more slave States, no more slave territories; free soil for free people."

The old Liberty Party went in with the Free Soilers. The election showed that the anti-slavery spirit was gaining strength, for the Free Soilers cast about 290,000 votes. General Taylor was elected, however, chiefly because many Democrats in New York deserted their party to vote for Van Buren, the Free Soil candidate. The Free Soil movement tended still further to irritate the South and to divide the country.

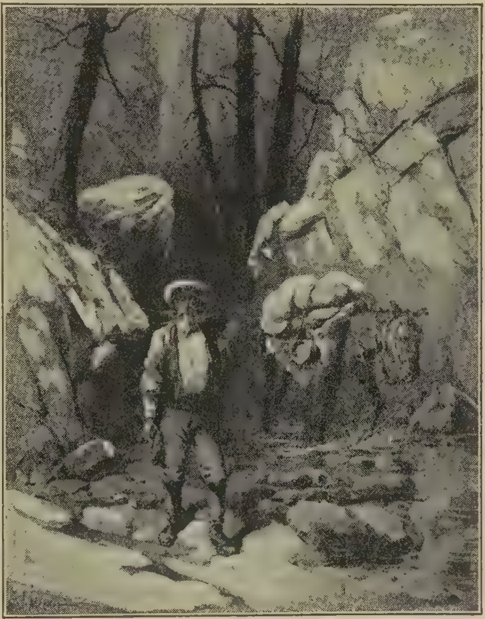
California and Gold Discovery. Hardly was the election over when California presented the nation a critical and difficult problem. Gold was discovered there in January, 1848. This was a great event. It meant more wealth, more money, and better times. The gold fever raged among all classes of people. Ordinary occupations were forgotten. Farmers, clerks, carpenters, masons, soldiers, and sailors left their business and flocked to the "diggings" to find gold. From all parts of the world the gold-seekers came, over the plains, across the Isthmus, around the Horn.


Sutter's Mill, California
Scene of the first discovery of gold in 1848.

By the summer of 1849 nearly 100,000 people had migrated to California, and San Francisco had sprung from a little hamlet containing a few hundred people to a city of 20,000 inhabitants. These "Forty-niners," as the gold-seekers were called, were mostly Americans, and in September, 1849, they formed a State government, adopted a constitution excluding slavery, and applied for admission to the Union.

The South at once objected to admitting California as a free State. Southern leaders declared that the entrance of California as a free State would break the "balance of power" in the Senate. (See page 359.) There were now fifteen free States and fifteen slave

States and the "balance" was still preserved. But there was no other slave State in sight. The South therefore wished California to be governed as a territory, while the anti-slavery men wanted it admitted as a free State.



A "Forty-niner"

One who went gold-hunting in California in 1849.

Questions in Dispute Between the North and the South. Several other questions were also in dispute between the North and the South. Let us sum them all up.

1. Shall California be admitted free?

2. Shall slavery be prohibited in the rest of the Mexican cession, that is, shall the Wilmot Proviso be adopted?

3. Shall slavery be abolished in the District of Columbia?

4. Shall fugitive slaves be returned to their masters?

5. Shall trade in slaves between the States be prevented?

6. What shall be the boundary of Texas?

On each of these questions the North and the South took opposite sides.

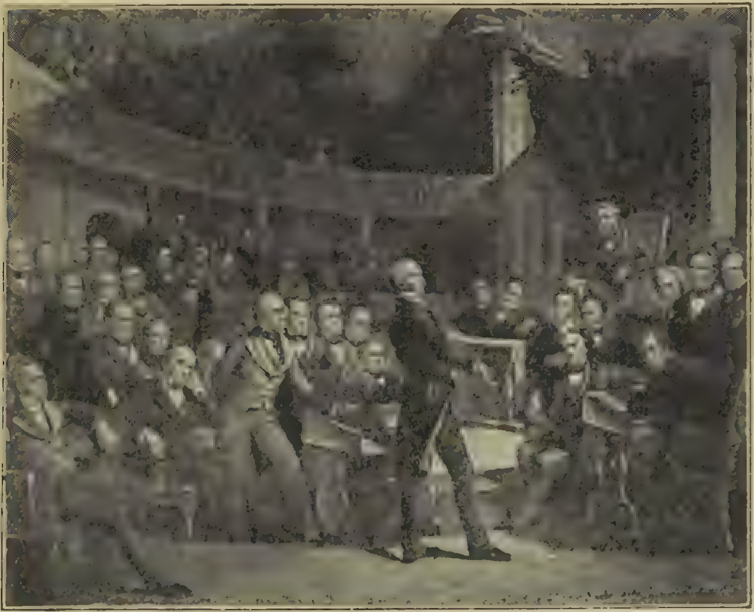
For many days their leaders in Congress heatedly debated the issues involved. Calhoun spoke for the

South. He declared that the country faced a crisis and that the only way to save the Union was to restore the "equilibrium" between the sections. The Union Calhoun wished to save was a union of sections, the one slave, the other free. He saw that the South had ceased to be equal to the North in population and wealth, but he insisted on "political equality," that is, on equality in power for the South. If this were not secured, he was sure that the time would soon come when the South would be forced to choose between the Union and slavery, and he advised the South to stand by slavery.

Webster spoke for compromise in his famous "Seventh of March" speech. He blamed the abolitionists more than the slaveholders for the sectional strife. Although he had always been opposed to slavery extension, he was now willing to give up the Wilmot Proviso. He said that such a restriction was useless, that it would only anger the South, and that slavery would be kept out of the new territory anyhow by the physical features of the region. Webster's speech greatly disappointed the anti-slavery men, and they condemned him severely; but his attitude helped to quiet strife and to postpone secession and war.

William H. Seward (sōō′ẽrd), a new senator from New York, spoke for the anti-slavery cause. He said: "The Constitution devotes the public territory to union, justice, and liberty. But there is a higher law than the Constitution which devotes it to the same noble purpose." This doctrine of the "higher law" was condemned as if Seward had said that the Constitution ought to be violated. He meant only to say that the law of God as well as the Constitution condemned slavery.

Clay and the Compromises of 1850. Henry Clay, the great peacemaker, worked earnestly for a plan of compromise. He believed that the Union was in serious danger and he appealed to both sides to give up something in order to save the country. His compromise measures, at first combined in a single measure, or "Omnibus Bill,"



Henry Clay Addressing the Senate, 1850

Clay was born in Virginia in 1777 and died in Washington, D. C., in 1852. He was a poor boy, called the "Mill boy of the Slashes." He moved to Kentucky in early life, settling in Lexington, and was afterwards known as the "Great Kentuckian." In State and nation his public career extended over half a century and in that period he ranked as one of the foremost orators of his time. He was known as the "Compromiser" and "Pacificator." He was the first great Speaker of the House of Representatives.

finally passed one by one. The compromises resulted as follows:

1. California was admitted as a free State.

2. The slave trade, but not slavery, was prohibited in the District of Columbia.

3. The new land acquired from Mexico was organized into two territories, New Mexico and Utah, without the

Wilmot Proviso and with the understanding that the people there should decide the question of slavery for themselves. This arrangement was called "popular sovereignty," which Calhoun nicknamed "squatter sovereignty." Should those who first moved out to "squat" on the land decide this great national question, he asked. Neither side obtained all that it wanted by this agreement, and the Free Soilers felt that their cause had been defeated, because the Wilmot Proviso had not been applied to the new territories.

4. A new Fugitive Slave Law was passed.

5. Texas was paid $10,000,000 for her claim to about half of New Mexico.

Nothing was done in regard to the interstate slave trade.

The people accepted the compromise measures because they wanted peace on the subject of slavery. Every one seemed satisfied, except the disunion men in the South and the abolitionists in the North. In the election of 1852 the two large political parties pledged themselves to stand by the compromises, including the Fugitive Slave Act, as a final settlement of the slavery question. The Democratic candidate, Franklin Pierce, was elected. The Whigs were beaten so badly that they never amounted to anything again as a party; some one said that the "Whig Party died of an attempt to swallow the Fugitive Slave Act." The vote of the Free Soil Party fell off to about half what it was in 1848.

The Fugitive Slave and the Underground Railroad. The worst feature of the compromise measures was the Fugitive Slave Act. This law was demanded by the slaveholders because so many of their slaves escaped and the Northern States refused to return them.

By the new law, which was to be enforced by United States officers, the nation now undertook the task.

Under the law a runaway Negro might be seized and carried before a United States judge or commissioner. The commissioner who heard the case was allowed $10 if he found the Negro to be a slave, but only $5 if he found him to be a freeman. There were many free Negroes in the North. The Negro was not allowed to testify in his own behalf and the right of trial by jury was denied him. Although his freedom was at stake, the usual process of law was not open to him. Any citizen might be summoned to help capture a fugitive. Hiding or rescuing a runaway was punishable by a fine of $1000 and damages to the same amount, or by imprisonment for six months.

To many Northern people the Fugitive Slave Act seemed an attempt to turn them into slave-catchers. They wished to keep their obligations to the South, but they did not like this law. To the abolitionists the law was hateful, and they were determined, law or no law, that the fugitive slaves should not be returned.

A regular system developed of helping the slaves to escape. At certain houses and neighborhoods they were safely guarded from their pursuers. The friends of the slaves fed them and hid them away by day in hayloft, attic, or cellar, and at night brought out their teams and carried the fugitives on to the next " station " on their road toward Canada and freedom. These routes became known as the "Underground Railroad." The system was not a railroad and it was not underground, but it was a line of travel, and the name came into use because those who helped the Negroes escape had to hide their actions from the officers.

It was the Fugitive Slave Act that led Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe to write *Uncle Tom's Cabin, or Life Among the Lowly.* The novel was a powerful story, setting forth the possible evils of slavery. Its purpose was to arouse opposition to the slave system and it therefore dealt chiefly with the worst aspects of slavery. Three hundred thousand copies were read at Northern firesides. Old and young alike were touched in their consciences, aroused to anger or melted to tears, and thousands of people were inspired to hate slavery and to despise slave-catchers. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was one of the greatest forces in leading people to struggle for the overthrow of slavery. One notable American said that the book would "make a million abolitionists," and when Lincoln first met Mrs. Stowe he said, "So here is the little woman who brought on the Civil War."

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. What was the Wilmot Proviso? Tell how it was regarded by anti-slavery men; by abolitionists; by pro-slavery men. What became of the Proviso?

2. What did Calhoun and his followers mean by "equal rights in the territories"? Was their argument reasonable and sound? Are you sure? Explain.

3. State clearly the attitude of the two old political parties in the election of 1848 on the question of slavery in the territory acquired from Mexico. How did their attitude lead to the formation of the Free Soil Party? Explain the position of the new party on slavery. Why did the Liberty Party join the Free Soilers? Tell the result of the election of 1848.

4. Tell how the discovery of gold in California hastened a decision on the question of slavery in the Mexican cession. Had gold not been discovered, might a decision have been delayed for years? Explain. Why did the Californians want to come into the Union as a free State?

5. State and explain the questions in dispute between the North and the South in 1850. What did each section want?

6. Describe the debate in the Senate, explaining the main arguments of Calhoun, Webster, Seward, and Clay. What did Calhoun mean by "political equality" between the two sections? What did Webster mean by saying that the Wilmot Proviso was unnecessary because there was a "law of nature" that would keep slavery out of the new territory? Was he correct? Explain Seward's argument about the "higher law." What part did Clay play in the debate?

7. What is the meaning of the word "compromise"? Look in the dictionary. State the compromises of 1850 and tell how each was a compromise. What was the most unpopular measure in the compromise? Why?

8. In your opinion, did the North or the South win more in the compromises of 1850? Give reasons.

9. Explain the attitude of the country toward the compromises of 1850. Tell how this attitude was shown in the election of 1852. How do you account for the decisive defeat of the Whig candidate and for a marked dropping off in the Free Soil vote? Explain this sentence: "The Whig Party died of an attempt to swallow the Fugitive Slave Act."

10. Mention the features of the Fugitive Slave Act that made the law objectionable to the Northerners. How did the law affect the growth of anti-slavery sentiment? Why?

11. What was the Underground Railroad? Tell why it was so called. What did it accomplish?

12. Why was *Uncle Tom's Cabin* written? What influence did it have? One historian says: "The boys who read *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852 were voters in 1860." What point is the historian trying to make?

THINGS TO DO

1. Choose a committee of four to act out the debate in the Senate over the compromise measures of 1850, the members of the committee presenting the main arguments of Calhoun, Webster, Seward, and Clay. For helpful material see J. F. Rhodes,

United States, vol. I, 119–129, 139–153, 162–171; T. K. Lothrop, *Life of Seward,* 86–105; Carl Schurz, *Life of Henry Clay,* vol. II, 315–350.

2. A member of the class volunteer to secure Whittier's poem, "Ichabod," read portions of it to the class, and tell what they mean and how they relate to Webster's Seventh of March Speech.

3. For a volunteer: Secure a copy of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and find an incident that describes the workings of the Fugitive Slave Act. Report to the class.

4. A volunteer find a map showing the main routes of the Underground Railroad and point them out on the wall map.

5. Reports by volunteers:
    - *a.* The "Forty-niners'" attitude on slavery
    - *b.* President Taylor and the Compromises of 1850
    - *c.* The "trial" of a runaway slave under the Fugitive Slave Act
    - *d.* The rescue of Jerry, a fugitive slave

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "A Fugitive Slave's Story," *Source Book of American History,* 260–263.
2. "At the Gold Fields," *ibid.,* 276–279.
3. "Compromise of 1850," by Henry Clay, *ibid.,* 279–281.
4. "John C. Calhoun," *America First,* 313–317.
5. "The Rescue of Jerry," *ibid.,* 349–354.
6. "Zachary Taylor and James K. Polk," *Our Presidents,* 103–108.
7. "Millard Fillmore," *ibid.,* 109–115.
8. "Taylor—Union or Disunion," *This Country of Ours,* 496–499.

CHAPTER XXV

THE CONTEST FOR FREE SOIL

The Slavery Question Reopened. Franklin Pierce became President on March 4, 1853. He and his party had promised that there should be peace on the subject of slavery; but Pierce had been in office only a few months when the question aroused more excitement than ever before. This was caused by the Kansas-Nebraska Bill which was offered in the Senate in January, 1854, by Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois.

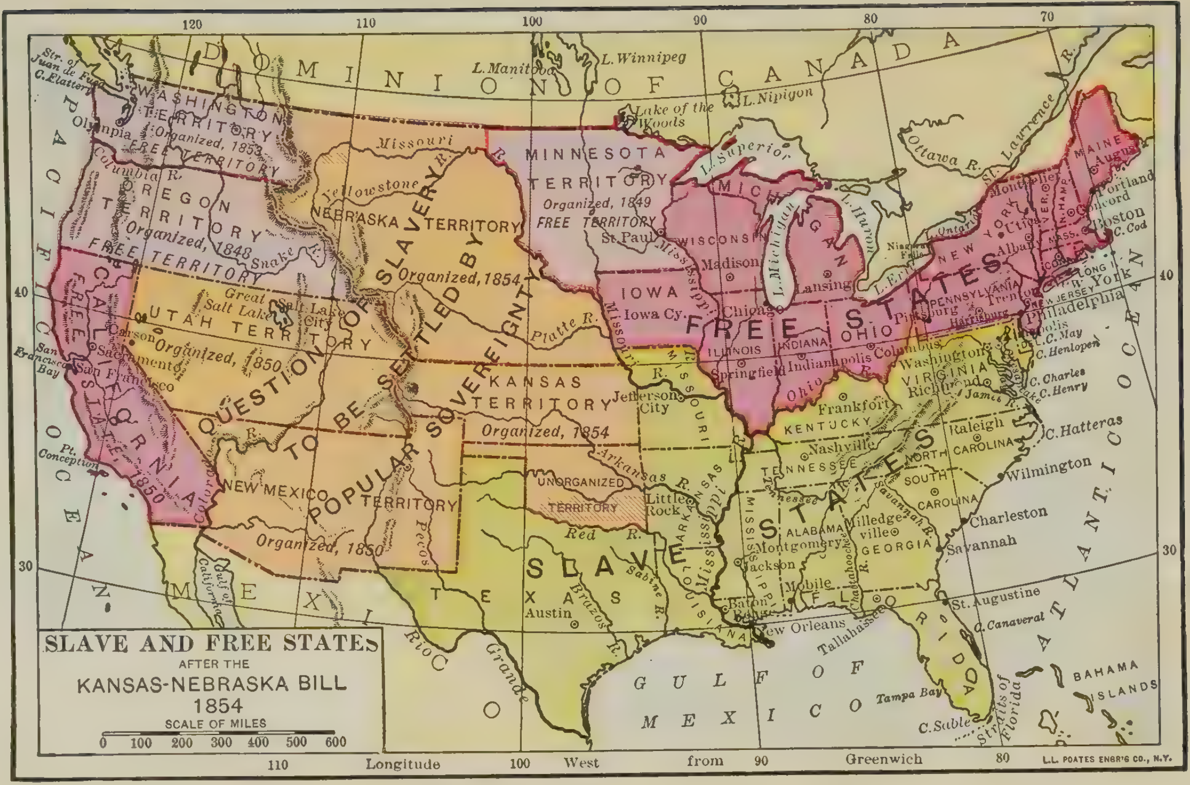
This bill provided for the creation of two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, out of the Louisiana Purchase, from which slavery had been excluded by the compromise of 1820 which prohibited slavery north of 36° 30′. Douglas said that the compromise of 1850 had "superseded" or taken the place of the compromise of 1820. This, he claimed, established the doctrine of "popular sovereignty," that is, that the people of the territories should settle the question of slavery for themselves. This meant that these territories which for more than thirty years had been regarded as safe from slavery should be opened up to slaveholding settlers.

The anti-slavery men in Congress stoutly opposed the bill. They declared the measure was "a gross violation of a sacred pledge," and was intended to turn the region into a land "inhabited by masters and slaves." Their opposition was in vain, for the bill became a law in 1854.

The main results of the Kansas-Nebraska Act were as follows:

1. It opened to slavery all territories of the United States.
2. It gave authority over slavery in Kansas and Nebraska to the people who lived there.
3. It led to a bitter struggle over Kansas.
4. It opened up the whole question of slavery, and again started the quarrel between the North and the South, this time for the final struggle.
5. It caused a break-up of the old political parties and led to the formation of the present Republican Party. People who were opposed to the extension of slavery left their old parties and united to form this new party. They differed on other issues, but they all stood together on one principle—No further extension of slavery; *no slavery outside of the slave States.* As Lincoln expressed it, "We must put slavery back where the fathers left it."

Political parties were tangled and confused this year. The old Whig Party was dying. Its great leaders, Webster and Clay, had died (1852). A "People's" Party appeared in some parts of the country. The "Maine Temperance Law" Party was strong in several States. Stronger still was the "Know Nothing," or "American," Party, a secret order with dark initiations, grips, passwords, and countersigns. When asked about their meetings, or principles, the members always replied, "I know nothing." The only principle of the party was opposition to foreigners and the Roman Catholic Church. "Let Americans rule America," was their slogan. There was no need for such a party and it soon passed away, though it was strong enough for a time to elect members of Congress and governors in a few States. Out of the political confusion of the time there soon


DOMINION OF CANADA
L. Manitoba
L. Winnipeg
L. Nipigon
Lake of the Woods
L. Superior
L. Michigan
L. Huron
L. Ontario
L. Erie
Ottawa R.
St. Lawrence R.
Str. of Juan de Fuca
C. Flattery
WASHINGTON TERRITORY Organized, 1853 FREE TERRITORY
Olympia
Columbia R.
OREGON TERRITORY Organized, 1848 FREE TERRITORY
Snake R.
Missouri R.
Yellowstone
NEBRASKA TERRITORY Organized, 1854
MINNESOTA TERRITORY Organized, 1849 FREE TERRITORY
St. Paul
Great Salt Lake
Salt Lake City
UTAH TERRITORY Organized, 1850
Carson
Sacramento
San Francisco
San Francisco Bay
CALIFORNIA FREE STATE, 1850
Pt. Conception
Colorado R.
NEW MEXICO TERRITORY Organized, 1850
Pecos
QUESTION OF SLAVERY TO BE SETTLED BY POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY
Platte R.
KANSAS TERRITORY Organized, 1854
UNORGANIZED TERRITORY
Arkansas R.
Red R.
TEXAS
Austin
Brazos R.
Sabine R.
Rio Grande
MEXICO
Gulf of California
PACIFIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
FREE STATES
SLAVE STATES
IOWA
Iowa Cy.
WISCONSIN
Madison
MICHIGAN
Lansing
ILLINOIS
Springfield
Chicago
INDIANA
Indianapolis
OHIO
Columbus
Ohio R.
Mississippi R.
Missouri R.
MISSOURI
Jefferson City
ARKANSAS
Little Rock
LOUISIANA
Baton Rouge
New Orleans
MISSISSIPPI
Jackson
ALABAMA
Montgomery
Mobile
Tennessee R.
TENNESSEE
Nashville
KENTUCKY
Frankfort
VIRGINIA
Richmond
James R.
Washington
NORTH CAROLINA
Raleigh
SOUTH CAROLINA
Columbia
Charleston
Wilmington
GEORGIA
Milledgeville
Savannah
Savannah R.
Chattahoochee R.
FLORIDA
Tallahassee
St. Augustine
C. Canaveral
Tampa Bay
C. Sable
Straits of Florida
BAHAMA ISLANDS
C. Hatteras
C. Charles
C. Henry
C. Henlopen
C. May
Annapolis
PENNSYLVANIA
Pittsburg
Harrisburg
Philadelphia
NEW JERSEY
Trenton
NEW YORK
Albany
Utica
New York
Niagara Falls
LONG I.
CONN.
MASS.
Boston
C. Cod
VER.
Montpelier
N. HAMP.
Concord
MAINE
Augusta
Portland
120
110
100
90
80
70
40
30
Longitude West from Greenwich

SLAVE AND FREE STATES
AFTER THE
KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL
1854

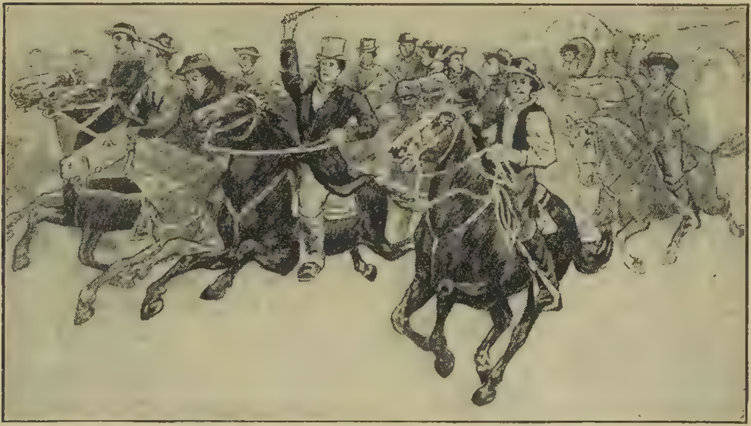
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500 600

L.L. POATES ENGR'G CO., N.Y.

Alan
Rosenberg
42 No. Walle
Chicago, 44, Ill
1/15/47

emerged two parties — the Democratic and the Republican.[1]

The War Over Kansas. As pointed out above, the Kansas-Nebraska Act led to a struggle between the free-state men and the slave-state men for the control of Kansas. In the closing hours of the debate in Congress, Seward exclaimed: "Come on, then, gentlemen of the slave States! Since there is no escaping your challenge, I accept it on behalf of the cause of freedom. We will engage in competition for the virgin soil of Kansas, and God give the victory to the side which is stronger in numbers as it is in right!"



Rushing into Kansas to Vote, 1855

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[1] The first meeting looking to the organization of the new Republican Party is said to have been held in Ripon, Wisconsin, in February, 1854, while the Kansas-Nebraska bill was up in Congress. Whigs, Democrats, and Free Soilers joined in the gathering. They proclaimed themselves ready, if the Kansas-Nebraska bill should be passed, "to throw old party organizations to the winds and to organize a new party on the sole issue of the non-extension of slavery." A more notable meeting was held "under the oaks" at Jackson, Michigan, July 6, 1854. This was a State-wide mass meeting which acted as a State convention. It issued a "call" asking all citizens "to sink all other political differences and to unite to oppose the extension of slavery." This gathering adopted the name "Republican" and its anniversary is celebrated as the date of the founding of the party.

The race for the territory began as soon as the bill became a law. From the slave State of Missouri, frontier citizens hurried to the new territory, staked out land claims, and called on Southern men to come to Kansas. The New England Emigrant Aid Society was organized to help Northern settlers to go to Kansas. The town of Lawrence was founded by these settlers. When the opposing forces met in Kansas, there were armed conflicts between them. When elections were held, the Missourians came over in great numbers and elected pro-slavery officers. These Missourians were called "Border Ruffians."

The free-state men refused to be bound by these elections and set up a government of their own. They held a convention at Topeka, adopted a constitution prohibiting slavery, and applied for admission to the Union. Thus there were two rival governments and a state of civil war in Kansas, and the National Government, which had hoped to get rid of the perplexing subject of slavery by giving the people of the territories the power to settle the question for themselves, found itself face to face with the old problem in a more difficult form that ever.

The free-state government in Kansas had a majority of the settlers behind it, but President Pierce recognized the slave-state government as legal and ordered soldiers to break up the free-state legislature (July 4, 1856). The House of Representatives then voted to admit Kansas under the free-state (Topeka) constitution, but the Senate refused. Thus Congress and the President were divided, and the whole subject in the form of "Bleeding Kansas" was again before the country.[1]

During the debates in the Senate, Senator Sumner of Massachusetts severely denounced the slaveholders, especially Senator Butler of South Carolina. A Southern member of Congress, a nephew of Butler, assaulted Sumner in the Senate chamber, beating him upon the head with a heavy cane. Sumner was knocked senseless and was disabled for three years. His assailant was bitterly denounced in the North, but was applauded in the South and re-elected to Congress. Such was the hatred aroused between North and South by the renewed controversy over slavery.

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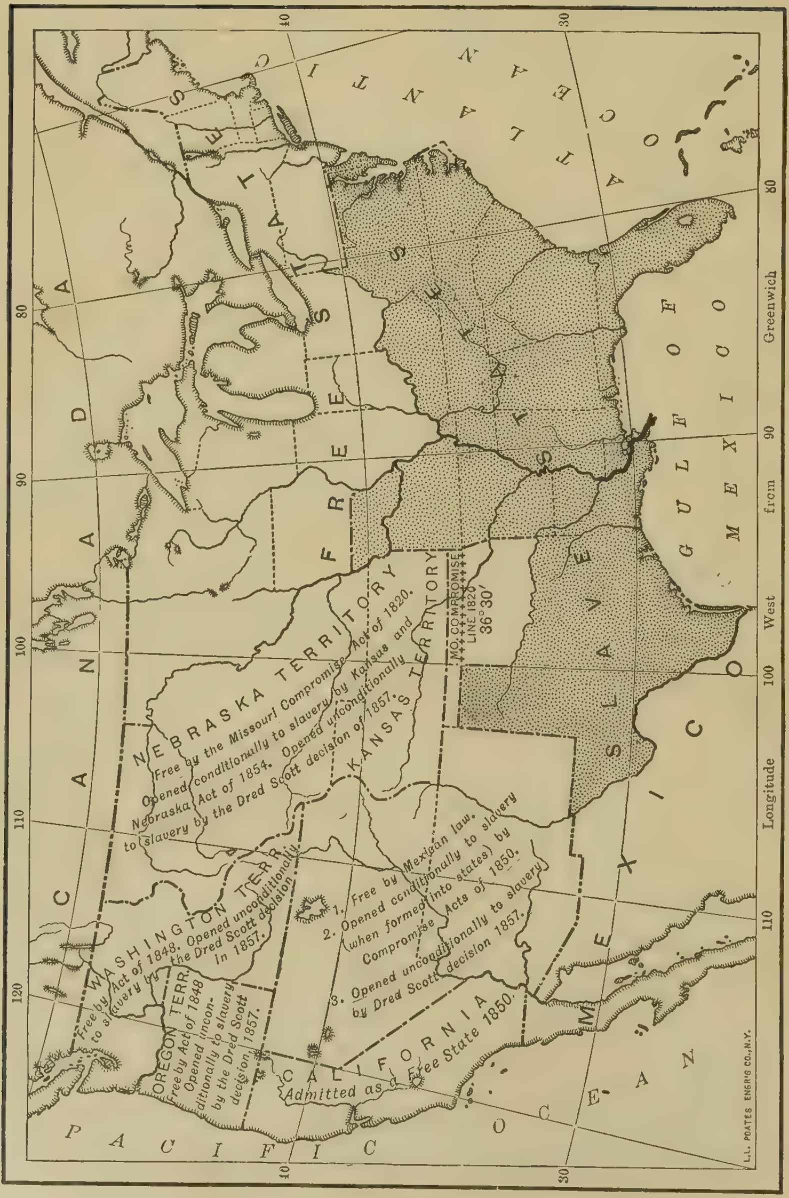
[1] In the end the free-state party got the upper hand in Kansas and the State was admitted free in 1861.

The Election of 1856. Amid this excitement the presidential election of 1856 came on. The new Republican Party nominated General John C. Frémont, the "Pathfinder," for President. The Republicans did not propose to interfere with slavery in the slave States, but they declared that Congress should keep slavery out of the territories. The party demanded that Kansas should be admitted as a free State.

The Democrats nominated James Buchanan (bū kăn′ăn), of Pennsylvania, for President. They appealed to the people to save the Union by defeating the Republicans. They said the Republicans were a sectional party, trying to array one part of the Union against another. Southerners said that Republican success would be the end of the Union. This fear resulted in Buchanan's election. But the new Republican Party made a strong race.

The Dred Scott Decision. James Buchanan became President on March 4, 1857. Two days later the Supreme Court announced a decision in the famous "Dred Scott Case" which aroused still greater excitement over slavery. Dred Scott was a Missouri slave whose owner had taken him (in 1838) first to Illinois, a free State, and then to Minnesota, where slavery had been prohibited by the Compromise of 1820. When his owner took Dred Scott back to Missouri, Dred sued for his freedom on the ground that residence in free territory had made him


CANADA
FREE STATES
SLAVE STATES
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
MEXICO
PACIFIC OCEAN
NEBRASKA TERRITORY
Free by the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820. Opened conditionally to slavery by Kansas and Nebraska Act of 1854. Opened unconditionally to slavery by the Dred Scott decision of 1857.
KANSAS TERRITORY
MO. COMPROMISE LINE 1820
36°30′
WASHINGTON TERR.
Free by Act of 1848. Opened unconditionally to slavery by the Dred Scott decision in 1857.
OREGON TERR.
Free by Act of 1848 Opened unconditionally to slavery by the Dred Scott decision 1857.
1. Free by Mexican law.
2. Opened conditionally to slavery (when formed into states) by Compromise Acts of 1850.
3. Opened unconditionally to slavery by Dred Scott decision 1857.
CALIFORNIA
Admitted as a Free State 1850.
40
30
80
90
100
110
120
Longitude West from Greenwich
L.L. POATES ENGR'G CO., N.Y.

FREEDOM AND SLAVERY, 1857

free. When the case came before the Supreme Court the decision was against Scott. Chief Justice Taney in announcing the decree of the court stated three points of great importance:

1. No Negro whose ancestors had been brought as slaves to this country could be a citizen of the United States. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution were not intended to include the Negro. He was a mere piece of property that could be bought and sold.

2. Congress had no power to keep slavery out of the territories.

3. The anti-slavery restriction in the Missouri Compromise of 1820 was unconstitutional and void.

The decision of the court meant that only white men could be citizens; that all the territories were open to slavery, including Oregon and Washington, and that the very corner-stone on which the Republican Party had been founded (no extension of slavery) was unconstitutional.

The people who wanted the extension of slavery now seemed to be completely triumphant. The Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court was on their side. The nation was to return fugitive slaves and protect slave property in the territories, while no interference with slavery was to be allowed in the slave States.

The defenders of slavery, with the aid of President Buchanan, next sought to bring Kansas into the Union as a slave State against the wish of a majority of the Kansas people. Senator Douglas helped to defeat this effort, because he believed the people of the territory should decide the question.

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates. A great anti-slavery leader now came to the front in the West. This leader was Abraham Lincoln. In 1858 the State of Illinois had to elect a United States Senator. The Democrats nominated Douglas. The Republicans nominated Lincoln. Lincoln's speech accepting this nomination is one of the most noted speeches in American history. He said:

> A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other.

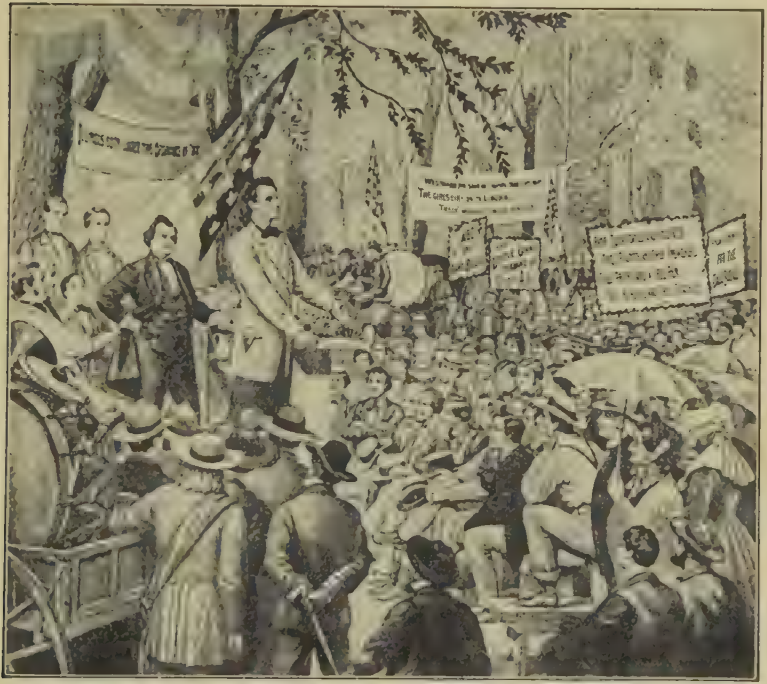
He thought the anti-slavery men must prevent the spread of slavery, or the men who believed in slavery would "push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South."

Lincoln and Douglas spoke together in debates on the slavery issue and the people flocked from miles around to hear them. Douglas defended popular sovereignty; he was willing to let slavery go into any territory whose people wanted it; he was not interested in the right or wrong of slavery. He said he did not care whether "slavery was voted up or voted down"; let the people decide. Lincoln wanted to deal with slavery as being wrong; he said the nation must keep it out of a new territory whether the people there wanted it or not. Douglas won the Illinois senatorship, but Lincoln gained a great reputation and his friends felt that he had paved the way for a greater victory in 1860.

John Brown's Raid. While Congress and the people were having exciting debates over slavery, an event occurred which widened the breach between the North and the South and made it more difficult than ever to keep the peace. This was John Brown's raid. Brown had fought the pro-slavery men in Kansas, killing a number of them in a night raid. He hated slavery and thought it was too late to get rid of it by peaceable means. On

Alan Rosenberg

October 16, 1859, with a band of twenty men, he seized the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. He expected to arouse the slaves, put arms in their hands, and let them fight for their freedom. It was a wild plan without any chance of success. The slaves did not rise, Brown was soon captured, ten of his followers were killed, and he himself was tried and executed for murder and treason under the laws of Virginia.



A LINCOLN–DOUGLAS DEBATE IN ILLINOIS, 1858

These debates were called the "Battle of the Giants," big and little. Douglas was short and stout, measuring five feet three; Lincoln was tall and lean, standing six feet four. The two men debated "popular sovereignty" and freedom in the territories. In the picture which is reproduced from one made in 1858, a party banner is seen describing "the Little Giant chawing up Old Abe." Another refers to "Abe the Giant Killer." Though Douglas was a great debater, he knew he could not defeat Lincoln easily.

Brown's attempt to arouse their slaves to insurrection stirred the Southern people to fierce anger. They thought that since the abolitionists applauded Brown and called him a hero and a martyr, the Northern people approved of his conduct and therefore they naturally felt that their lives and property were unsafe. The truth is that the great mass of Northerners disapproved of Brown's act, but it was hard to convince the South of this fact.

Many Southern men who were opposed to slavery extension were now ready to stand with the slaveholders against such violent and unlawful methods. It should be remembered that of the 8,000,000 white people who lived in the South only 2,000,000 were directly interested in slave property. The other 6,000,000 were now more ready to follow the lead of the slaveholders. Thus the power of the slaveholding class was increased and the spirit of disunion grew stronger.

The Election of 1860. For more than twenty years there had been almost constant strife over the subject of slavery. Churches had divided, political parties had broken up, and bitter feeling had arisen. Would the Union come to an end?

Interest in the election of 1860 was more intense than ever. The Democratic Party divided into Northern Democrats and Southern Democrats. The Northern Democrats nominated Stephen A. Douglas for President and declared for popular sovereignty in the territories. The Southern Democrats nominated John C. Breckinridge (brĕk′ĕn rĭj) and demanded that Congress protect slavery in the territories until they were ready for statehood, when the people of the new States should do as they pleased. The Republicans named Abraham Lincoln and demanded that Congress prohibit slavery in the territories.

Since the Democrats were divided, it was apparent that Lincoln would be elected. Southerners declared that if he won the election, the Southern States would secede; that is, withdraw from the Union. Republicans said that such a declaration was merely a threat, a false cry of "wolf" to frighten people from voting for Lincoln; that this threat which had been made for twenty years would not be carried out, and that the Northern people should vote for their principles and not be afraid.

Every Northern State voted for Lincoln, and he was elected. Now that slavery was to be prohibited in the territories the question was, "What will the South do?" Before considering the answer it will be helpful to study the changes that had taken place in the nation during the thirty or forty years preceding the Civil War.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. What was the "finality" compromise? Tell why it was so called. Why was it not a finality?

2. State the chief provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and explain its main results.

3. Describe the different sorts of men who formed the Republican Party. What did the party want to do about slavery?

4. How did the operation of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which was intended to take the question of slavery away from the National Government, actually force the National Government to act on the question again? Explain clearly.

5. Describe the war over Kansas. What was the main purpose of the conflict? What exciting incidents occurred? Why did the slave party win at first and lose at last?

6. What was the Dred Scott case? Tell how the decision of the Supreme Court affected the foundation on which the

Republican Party was organized. What could and should the Republicans have done in the situation? What did they do?

7. What was the immediate reason for the Lincoln-Douglas debates? Explain the main question that the two men debated. State the attitude of each man on the issue. How were the debates important?

8. What was John Brown's raid? Tell its purpose, outcome, and effect on the South and the North. Is there any defense for Brown's course? Did the outcome show that he was wise or unwise? Give reasons.

9. Explain the main issue in the election of 1860. State clearly the position of the Northern Democrats, the Southern Democrats, and the Republicans upon this issue. Tell the result of the election and explain its importance.

THINGS TO DO

1. Copy the following sentences and fill in the blanks:

The slavery question was opened again by the ____[illegible]____ Act. This law provided for the creation of two new territories:

1. ____Kansas____
2. ____Nebraska____

By the Compromise of 1820 these territories would have entered the Union as ____[illegible]____. (Fill the blank with one of these phrases — slave States, free States, either slave or free States as the people decided.)

2. Suggest ways by which dissatisfied members of the present Republican or Democratic parties could organize a new party. Find out just what the dissatisfied Democrats of 1854 ("anti-Nebraska Democrats," as they were called) and the discontented Whigs ("conscience Whigs," as they were known) did in order to unite with the Free Soilers in forming the Republican Party.

3. Copy the following sentences and complete them properly:

The Supreme Court made a decision in the Dred Scott Case that was favorable to the ____________ (Northern abolitionists, Southern slaveholders).

The decision contained three important points:

1. ______________________________
2. __________ ____________________
3. ______________________________

4. Choose two boys to represent Lincoln and Douglas. Secure selections from the speeches made by the two men and present the contest before the class in the manner in which the debates were held in Illinois in 1858.

5. Copy the following sentences and complete them correctly: John Brown tried to settle the slavery question by ________. The Northern abolitionists (approved, disapproved) of Brown's method. Brown's acts (gained, lost) support for the slaveholders.

6. Show on an outline map of the United States the results of the election of 1860.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "The Fight Over Slavery Extension," *The Book of the United States,* 216–219.
2. "The Rescue of Shadrach," *Source Book of American History,* 282–284.
3. "Troubles in Kansas," *ibid.,* 287–289.
4. "The Dred Scott Decision," *ibid.,* 290–291.
5. "A Criticism of Lincoln," by Stephen A. Douglas, *ibid.,* 291–294.
6. "John Brown's Last Speech," by John Brown, *ibid.,* 294–296.
7. "The Lincoln-Douglas Debates," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia,* 5: 2017–2018.
8. "Franklin Pierce," *Our Presidents,* 116–123.
9. "James Buchanan," *ibid.,* 124–132.
10. "The Underground Railroad," *This Country of Ours,* 500–504.
11. "Bleeding Kansas," *ibid.,* 505–509.
12. "The First Shots," *ibid.,* 515–518.

CHAPTER XXVI

SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

THE GROWTH OF THE COUNTRY, 1829–1865

Area and Population. During the thirty years following 1830 the population of the country increased, in round numbers, from 12,800,000 to 31,400,000. During this period fully 960,000 square miles of territory were added to the country's area, the increase being considerably more than the original area in 1783. The *increase* in population in the single decade from 1850 to 1860 was 1,000,000 more than the whole population in 1810, and was nearly as great as the entire population in 1820. The country was doubling its population every twenty-five years.

The free States of the Northwest showed the most remarkable increase, Illinois being the outstanding example. Between 1830 and 1840 Indiana's population was doubled while that of Illinois was almost doubled twice; by 1860 the population of Illinois had increased to four times what it had been in 1840. People came to the Northwest in large numbers from New York, New England, and foreign countries. They also came from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and the Carolinas, partly to find cheap lands and partly to escape the evils of slavery. As they lived in the new region and mixed with settlers from other parts of the country, the newcomers became less local and more national in their loyalty, an important fact in the Civil War. While the population was doubling in the Northwest, the slave States were increasing only from 5% to 20%.

UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

CARL SCHURZ

Among the immigrants to America in the middle of the last century was Carl Schurz, who arrived in 1852. He was born in Germany in 1829, and he became one of the great Americans of his time. He was an able editor, a Major General in the Civil War, was appointed by President Lincoln as Minister to Spain, and became a United States Senator and Secretary of the Interior under President Hayes. He was President of the National Civil Service Reform League and was a strong opponent of the spoils system in politics. He believed in America and was a strong advocate of American principles of government. He died in 1906.

Immigration. A large part of the increase in population came from immigration, the entrance of settlers from a foreign country. In 1860 there were between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 foreign-born persons in the United States. The greater part of these had come since 1840. The newcomers were mostly Irish and German, but there were also many English, French, Welsh, Scotch, and Dutch. Famine in Ireland, especially the potato famine of 1846, drove 1,700,000 Irish people to our shores. Hard times and political oppression in Germany sent 1,300,000 Germans to our shores.

Many of the immigrants settled in the eastern cities, while others went to the Northwest where Government lands could be obtained at a low price. Very few went to the South, where heavy labor was chiefly the work of slaves. The immigrants usually found employment either on the farms or in the mines and factories of the North, or in railroad building, which was extensively carried on in this period.[1]

The immigrants came to America to find a land of larger opportunity, where they could have a better chance to make a living, to educate their children, and to enjoy the blessings of free institutions. The Germans and Irish readily became naturalized American citizens, and they and their children, together with other foreign-born citizens, have greatly contributed to the growth and prosperity of America.

Wealth. From 1830 to 1860 the wealth of the country multiplied threefold, far the greater part of the increased wealth, like the increase in population, being in the free States of the North. America was growing rich and populous, and this period may be called the "golden age" of development and prosperity.

IMPROVEMENTS IN TRANSPORTATION

A Western Journey in 1821. A little over a hundred years ago a young college teacher and his wife started from Philadelphia to Indiana. They went from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh by stagecoach, a rattling, rickety, old machine, which lurched and plunged, swayed and jolted, until its passengers were bruised and sore. They went along at *three miles an hour,* stopping at places to water the horses, at grog shops and post offices, and to let passengers on and off.

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[1] Not until 1842 did as many as 100,000 immigrants come to America in a single year. In 1854 the number rose to 427,000. It reached its highest point in 1907 when 1,285,349 immigrants entered the United States. Immigration increases during years of industrial prosperity in America or during hard times in Europe, and falls off when times are hard in America. During the World War, 1914-1918, the stream of immigration to the United States almost stopped flowing. After the close of the war, immigration rose rapidly for a few years. Then it was greatly reduced by restrictive laws passed by Congress since 1924, and today hardly more than 150,000 immigrants enter the United States every year. (See page 765.)

From Pittsburgh the two travelers went down the Ohio to Louisville in a slow steamboat; from there they started overland in a two-horse cart for a hundred miles into the forests of Indiana, a densely wooded country. Here they had a lesson in forest traveling, in "spouty land," "marsh land," "rooty land," and "snaggy land," with mudholes and no bridges, and in fording deep streams. They also found occasional "corduroy" roads made of the trunks of trees laid side by side, which for giving bumps and jolts have never been equalled.

It was spring time, and traveling by land became traveling by mud and water. Small brooks bubbled up where no brooks should have been; creeks were turned into rivers and rivers into lakes. There was no road to follow, but only a trail, around stumps and over roots and snags. By sunset of the second day, by hard driving, the travelers had gone twenty miles from Louisville, about a mile and a half an hour! Such was travel in the days before the railway, the automobile, and good roads!

Canals and Inland Navigation. After 1830 canal building and the making of turnpike roads — highways with toll-gates — were actively carried on. Commerce through the Great Lakes increased at a marvelous rate. The days of the fur-trader and the open boat were passing away. Now wheat and lumber in great quantities were taken in big ships from the pioneer settlements in the West to the Eastern markets. In 1833 the Canadian Government built the Welland Canal, and in 1855 the United States built the locks at Sault Ste. Marie (sōō′ sânt mā′rĭ). By means of a canal between the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers a boat loaded at Buffalo might reach St. Paul or New Orleans without shifting the cargo. The Wabash and Erie Canal was planned to connect Lake Erie with the Ohio and the Mississippi. These public enterprises received a severe check by the panic of 1837, and many Western States found it hard to pay for the building of roads and canals.

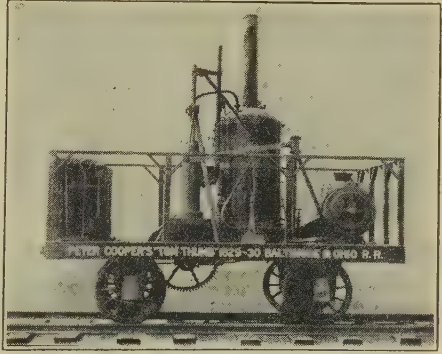
A MISSISSIPPI RIVER PACKET

Before the coming of the railroad, these swift mail and passenger boats performed a very important service. Some of them are running at the present time. Mark Twain, the distinguished writer, was for a time a pilot on one of these boats.

Railroad Building: New Forms of Transportation. Canals and rivers were good for slow freight for a part of the year, but for much of the time they were frozen up. The winter also closed the Great Lakes to navigation. Moreover, rivers, canals, and lakes were useless in helping men to penetrate the rough hill countries or to cross the broad prairies. The need for better means of transportation was met by the railroad, the great agency for opening and conquering the West. As early as 1814 George Stephenson, an Englishman, made the first successful locomotive; but not until 1829 did his famous "Rocket" show what a locomotive engine might do for transportation. Then it was seen that a new era of transportation had come to the world.

In 1830 there was not a mile of steam railroad in the United States, though there were a few miles of track on which cars were drawn by horse power. Railroad building in America began about 1830. In that year Peter Cooper's engine, "Tom Thumb," made a trial trip over thirteen miles of track between Baltimore and

Ellicott's Mills in one hour and fifteen minutes. In the fall of the same year several trips were made on a South Carolina road between Charleston and Hamburg. In the Mohawk Valley the "DeWitt Clinton" made seventeen miles an hour, from Albany to Schenectady (skĕn ĕk′tȧ dĭ). When this line was opened the legislators at Albany were taken to Schenectady and given a big dinner. One toast proposed was, "The Buffalo Railroad: May we soon breakfast in Utica, dine in Rochester, and sup with our friends on Lake Erie." They dreamed of going from Albany to Buffalo in a day! At that time the swiftest packet boats required three or four days for the journey on the canal.



THE "TOM THUMB"

This engine pushed a small open car with eighteen passengers aboard. (August, 1830.)

The first rails were of wood with strips of flat iron nailed to the top. Trains frequently ran off the track. Wood was used for fuel. Since there were no spark arresters, the sparks flying from the smokestack often set fire to the sheds and rail fences along the track. Passengers sometimes found their clothing damaged by the flying sparks.

Riding by rail was not easy in early days. When the train started or stopped, there was so much jerking or bumping that the passengers were often thrown from their seats in a heap. It was too risky to run trains at night, for the locomotives had no headlights and the engineers knew no system of signaling. If they ventured to run a train after dark, a front light was provided from a flat car pushed before the engine; on a pile of sand on this flat car was kindled a fire of pine knots.

Early railroad building was for the purpose of helping out transportation on the canals, rivers, and Great Lakes. The Baltimore and Ohio Railway was the first line to cross the Alleghenies. It was built from Baltimore to Cumberland, Maryland, in 1835, but did not cross the Alleghenies to connect with the Ohio until 1851. Freight traffic followed the water routes, and by 1850 short railroad lines were built inland from the principal cities on rivers and lakes, as from Sandusky, Toledo, and Detroit. Chicago had only one short line by 1848, built to connect the city with Galena, in western Illinois.

"The Atlantic" Locomotive, 1832

The early railroad routes were entirely over short and independent lines. Travelers ran the risk of missing connections, and were often compelled to wait weary hours or even a whole day at the end of a line. Eleven independent lines connected Albany with Buffalo; a similar situation existed between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. In 1851 Emerson wrote from Pittsburgh: "I arrived here last night after a very tedious and disagreeable journey from Philadelphia, two nights being spent in the railcars and the third on the floor of a canal boat.''

By 1849, nearly twenty years after railroad building began, the United States contained only 6000 miles of railroad, but these roads were putting the canals out of business. Then an era of construction began and by 1860 the country had more than 30,000 miles of railway, and the States from east to west were covered by a network of roads.

The journey from New York to Chicago, now made in twenty hours on the fastest trains, then required fifty. Passengers had to change at *seven* different places, buying new tickets and waiting several hours between trains. The shipping of freight was still more difficult. No shipments of goods were sent through to Chicago without transfers. A man had to go with the goods, or a number of private agents along the line had to see to the transfers. At the end of each line freight had to be taken from the car, hauled in wagons across the city to the station of the next line, and loaded again. A "war" was caused in Erie, Pennsylvania, when the railway company proposed to change the gauge — the distance between the rails — so that trains could run without change between Buffalo and Cleveland. The Erie eating-houses and transfer companies would be ruined, it was said, unless passengers and freight were delayed several hours and made to change cars before the Erie pie-shops. The city refused to allow the change to be made and mobs tore up the tracks and plowed up the grades. This was called the "Erie War." Many weeks were needed to overcome the opposition to through lines.

The first through system under one management from the Atlantic to the Mississippi was formed about 1869. This was accomplished by Cornelius Vanderbilt, America's first "Railroad King." (See page 532.) Congress made provisions for building a line to the Pacific in 1862, giving large quantities of public lands to a company for that purpose. This great enterprise was completed in 1869 (see page 518).

Pullman Sleepers. It was not until 1863 that George M. Pullman built the first *sleeping-car*. These cars have since been known by his name. The first sleeper, called the "Pioneer," was built at a cost of $18,000. In 1867 Pullman organized the "Palace Car Company," but it was twenty years before the "vestibule train" was developed — a connected train of sleepers and a dining car with no exposed platform. Now the passenger on a long journey of several days can ride in ease and luxury in his "Pullman" without change, and sleep comfortably in a good bed throughout the night — a notable improvement upon the old ways of travel in the ox-cart, the stagecoach, or the prairie schooner.

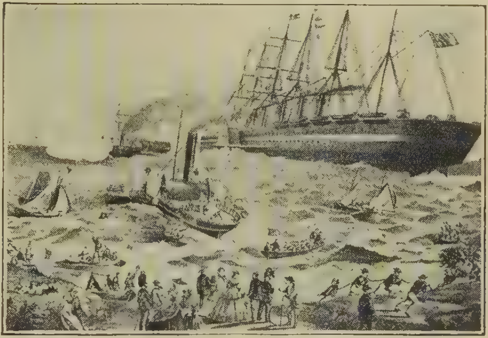
THE TELEGRAPH

The Electric Telegraph, 1844. Following the railroad came the telegraph. Before the telegraph was invented, there was no way of sending rapid and accurate messages of the movement of trains. If a train was long overdue, a locomotive would go slowly along the track looking for the lost train.

Telegraph means *far writing*. How electricity has been harnessed to write for man at long distances may be explained by your science teacher. Many difficulties had to be overcome before this great end was achieved.

The invention of the telegraph was due chiefly to the genius and perseverance of Samuel F. B. Morse, who as early as 1837 sent a message for three miles over a copper wire. After years of struggle and persuasion Morse induced Congress to vote $30,000 for an experimental line from Washington to Baltimore. "What hath God wrought!" was the first message sent over the line (May, 1844); two days later the news of Polk's nomination to the presidency was telegraphed from Baltimore to Washington. Soon a network of lines connected the large cities of the country and by 1860 there were 50,000 miles of telegraph lines within the United States. In 1861 a line was built to San Francisco.

The Atlantic Cable. In 1858 Cyrus W. Field headed a company to lay at the bottom of the ocean the first transatlantic cable. Field worked for twelve years, crossing the Atlantic fifty times before he succeeded in his undertaking. The first cable line broke. The Civil War came and interrupted the enterprise. The attempt was renewed in 1865. Again the cable parted, but in 1866 final success was attained and messages are sent under the sea from shore to shore of the broad Atlantic. If this had been possible in 1814, the battle of New Orleans might have been avoided. (See page 289.) Now many cable lines under the Atlantic and Pacific connect the United States with Europe and with Asia.


THE *Great Eastern* LANDING THE ATLANTIC CABLE AT NEWFOUNDLAND

NEWS AND THE MAILS

Newspapers and Postage Rates. One notable result of the railroad and the telegraph was the easier spread of information. News could be gathered and sent quickly.

With improved methods of transportation, cheaper printing, and better educational opportunities there came a marked increase in the number of newspapers and magazines. Newspapers increased their circulation and large daily journals were established. Horace Greeley founded the New York *Tribune* in 1841, Henry J. Raymond established the New York *Times* ten years later, and William Cullen Bryant as editor gave great influence to the New York *Evening Post.* The New York *Sun* (the first one-cent paper) was established in 1833; the New York *Herald* was founded in 1835. The Springfield *Republican* started as a weekly in 1824, became a daily in 1844, and grew to nation-wide influence and fame. The Chicago *Tribune* followed in 1847. Joseph Pulitzer founded the New York *World* in 1860. Soon after the Civil War, Henry Watterson, a brilliant editor, became associated with the Louisville *Courier Journal.*

Improvements were made in the manufacture of paper and in the printing press, the Hoe cylinder press being operated for the first time in 1847. Postage rates had been high, 6 cents on a letter if sent thirty miles and 25 cents if sent over four hundred miles, the receiver of the letter always paying the postage. Writing and receiving letters were not everyday events. When a pioneer in the West received a letter from the old neighborhood from which he had come in the East or South, several families gathered in his home to hear the letter read. The mails were sometimes a week or two weeks apart, depending on the weather, the condition of the roads, and the floods of the rivers.

Adhesive postage stamps were introduced about 1840. Ten years later the rate on a prepaid letter was reduced to 3 cents for any distance under three thousand miles, and in 1873 to 2 cents. By correspondence, newspapers, and magazines, the people became better informed about their Government and their party leaders, and they would travel long distances to attend party conventions. Business relations between different parts of the country became closer, travel increased, and people moved to the West in great numbers "to grow up with the country."

As late as 1843 it was said in Congress that the United States could never have any interest in a country so far away as Oregon; the Government could never operate over such a distance, and it would take a member of Congress nearly six months to get to Washington from so far a country and nearly six months to return to his home; in consequence he would have only a few days for his services in Congress!

EDUCATION

Schools and Colleges. The first half of the nineteenth century was a time of discontent and revolution in Europe. People wanted to try new governments, new systems of education, new scientific methods, and new doctrines in religion. The spirit of humanity grew and people were more ready to help the poor, the weak, and the oppressed.

In the 1830's a new movement for public education arose in the United States. Horace Mann, a noted educator, established in 1837 one of the first school journals in America and tried to stir up the people to improve their schoolhouses, textbooks, and teachers. Under his leadership the first normal school for the training of teachers was established in 1839.

About this time the State universities arose in the Northwest and many church colleges were also founded. Later the States began to make provision for academies and common schools. Before this movement for public education began, the masses of the people could not read and write, but now such illiteracy began to disappear. Everywhere there was a spirit of inquiry and a readiness to change from former ways of living and thinking.

Textbooks: Noah Webster and His Spellers. Noah Webster, whose dictionary has made him famous for more than a hundred years, published in 1782 a combined spelling book, grammar, and reader. This was the pioneer work in its field and it soon found a place in most of the schools of the United States. Webster's "Blue Back" speller became famous, and by 1861 the sale reached more than a million copies a year. Webster received less than a cent a copy, but the speller brought support for his family during the twenty years in which he was preparing his dictionary. His grammar and speller did much to bring about a simpler system of spelling and more uniform pronunciation in the United States.

McGuffey and His Readers. About 1840 began the system of free common-school education. Out of the West arose another educational leader, William H. McGuffey by name. McGuffey was no orator, ruler, politician, or office-holder. He did not write nor fight. He was a teacher, and between 1836 and 1841 he compiled a series of readers which were used in the schools of America for more than a half a century. McGuffey's "New Spelling Books" were also widely used, gradually displacing the "Blue Back" of Webster. McGuffey's readers were revised five times, the last time in 1901, nearly thirty years after McGuffey's death. Between seventy and eighty millions of copies have been used by American school children. Perhaps half of the school children of America from 1836 to 1900 drew inspiration from these books. McGuffey helped to form the mind of America just as Franklin had done by his *Poor Richard's Almanac* during the century before.

LITERATURE

The "Golden Age of American Literature." By 1832 American literature had developed to a marked extent and in the next thirty years came to include names of great distinction. A group of writers, sometimes called the "Concord School," were greatly influenced by the new ideas in education and by the new spirit of humanity. Emerson, one of the greatest of the group, lived a retired life at Concord, but often went to Boston and other cities to lecture. Lyceums, or courses of lectures, were a common means of popular instruction.[1]

Emerson's lectures were afterwards printed as *Essays.* In 1836 his first book, *Nature,* was published, and in 1837 his address on *The American Scholar.*

Thoreau (thō rō′), another member of the group, was a "poet-naturalist." In 1845 he built a cabin on Walden Pond near Concord and lived there by himself. He was the first of a long line of American writers on outdoor life. On Concord River the house still stands which Nathaniel Hawthorne described in *Mosses from an Old Manse,* published in 1846. Hawthorne's later romances, among them *The Scarlet Letter* and *The House of the Seven Gables,* preserve for us many traditions of the life of the Puritans in New England.

Bronson Alcott was one of the Concord group who tried out the new ideas in education. He was himself a teacher, and among other experiments he advanced the theory that when the pupils did wrong the teacher should be flogged. He also tried to admit colored children into his classes, but his patrons would not permit him to do so.

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[1] John B. Gough, the noted temperance advocate, Wendell Phillips, the great anti-slavery orator, Henry Ward Beecher, a celebrated clergyman, and many others, spoke to the people on moral questions in all parts of the country in these lyceum courses. The Chautauquas of the present day have taken their place.

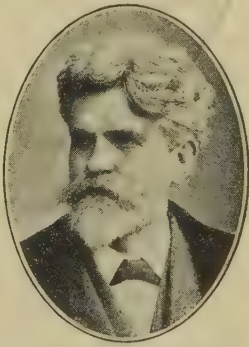
Nathaniel Hawthorne
1804–1864

James Russell Lowell
1819–1891

Ralph Waldo Emerson
1803–1882

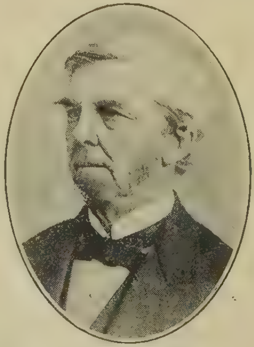
Edgar Allan Poe
1809–1849

Francis Bret Harte
1836–1902

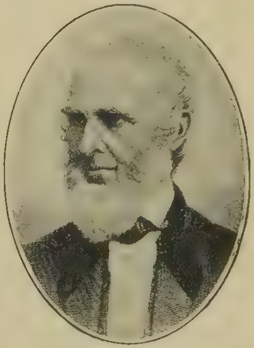


Edward Eggleston
1837–1902

Henry Wadsworth
Longfellow
1807–1882



Oliver Wendell
Holmes
1809–1894



John Greenleaf
Whittier
1807–1892

Poetry. The poetry of America may be said to have begun with Longfellow's *Voices of the Night,* in 1839, although Bryant's *Thanatopsis* (1813) and some less important poems had already appeared. In 1842 Longfellow published a small volume of *Poems on Slavery.* His narrative poems, *Evangeline* and *Hiawatha,* were written later, in 1847 and 1855.

In the latter year Longfellow was succeeded by Lowell as Professor of Modern Languages in Harvard College. Lowell had gained great popularity some years before (1846) by his *Biglow Papers,* which were satires in "down-east" dialect upon the Government and the Mexican War.

Whittier was the poet of the anti-slavery movement. His three collections of patriotic poems cover almost the entire period of agitation and war. He is, however, not to be remembered for these alone, but also for enriching our literature with many ballads and idylls of New England life. From 1830 Holmes was prominent among men of letters. In 1857 the *Atlantic Monthly* was founded, in the first number of which Holmes began his *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table.*

While the center of learning and of literature was at this time in New England, other sections of the United States had men who also expressed the life and thought of the people in both verse and prose. The South was represented in literature chiefly by Edgar Allan Poe, whose poem "The Raven" appeared in 1846. He was editor of magazines in Richmond, Virginia, and in Philadelphia. By 1831 Poe had published several collections of verse. He has been called the inventor of the detec~~tive story~~.

The Pacific coast and the life of the "Forty-niners" were portrayed by Bret Harte, who went from New York to California in 1852.

INVENTIONS AND DISCOVERIES

The Sewing Machine. Many notable inventions were made or improved during this period. The sewing machine was first brought into practical use by Elias Howe in 1846. Other inventors, Wilson, Wheeler, and Singer, improved the machine. Singer sold machines on the instalment plan, and thus brought the invention within the reach of the poor. In the decade before the Civil War a machine was invented that could carry a needle through leather; with this device a skilled workman could sew the soles on 900 pairs of shoes in a day. Ready-made clothing and boots and shoes were made in wholesale quantities in the factory. Thus the clothing of the people was easier to make and was lower in price. With the factory system came the labor problem, and the struggles and strikes for better wages and working conditions described in a later chapter.

Three Important Discoveries. Along with the great inventions that we have noticed came three important discoveries that have proved to be of the greatest benefit to mankind.

Vulcanized Rubber. In 1844 Charles Goodyear discovered a process of vulcanizing India rubber — that is, a way of making rubber harder and more durable. His discovery made possible all kinds of rubber goods — boots, shoes, caps, coats, coverings for wagons, automobile tires, and many other articles. It has added greatly to our comfort and convenience.

Photography. In 1839 Daguerre (dȧ gâr′), a Frenchman, made known a process of taking pictures by means of exposing a prepared copper plate to the sunlight. These early pictures were called daguerreotypes (dȧ gĕr′-ō tīps). Soon improved methods were introduced and great progress was made in the art of photography.

Anæsthesia (ăn ĕs thē′sĭ ȧ). Between 1842 and 1846 it was shown repeatedly that persons might be made insensible to pain by inhaling ether or chloroform and thus avoid suffering due to surgery. The first operation with the use of such an anæsthetic was reported by Dr. Crawford W. Long, of Georgia, in 1842, but the value of the process was more clearly shown by Dr. Morton, a dentist of Boston, in 1846. The discovery has been the means of preventing untold suffering.

AGRICULTURE

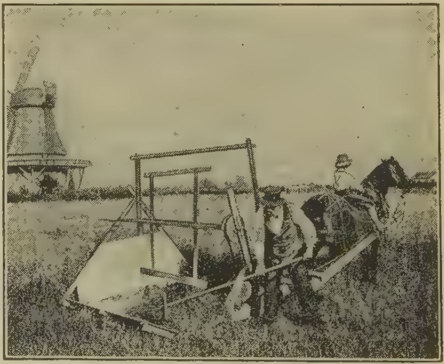
Farming and Machinery. Food products were made cheaper and were greatly increased in quantity by the invention of farm machinery. The whole life of the farm was changed by the reaper and the thresher.

Before 1830 farm implements were of the rudest kind. Spades, mattocks, pitchforks, hoes, plows, and scythes were still made at a blacksmith's forge. The first patent for a mowing machine was granted to William Manning in 1831, and for a reaping machine to Obed Hussey in 1833. One of Hussey's machines with a team of horses could cut grain as fast as eight persons could bind it, and as fast as twenty men swinging cradles. In 1834 a patent was issued to Cyrus H. McCormick for an improved reaping machine for cutting all kinds of grain. He was able to sell only three machines in 1840, and his invention did not come into common use until after 1850. The great World's Fair in London in 1851 gave a strong impulse to the use of agricultural machines, and in 1860, 20,000 reapers were manufactured.

In 1831 the first two patents were issued for horse-power threshing machines for separating the grain from the straw. Thirty years later (1860) steam threshers were introduced, though horse power continued to be used. At the Paris Exposition in 1855 the American thresher was tested; one machine threshed seventy-two times as much wheat in half an hour as one man with a flail. The corn-planter, the revolving hay-rake, and improved plows also came into use during this period. Improvement in livestock and dairying kept pace with increased production in corn, wheat, and hay. Thus the machines brought a new era in agriculture, multiplying our produce, greatly increasing our foreign commerce, adding to the wealth and comfort of the people, and making the Northwest "the granary of the world."

MOWING WITH THE SCYTHE
Cutting grass with a scythe in the old fashioned way is a slow, back-breaking job.

The Plantation System. The chief products of the South, besides cotton, were tobacco, rice, hemp, and sugar. Nine-tenths of the cotton was raised by slave labor on large plantations of from 250 to 10,000 acres. Old men, women, and children could work at picking cotton, and large gangs of slaves toiled under the eye of an overseer.



THE FIRST McCORMICK REAPER
Notice that the grain is being raked off by hand.

Slave labor was cheap. In 1840 a good field hand could be bought for $500; by 1860, however, field hands cost from $1200 to $2000 apiece. The price had become high, but it cost very little to keep a slave. An able-bodied slave could be fed and clothed for $30 a year. His clothing was scant, and his food consisted chiefly of corn meal, molasses, and bacon.

The cotton crops, however, exhausted the soil and very little was done to fertilize it. The owner sought new and more fertile lands. This need for more land for cotton helped to bring on the Civil War.

Scientific Farming: Agricultural Colleges. The exhausted soils and abandoned lands called attention to the need of fertilizers to enrich the soil. Farming needed more science and more sense. Fertilizing materials were imported. Bones, shells, and phosphate rocks were made into plant-food, and 60,000 tons of manures were imported annually by 1860.[1] In 1862 a Bureau of Agriculture was founded and in the same year provision was made, under the leadership of Senator Morrill of Vermont, for supporting agricultural colleges by proceeds from public lands. This has led to agricultural experiment stations and model farms in every State in the Union.

Considered from the standpoint of material progress, the Morrill Act of 1862 establishing these colleges was one of the most important events in our history. It began a movement that has resulted in scientific farming. Unproductive lands have been brought into use; varieties of corn, wheat, clover, vegetables, and other products have been introduced; lands have been enriched, stock improved, and expert information has been sent abroad that has enabled the farmers greatly to add to the wealth and prosperity of the country.

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[1] A story is told of a chemist in Charleston, S. C., in 1860, who, when he was shown the Ordinance of Secession and was asked what he thought of it, replied, "That is not what South Carolina needs; she needs manure."

The Homestead Policy. "Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm." So ran a popular song of eighty years ago. Free land is the key to much American history during the nineteenth century. Uncle Sam had plenty of land and he was ready to give it away to any settler merely for the settling. Millions of acres were given away or sold very cheap in the early years of the century.

Later, in 1862, the Free Homestead Act provided that any citizen, or one who intended to become a citizen, might enter upon 80 acres or 160 acres of the public land at $1.25 an acre and after actual residence of five years he might become the owner of the land. If he wished to move or sell before five years, he would have to pay more for his land to complete his title, or "prove his claim."

This policy opened to settlement millions of acres of the public lands which otherwise would have remained a wilderness for many years. It attracted immigrants from other countries and from the old States to the West, and it helped many men to find good homes.

PROSPERITY AND UNION

Boundaries and Occupations. By 1860 the boundaries of the United States reached from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Lakes to the Gulf. The people were engaged in fishing, farming, commerce, manufacturing, grazing, and mining. There were coal, iron, and oil in Pennsylvania; iron mines in upper Michigan; lead and zinc mines in Missouri; copper mines in the region of Lake Superior; and gold and silver in great quantities in the far West. Tropical fruits could be raised in

Florida and California. The great farms of the Middle West were producing grain and livestock; herds of cattle were raised on the plains of Texas; Michigan and Wisconsin were rich in lumber; while from the South came cotton, sugar, tobacco, hemp, and the products of the pine forests. The people were coming to realize that their country was exceptionally rich in natural resources.

Physical and Economic Union. By the union of the States the nation had become great. The States were not uniform in interests and occupations, but the railroad, the telegraph, cheap postage, the westward movement, territorial growth — these and other influences had made a political union more important by 1861 than ever before. In the Civil War the people of this country were to decide whether there should be two republics between Canada and the Rio Grande, or whether this great territory should continue to be one — the home of one people under one name, one government, one flag.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. Why did the population and wealth of the Northern States increase much more rapidly than the population and wealth of the Southern States?

2. Why did most of the immigrants settle in the Northern States and territories?

3. In what direction did most of the early canals and railroads run? Give reasons. What advantages do canals have over railroads? What advantages do railroads have over canals? Give the main reasons for the victory of the railroads over the canals.

4. How did the electric telegraph help the railroad? How did it help business? How did it promote intelligence? How did it aid the unity of the country?

5. In your opinion, which contributed most to the welfare of the country — the electric telegraph, the postal system, or the public schools? Give reasons.

6. Compare the services of the sewing machine and the reaper. Which is of greater value to the country? Why?

7. How do you account for the increase in the price of slaves between 1840 and 1860?

8. Tell how each of the following contributed to your welfare and happiness: George M. Pullman, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Samuel F. B. Morse, Cyrus W. Field, Horace Greeley, Horace Mann, Noah Webster, William H. McGuffey, John Greenleaf Whittier, Elias Howe, Cyrus H. McCormick. Charles Goodyear, William T. G. Morton.

THINGS TO DO

1. Copy the following form in your notebook, and so far as you are able, fill in the blanks under the column headings with the appropriate information:

The United States in 1830 and 1860

Items	1830	1860
Area		
Population		
Wealth		
Canals		
Railroads		

2. Make a list of the reasons for each of the changes that are shown in the table you made in response to No. 1. Here is an example:

> The area of the United States was increased between 1830 and 1860 by the following annexations:

DATE	REGION	AREA
a. 1845	Texas	389,166 sq. mi.
b. 1846	Oregon	286,541 sq. mi.
c. 1848	Mexican cession	529,189 sq. mi.
d. 1853	Gadsden purchase	45,535 sq. mi.

3. Find out (1) when your ancestors came to America, (2) the main reasons that brought them here, (3) the part of the country in which they first settled, and (4) what they did to earn a living. Compare your reasons with those given by your classmates and with the reasons for immigration given in the text (see page 418).

4. Tell about an imaginary journey you might have taken in 1850 from New York City to Chicago. Describe in order (a) the different kinds of transportation you would probably have used, (b) the probable time required for the trip, (c) the expenses that would have been necessary, and (d) the discomforts of the journey. Draw a sketch map showing the route you would have taken and, if possible, sketch pictures to illustrate the trip.

5. List the eight main advances or lines of progress made in the United States between 1830 and 1860. Place a cross (×) in front of the three that you think are most important.

6. Bring pictures from newspapers or magazines that show changes that occurred in the United States between 1830 and 1860.

7. Make a list of the chief inventions and discoveries made in the United States between 1830 and 1860, and tell the chief result that came from each invention or discovery.

8. Reports for volunteers:
   - *a.* A child's voyage on the Ohio River a century ago. A. B. Hart, *How Our Grandfathers Lived,* 190–113.
   - *b.* How the early railroads were built and what they were like. L. C. Marshall, *Story of Human Progress,* 248–252.
   - *c.* How the first despatch over the telegraph was determined. See R. L. Lyman and H. C. Hill, *Literature and Living,* Book Two, 371–373.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "The New England Group," *The Book of the United States,* 195–203.

2. "Peter Cooper, Friend of Boys," *Makers of Our History,* 173–184.

3. "Samuel F. B. Morse and the Telegraph," *ibid.,* 185–200.

4. "Henry Wadsworth Longfellow," *ibid.,* 227–236.

5. "Cyrus Hall McCormick and the Reaper," *ibid.,* 254–265.

6. "Horace Greeley, Journalist," *ibid.,* 266–267.

7. "Cyrus W. Field and the Cable," *ibid.,* 278–290.

8. "Francis Parkman, Historian," *ibid.,* 307–319.

9. "McCormick and the Reaper," *Heroes of Progress,* 20–29.

10. "William T. G. Morton, Master of Pain," *ibid.,* 39–46.

11. "Elias Howe and the Sewing Machine," *ibid.,* 47–53.

12. "Field and the Atlantic Cable," *ibid.,* 71–78.

13. "A Lover of Man," *Readings in Community Life,* 423–428.

14. "A Friend of the Helpless," *ibid.,* 433–435.

15. "An Early Journey by Railroad," *America First,* 291–294.

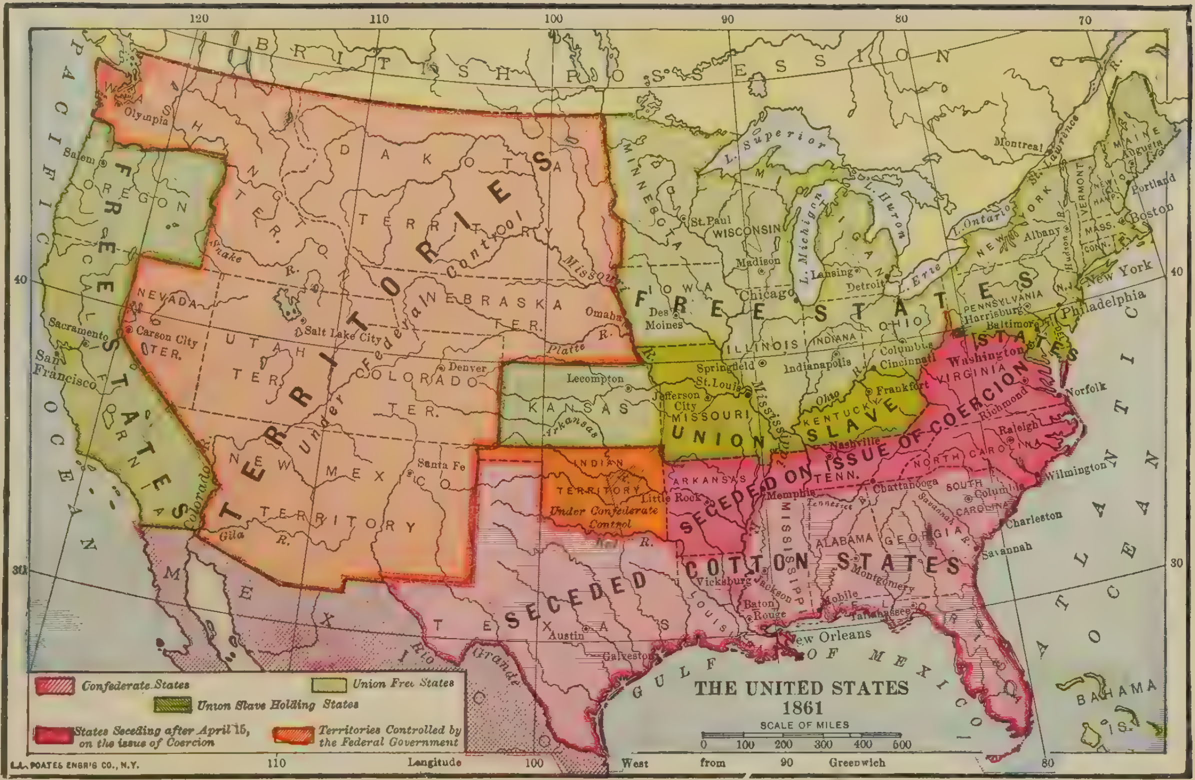
16. "Christmas on the Plantation," ibid., 308–313.

17. "The Invention of the Electric Telegraph," *ibid.,* 325–339.

18. "The Pony Express," *ibid.,* 339–344.

19. "Laying the Atlantic Cable," *ibid.,* 396–401.

20. "The Flowering of American Literature," *The Book of Knowledge,* 13: 4630–4633, 4725–4730.


THE UNITED STATES
1861
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
Confederate States
Union Free States
Union Slave Holding States
States Seceding after April 15, on the issue of Coercion
Territories Controlled by the Federal Government
FREE STATES
TERRITORIES Under Federal Control
UNION SLAVE STATES
SECEDED ON ISSUE OF COERCION
SECEDED COTTON STATES
INDIAN TERRITORY Under Confederate Control
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
MEXICO
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
BAHAMA IS.
WASHINGTON TER.
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA TER.
UTAH TER.
DAKOTA TERRITORY
NEBRASKA TER.
COLORADO TER.
NEW MEXICO TERRITORY
KANSAS
MINNESOTA
IOWA
WISCONSIN
MICHIGAN
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
VERMONT
NEW HAMP.
MAINE
MASS.
CONN.
N.J.
DEL.
MISSOURI
KENTUCKY
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
TENN.
ARKANSAS
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
LOUISIANA
TEXAS
Olympia
Salem
Sacramento
San Francisco
Carson City
Salt Lake City
Denver
Santa Fe
Omaha
Lecompton
Des Moines
St. Paul
Madison
Chicago
Lansing
Detroit
Springfield
St. Louis
Jefferson City
Indianapolis
Columbus
Cincinnati
Frankfort
Nashville
Harrisburg
Baltimore
Philadelphia
Washington
Richmond
Norfolk
Raleigh
Wilmington
Columbia
Charleston
Savannah
Chattanooga
Memphis
Little Rock
Vicksburg
Jackson
Montgomery
Mobile
Tallahassee
Baton Rouge
New Orleans
Austin
Galveston
Albany
New York
Boston
Portland
Augusta
Montreal
L. Superior
L. Michigan
L. Huron
L. Erie
L. Ontario
St. Lawrence R.
Hudson R.
Missouri R.
Platte R.
Snake R.
Colorado R.
Gila R.
Arkansas
Red R.
Rio Grande
Mississippi
Ohio
Tennessee R.
Savannah R.
120
110
100
90
80
70
40
30
Longitude
West from Greenwich
L.A. POATES ENGR'G CO., N.Y.

1/6/46

CHAPTER XXVII

THE CIVIL WAR

South Carolina Secedes. When Lincoln was elected President, the Southern States began to secede. South Carolina was the first to withdraw. She had given warning that she would leave the Union if Lincoln were elected.

When the result of the campaign was known in South Carolina, a State convention was called to decide whether the State should remain in the Union. Three days after the convention met, it adopted " an ordinance to dissolve the union between the State of South Carolina and the other States" (December 20, 1860). South Carolina claimed the right to take this action because, she said, the Union was only a league of States, not a nation, and the "compact," as she called the Constitution, had been broken, since the Northern States would not return fugitive slaves nor permit slaves to be held in the territories.

Formation of the Southern Confederacy. Other slave States followed the example of South Carolina. By February 1, 1861, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana had seceded from the Union — each State giving the same reason that South Carolina had given. On February 4, 1861, delegates from these States and Texas met at Montgomery, Alabama, drew up a constitution, and established a new union, which they called the Confederate States of America. Jefferson Davis of

Mississippi and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia were elected President and Vice President, respectively, of the new Confederacy.

Disunion had come. In the United States Congress Southern Senators resigned their seats. United States judges, revenue collectors, and other United States officers in the South resigned; United States forts and arsenals were seized by the Confederates, as they were now called, and the nation's authority was defied and its flag hauled down throughout seven States of the Union.

JEFFERSON DAVIS

The President of the Southern Confederacy was born in Kentucky a short distance from the birthplace of Lincoln. He graduated from West Point, fought in the Mexican War, served as United States Senator, and later as Secretary of War in President Pierce's Cabinet. He served as President of the Confederacy throughout the Civil War. On May 10, 1865, he was captured by Union troops at Irwinsville, Ga. After two years of imprisonment at Fortress Monroe he was released on bail and was never brought to trial.

President Buchanan and Secession. All this was a surprise to the North. It appeared that the Southerners were really going to carry out their threat to break up the Union. Many Northerners began to think that they had made a mistake in voting for Lincoln, and that something must be done to satisfy the South and save the Union.

President Buchanan in his message to Congress in December, 1860, blamed the anti-slavery men for all the trouble and said that they had given South Carolina just cause for seceding. He then said that South Carolina had no constitutional right to secede, but that if she did secede nothing could be done to prevent her action, because there was no power in the National Government to prevent a State from taking such action.

Buchanan at first, therefore, did nothing to interfere with secession, but under the influence of Union men who came into his Cabinet to take the places of Southern men who had resigned he began to act. General Dix, the new Secretary of the Treasury, sent a ringing message to New Orleans, "If any man attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot!" Led by the Union spirit Buchanan attempted to send provisions to Fort Sumter in the steamer *Star of the West,* but the ship was fired upon and was forced to turn back. This was an open attack on National authority and may be considered in a sense the first act of war.

Compromises and Peace Measures. All sorts of plans were proposed in Congress to persuade the South to come back and not break up the Union. The most notable plan was that proposed by Senator Crittenden, of Kentucky, known as the *Crittenden Compromise.* This provided that the line of 36° 30′ should be restored, with slavery protected south of that line and prohibited north of it. The plan also provided that slavery be retained in the District of Columbia; that fugitive slaves be paid for by the National Government, if not returned; and that the Constitution be amended so as to prevent Congress from ever interfering with slavery in the slave States. A Peace Congress at Washington, presided over by ex-President Tyler, proposed a similar plan. Lincoln and the Republicans were not ready to agree to a further extension of slavery, and no compromise was adopted.

Lincoln's Policy toward Slavery and the South. Such was the situation when Lincoln became President on March 4, 1861. He faced the most difficult problem that ever confronted a President. He was not well known to the people and much anxiety existed as to what he would do. He was not an abolitionist, although he was an anti-slavery man. He said to John Hanks, when on a flatboat trip to New Orleans in 1831, where they had been witnesses of a slave market, "If ever I get a chance to hit slavery, I'll hit it hard."

LINCOLN'S BIRTHPLACE[1]

The chance came to Lincoln in 1863, when he gave slavery its death blow. But when he became President he did not intend to interfere with slavery in the Southern States. He felt that Southern slavery was the Southerner's business, not his. In his inaugural address he declared: "I have no purpose to interfere with slavery in the States where it exists. I have no lawful right to do so and I have no inclination to do so." He wished the Southern States to have their full rights in the Union according to the Constitution.

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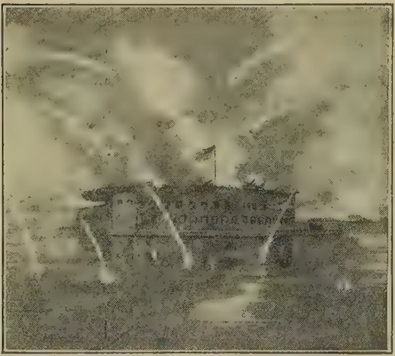
[1] In such a poor and lowly cabin, in Hardin County, Kentucky, Abraham Lincoln was born, February 12, 1809. Lincoln's grandfather came from Virginia about 1781. A year or two later he was killed by the Indians, not in battle, but by stealth, while he was laboring to open a farm in the forest. Lincoln's father grew up without education. He moved to Spencer County, Indiana, when the boy Abe was only seven years old, the year Indiana came into the Union (1816). It was a wild region, with many bears and other animals still in the woods. There Lincoln grew up. There were some schools, so called, but no qualification was ever required of a teacher beyond "readin', writin', and cipherin' to the rule of three."

In early manhood Lincoln moved to Illinois and studied law. At various times he was flatboatman, rail-splitter, storekeeper, postmaster in a small village, captain of volunteers in the Black Hawk Indian War, and a member of the Illinois legislature In 1846 he was elected to Congress, but was not a candidate for re-election. In politics he was a Whig, a follower of Henry Clay. He was losing his interest in politics when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854 aroused him again. He then came to the front as a Republican leader. From that time until his tragic death his life was a part of his country's history.

Lincoln believed that if slavery could be kept from expanding it was doomed to die. No further extension of slavery — that was the principle for which he stood and he was not willing to give it up for any more compromises. On that principle his party had won the victory after years of struggle. Lincoln said that if that principle were given up now and slavery were allowed to extend "they would have us under once more" and that the whole fight would have to be gone through with again. He wished to avoid war and bloodshed, but if the South would destroy the Union by war rather than see it live without slavery extension, Lincoln would accept war rather than see the nation perish. He believed that no State had a right to secede. "The Union is unbroken," he said in his inaugural address, "and to the extent of my ability I shall take care that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States." He therefore proposed to hold all the property belonging to the Government.

War Begins at Fort Sumter. There were now two governments claiming authority within the territory of the United States. The Confederate Government sent ambassadors to Washington to get peaceable possession of the Southern forts that were still in the hands of the United States. The Confederates wished especially to get possession of Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor. Of course, President Lincoln could not receive these ambassadors and thus recognize the existence of another government within the Union.

Nor would Lincoln give up the forts. When he decided to send provisions and re-enforcements to Fort Sumter, General Beauregard (bō′re̱ gärd), the Confederate commander, opened fire upon the fort, April 12, 1861. Two days later the Union forces surrendered. "Having defended the fort for thirty-four hours," says Major Anderson, who commanded the Union troops, "until the quarters were entirely burned, the main gates destroyed by fire, the magazine surrounded by flame, ammunition gone, and no provision remaining but pork, I accepted the terms offered by General Beauregard, and marched out of the fort on Sunday afternoon, the 14th, with colors flying, drums beating, and saluting my flag with fifty guns."


THE BOMBARDMENT OF FORT SUMTER IN CHARLESTON HARBOR, S. C., APRIL 13, 1861. THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WAR.

What the North Fought for. Thus it was that the Civil War began, one of the most dreadful wars in human history. Slavery had caused secession and secession had led to war, but the destruction of slavery was not the object of the war. The North did not invade the South in order to abolish slavery, but to save the life of the nation and to preserve the Union. In the very beginning of the struggle Congress declared that the purpose of the war was not to interfere with slavery, but to save the Union and enforce the laws. And in the midst of the war Lincoln said that if he could save the Union by freeing the slaves, he would do that; if he could save the Union by leaving them all in bondage, he would do that; and if he could save the Union by freeing some of the slaves and leaving others in bondage, he would do that.

What the South Fought for. On the other hand, in justice to the South, it must be remembered that while

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slavery led the South into war, it was not slavery that the Southern soldiers took up arms to defend. Some of the Southern leaders were ready to use secession as a means of saving slavery, but the great majority of the Southern people never owned a slave. They believed, however, that a State had a *right* to secede. They fought for home rule and for local self-government. They did not think that the Union was a nation, but that each State was " sovereign " and had a right to determine its own course. Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas did not secede till after the war began, and they went with the South not to defend slavery, but because they wished each State to be free to pursue its own course. They were not willing for the National Government to " coerce " a State.

Most of the Southern people thought their highest allegiance was due to their State, not to the nation. But they did not all agree in this view. General Winfield Scott and General George H. Thomas were Virginians, like Lee and Jackson, but they remained loyal to the Union. Andrew Johnson and Admiral Farragut, the distinguished naval officer of the war, were from Tennessee, but they gave their first allegiance to the Union. John C. Breckinridge, a Kentuckian (Vice President under Buchanan), fought with the South, although his State did not secede. Other matters than States' rights and national powers caused men to take different views of the war.

The National Uprising. After the fall of Fort Sumter President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers for three months' service. Men of all parties rallied around the flag in a fine spirit of patriotism. It was a great uprising of the people to defend the life of the nation. But little did the people think when the war began what a conflict was before them. Very few thought that the war would last as long as a year. William H. Seward, the Secretary of State, said "the trouble will blow over in sixty days," and some one called General Sherman crazy for saying that it would take 200,000 men and four years to subdue the South.

Northern troops hurried forward to protect Washington. The Sixth Massachusetts Regiment had to fight its way through Baltimore in the face of rioters, and several of the soldiers and citizens were killed. Here was the first bloodshed of the war, April 19, 1861, the anniversary of Lexington.

The Strength of the North and of the South. Twenty-two States stood for the Union, eleven for the Confederacy. The twenty-two States had a population of about 22,000,000, including half a million slaves. The eleven States had a population of 9,000,000—3,500,000 of them being slaves. Thus the free white people on the Union side outnumbered the South about four to one. But the South fought on her own soil, and therefore needed fewer soldiers for her inside lines of defense. She was also nearer to her source of supplies. At the beginning of the war the South, in addition, had the more experienced generals.

The North was stronger in wealth and resources, in sailors, ships, and naval supplies, in skilled laborers and means of transportation. There were also more business men in the North; her industrial system was better developed; and her people were perhaps more inventive.

The South was more dependent on the rest of the world for its manufactured articles—"for almost every yard of cloth," as a Southern writer said, "and every coat and boot that we wear, for axes, scythes, tubs, and buckets," for "everything from matches and shoe pegs to steamships and statuary." In wheat, corn, oats, meats, and milk—in everything that would afford feed for horses and food for men the South was inferior. The South relied chiefly upon one product, cotton. When her cotton could not be sold abroad, the South was fatally crippled. This will help us to understand why the South failed in the war and the North succeeded. Superior numbers, resources, and greater industrial power finally brought victory to the North. In manly courage, in military capacity, in self-sacrifice and patriotic devotion to their cause, the people of the South and the North were equal.

The Battle of Bull Run. The first engagement of the war was fought at Bull Run. General Beauregard, the "hero of Fort Sumter," was in command of a Confederate force of 22,000 men on Bull Run, near Manassas, about thirty-five miles southwest of Washington. The North was impatient to end the war. "On to Richmond! On to Richmond!" was the cry. General Winfield Scott was in command of the Union army. Against his better judgment he was induced to order an attack. General McDowell with about 30,000 troops marched out from Washington in fine array.

On July 21, 1861, the two armies met at Bull Run. At first it seemed that the Union troops would gain the victory, but the Confederate general, Joseph E. Johnston, had another army in the Shenandoah valley that reinforced the Confederates in time to save the day. The Union army was utterly defeated. It ran back to Washington like "a confused and disorganized mob." The Confederates were so disorganized by their victory that they did not pursue the Union forces and capture Washington as they might have done.[1]

[1] It was in this battle that the Confederate general, "Stonewall" Jackson, first came into prominence. The Union troops were turning the left flank of the Confederates when one of the Confederate brigade commanders in rallying his men shouted, "See Jackson's brigade standing like a stone wall." Stonewall stuck to Jackson throughout the war; it is the name by which this great soldier will ever be known.

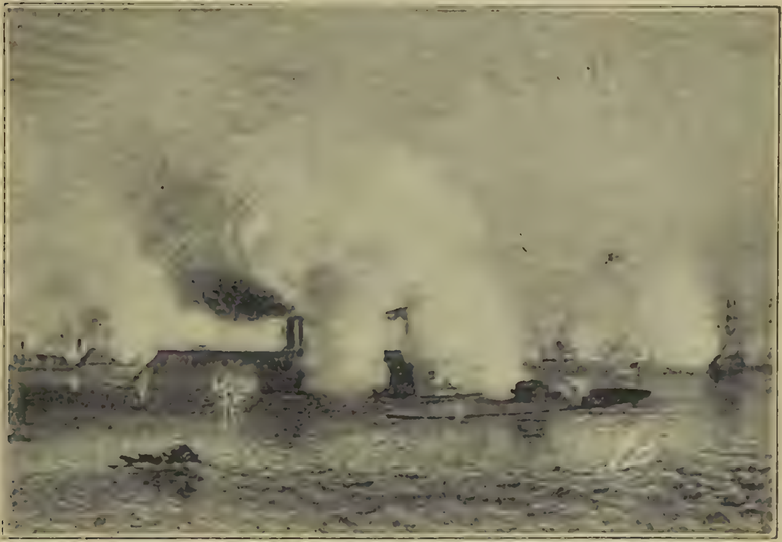
Some of the Southerners believed the war was as good as won. The North was depressed, but there soon came new determination and energy. Congress voted to raise $500,000,000 and 500,000 men. Soldiers were now enlisted for three years, or for the war. General McClellan, who had been successful in driving the Confederates out of West Virginia, was called to take command. He spent several months in organizing the raw volunteers and drilling them into good fighting troops.

The Navy and the Blockade. Let us now see what the navy was doing while the army was being drilled. One of the first acts of President Lincoln when the war began was to declare the Southern ports in a state of blockade; that is, no vessels were to be allowed to come in or go out, on penalty of being sunk or seized. This was to prevent foreign products and supplies from coming to the South. The navy began to enforce this blockade order as fast as ships and sailors could be obtained. The South obtained "blockade runners"—swift vessels whose business was to steal out of Southern ports on dark nights, carrying cotton out and military stores in.

Some cotton got out in this way, but very little compared with the vast amount exported before the war began. The result was a cotton shortage in Europe. The cotton mills in England had to close, men were thrown out of employment, and much suffering occurred. It was thought that on this account England would be led to help the South. She did not do so, however, largely because Prince Albert, the husband of Queen Victoria, and John Bright and other leaders favored the Federal Government and opposed slavery. In the South necessary articles like food, shoes, clothing, and medicine, rose to very high prices. Before the war ended, flour was $250 a barrel, meal $50 a barrel, and corn $25 a bushel.

A turkey cost $60 and a pair of boots $250. These prices were partly due to the large amount of paper money issued by the Confederacy. The blockade was one of the most effective ways of bringing about the final surrender of the South.

The *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*. Early in 1862 it appeared that the blockade might be broken up. The Confederates raised the United States frigate *Merrimac*, which had been sunk at the Norfolk Navy Yard by the Unionists, to prevent its falling into the hands of the Southerners. The Confederates turned the *Merrimac* into an "iron-clad," and it steamed into Hampton Roads and sank a number of United States wooden warships which were stationed there.



THE *Monitor* AND THE *Merrimac*

None of the wooden ships of the Union fleet was able to fight against the big iron-clad. Shot and shell glanced harmlessly off her sloping iron sides. It seemed that the *Merrimac* would destroy the rest of the Union fleet at Norfolk, break the blockade there and at other ports, and perhaps attack Washington and Philadelphia. During the night, however, the *Monitor,* looking like a "Yankee cheese-box on a raft," hove in sight. This was a new type of Union iron-clad built by John Ericsson in the Brooklyn Navy Yard. From its revolving turret its two huge guns could sweep the horizon in any direction, and it offered only a small target to the foe. On March 9, 1862, a duel followed between the two iron-clads, and the *Monitor* drove the *Merrimac* to shelter and saved the Union fleet and the blockade. The outcome of the battle showed that wooden ships would have to give way to vessels of iron and steel in naval warfare. From this time on the blockade was never threatened; it played a large part in winning the war.

The *Trent* Affair. In the fall of 1861 President Davis sent two ambassadors, Mason and Slidell, to Great Britain, to try to get that country to recognize the independence of the Confederacy. They ran the blockade and reached Havana, where they took passage for England on a British steamer, the *Trent.* The *Trent* was stopped at sea by the United States warship *San Jacinto* commanded by Captain Wilkes, and Mason and Slidell were taken off as prisoners.

Great Britain, feeling that this act was an insult to her flag and a violation of her rights as a neutral nation, made a sharp demand for the release of the prisoners. The Northern people were greatly pleased with the conduct of Captain Wilkes, but President Lincoln and Secretary Seward saw that the act violated the principles concerning neutral rights that the United States had contended for in the War of 1812, and Mason and Slidell were released. Again war with England was avoided, but her sharp demand aroused bitter feeling among the Northerners.

War in the West. Let us now turn to the war in the West. The Union forces in that region had three objects: (1) to hold the "border States"; (2) to control the principal rivers; (3) to invade the South, cut the Confederacy in two, and destroy the Confederate army.

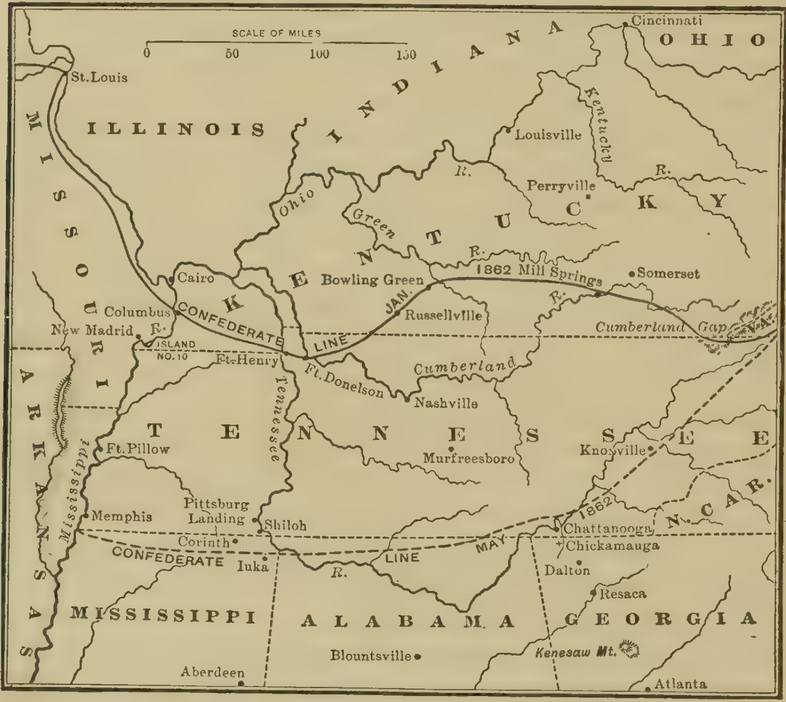
The States of Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware were known as "border States" during the war. They were slave States on the border between the Confederacy and the free States of the North. They did not secede, and the leaders of the Confederacy were greatly disappointed that all the slave States did not unite with them.

To keep the border States in the Union was President Lincoln's main desire during the first months of the war, because he thought if these slave States stood firmly by the Union it would do more to discourage and defeat the Confederates than anything else. Maryland soon decided for the Union, and thus helped to make the national capital safe; but Lincoln was also anxious to retain Missouri and Kentucky.

It was very important in holding these States to control the rivers, the Ohio, the Cumberland, the Tennessee, and the Mississippi. A successful invasion of the South could not be made without these rivers. An army going into an enemy's country must keep open a way to receive its supplies. A railroad may be interrupted or torn up by the enemy, but transportation by water is not so easily prevented.

The Capture of Forts Henry and Donelson. Kentucky at first attempted to be neutral, but found this to be impossible. The Confederates invaded the State and established their lines near the southern boundary. They also built two strong forts, Fort Henry and Fort

Donelson, on the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, in northern Tennessee. The Union commanders, General Grant with the troops and Commander Foote with the gunboats, attacked these forts. Fort Henry was soon abandoned by the Confederates, who concentrated their forces at Fort Donelson. After desperate fighting the Confederates were defeated and their commander asked General Grant for his terms of surrender. "No terms except unconditional surrender will be accepted; I


SCALE OF MILES
0
50
100
150
INDIANA
OHIO
ILLINOIS
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
N. CAR.
VA.
St. Louis
Cincinnati
Louisville
Kentucky R.
Perryville
Ohio
Green R.
Cairo
Bowling Green
1862 Mill Springs
Somerset
Columbus
New Madrid
ISLAND NO. 10
Ft. Henry
CONFEDERATE LINE
JAN.
Russellville
Cumberland Gap
Cumberland R.
Ft. Donelson
Nashville
Tennessee
Ft. Pillow
Mississippi
Murfreesboro
Knoxville
Memphis
Pittsburg Landing
Shiloh
Corinth
CONFEDERATE LINE MAY 1862
Iuka
Chattanooga
Chickamauga
Dalton
Resaca
Kenesaw Mt.
Blountsville
Aberdeen
Atlanta

Military Situation in the West, 1862

The first Confederate line of defense of January, 1862, was pushed back by the Union victories at Forts Henry and Donelson (February, 1862). Their second line from near Memphis to Knoxville was held in the main after the battle of Shiloh (April, 1862) and was not broken until after the fighting at Chickamauga and Chattanooga late in 1863.

propose to move immediately upon your works,'' replied Grant. The fort was surrendered with 12,000 prisoners, forty cannon, and many military stores.

Grant's capture of Fort Donelson was one of the turning points of the war. It was the first great Union victory and the North was jubilant. It caused great alarm in the South; their whole line of defense was broken. All of Kentucky and most of Tennessee came under Federal control. The victory resulted in a Union advance of two hundred miles into Southern territory; and Chattanooga, the key to East Tennessee, and Vicksburg, the strongest point on the lower Mississippi, were now open to attack. "Unconditional Surrender" Grant was the hero of the hour.

The Battle of Shiloh. The Union forces did not follow up their victory so vigorously as they might have done. The Confederate army was not captured or broken up. Their commander, General Albert Sidney Johnston, established a second line of defense reaching from Memphis to Knoxville. Grant with more than 40,000 men advanced to Pittsburg Landing, where he awaited General Buell, who was coming from Nashville with the army of the Cumberland, about 30,000 strong. With their combined forces they expected to attack and overwhelm the Confederates. Johnston decided to attack Grant's army before Buell could arrive, and on Sunday morning, April 6, 1862, the Confederates struck the Union army at Shiloh. Here was fought one of the bloodiest battles of the war. On the first day the Union forces were driven back. But on the second day, when General Buell came with re-enforcements, the Unionists outnumbered and outfought the Confederates and drove them from the field. In this battle the Confederates lost General Johnston, whose death was a serious blow to the South.

Capture of New Orleans. Vicksburg and Port Hudson were now the only points on the Mississippi in possession of the Confederates. New Orleans, which commanded the lower Mississippi, had been captured by the Union forces, April 24, 1862, under Admiral Farragut and General Butler.

General Thomas Jonathan Jackson

"Stonewall" Jackson, as General Jackson was better known, was born in Virginia in 1824, and was graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1846. He served in the Mexican War and was later a professor in the Military Institute at Lexington, Virginia. He was one of the most effective and best beloved of the Confederate commanders. He died of pneumonia May 10, 1863, after being wounded accidentally by fire from his own men in the Battle of Chancellorsville.

The War in the East. In the summer of 1862 McClellan attempted to capture Richmond, but failed after several hard battles although he came within three miles of the city. General Robert E. Lee and "Stonewall" Jackson defeated the Union commander in a brilliant campaign, and finally forced him to withdraw with a loss of 16,000 men in the last seven days of fighting.

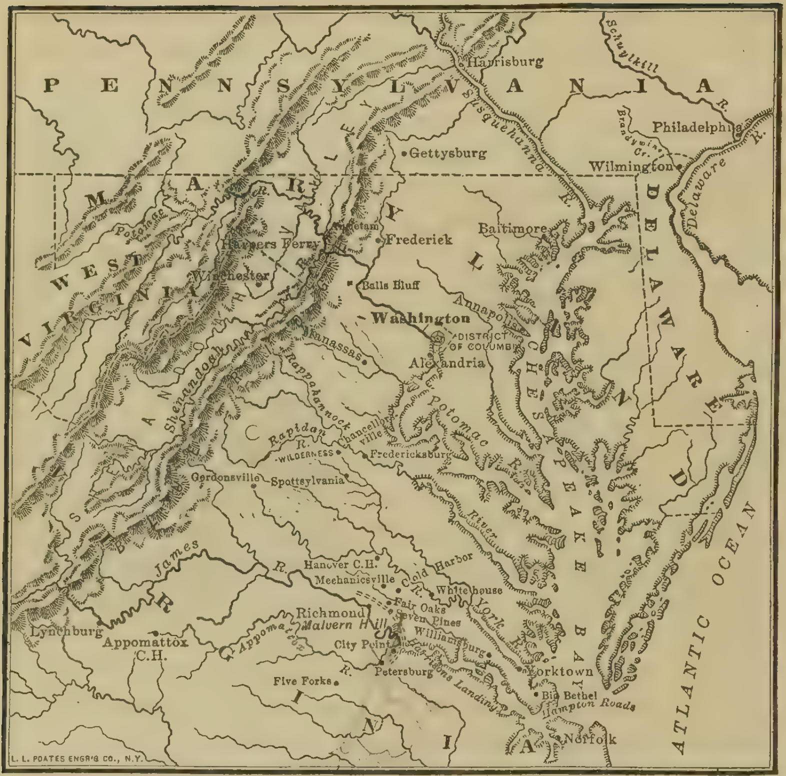
Elated by this victory and several other successes, Lee now proposed to carry the war into the North. He crossed the Potomac into Maryland, his troops singing "Maryland, My Maryland." McClellan pursued, and at Antietam (ăn tē'tăm) Creek (September 17, 1862) occurred another of the great battles of the war. "More men were killed and wounded on the 17th of September than on any other single day of the whole war." The engagement was a drawn battle, but had the effect of a Union victory, since Lee, defeated in his first attempt to invade the North, retreated across the Potomac.

In December, 1862, General Burnside succeeded McClellan in command of the army of the Potomac. Lee's army repulsed the attack of the Union troops under Burnside at Fredericksburg, Virginia. In a single battle the Union forces lost 13,000 and the Confederate forces 4000 men.

Slavery and the War. In the very beginning of the war, it was hard to decide what to do with the slaves who came into the Union lines. Some generals wished to set them free; others wished to send them back to their masters. In May, 1861, General Butler declared such slaves "contraband of war"; that is, property good for war purposes, which, therefore, may be taken from the enemy. Butler put to work the Negroes that came into his camp. After this Negroes were often known as "contrabands."

In Missouri General Frémont declared free all slaves belonging to Confederate masters, while General Hunter declared free all the slaves in his military district; but Lincoln overruled these orders because he felt that commanders in the field had no authority to free the slaves, and because he wished to show that the war was being carried on to save the Union, not to destroy slavery. Besides, he wanted the support of the Union slaveholders in the border States, and he was afraid that the border men would go with the Confederacy if the slaves were set free.

Some blows, however, were struck at slavery. In 1862 Congress abolished slavery in the District of Columbia and prohibited it in the territories. More and more the people of the North saw that the best way to save the Union was to destroy slavery entirely. The suffering and bloodshed of the war had caused bitterness, and

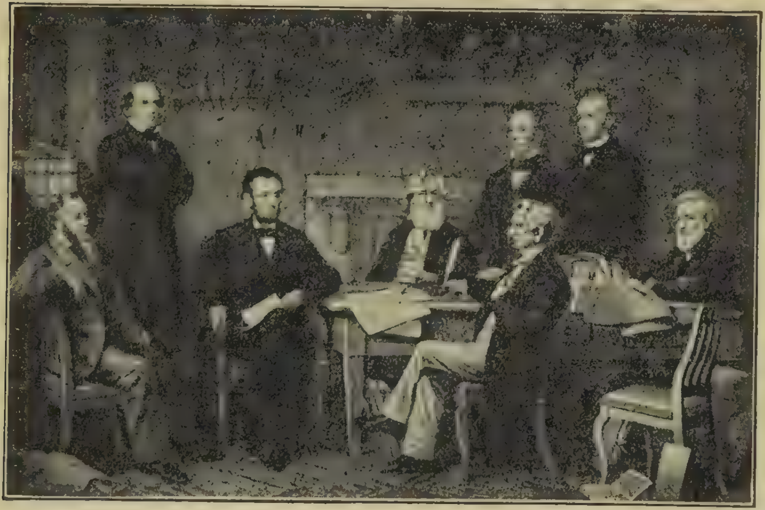

PENNSYLVANIA
Harrisburg
Schuylkill R.
Susquehanna R.
Philadelphia
Brandywine Cr.
Wilmington
Delaware R.
Gettysburg
MARYLAND
Potomac R.
Antietam
Harpers Ferry
Frederick
Baltimore
Winchester
WEST VIRGINIA
Balls Bluff
Washington
Annapolis
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
Alexandria
Manassas
Rappahannock
Shenandoah
Rapidan R.
Chancellorsville
WILDERNESS
Fredericksburg
Potomac R.
CHESAPEAKE BAY
DELAWARE
Gordonsville
Spottsylvania
James R.
Hanover C.H.
Mechanicsville
Cold Harbor
White house
York R.
Fair Oaks
Seven Pines
Richmond
Malvern Hill
Williamsburg
Lynchburg
Appomattox C.H.
Appomattox R.
City Point
Petersburg
Harrisons Landing
Yorktown
Five Forks
Big Bethel
Hampton Roads
Norfolk
VIRGINIA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
L. L. POATES ENGR'G CO., N.Y.

The Peninsular Campaign

Northern men said that the best way to punish the South and end the war was to take away the slaves from the Southerners.

Lincoln, too, gradually came to the conclusion that the way to restore the Union was to destroy slavery. He first tried to get the slaveowners in the border States to set their slaves free and accept pay for them. He told them that "two-legged property" was becoming very uncertain in value, and that "bonds were more valuable than bondmen." When they rejected this plan, Lincoln decided that as a means of saving the Union he would employ the army to destroy slavery. The people were ready for emancipation, and Lincoln made known his purpose to his Cabinet in July, 1862.

Secretary Seward persuaded him to wait for a Union victory. Lincoln said he then promised God that as soon as victory came to the Union arms he would free the slaves. After the victory of Antietam, therefore, when Lee had been forced back into Virginia, Lincoln issued, on September 22, 1862, his first proclamation concerning slavery, declaring that on January 1, 1863, "all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free."



Lincoln Reading the Emancipation Proclamation to the Cabinet

Standing: Chase, Smith, Blair.
Seated: Stanton, Lincoln, Welles, Seward, Bates.

The South paid no attention to this announcement and, accordingly, on January 1, 1863, Lincoln issued the famous Emancipation Proclamation, which gave slavery its death blow. This act made Lincoln immortal. He became known as the "Great Emancipator." Thereafter all the world knew that victory for the Union meant liberty for the slave.

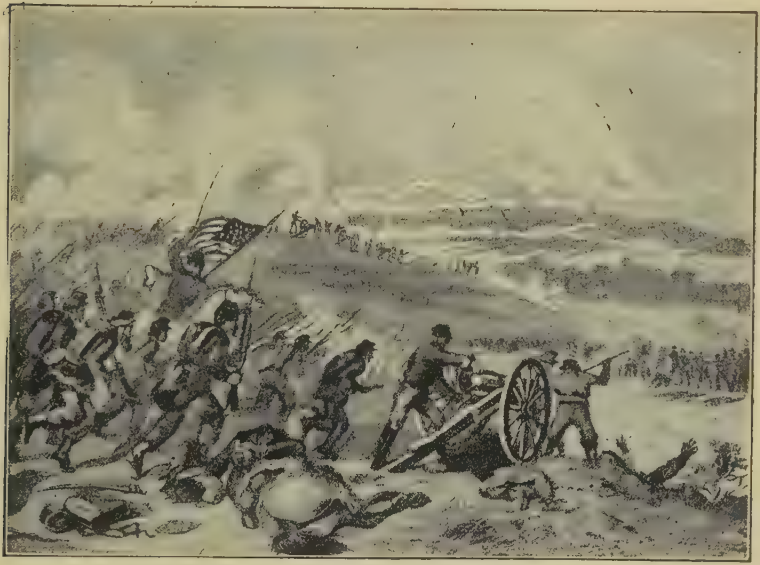
Lincoln freed the slaves as a "war measure." His proclamation did not apply to the loyal slave States nor to those parts of the South where the authority of the United States was recognized. Two years later (1865) slavery was abolished in the border States by the acts of the States themselves by the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment.

Gettysburg. In the early summer of 1863 Lee prepared for a second invasion of the North. With a fine army of 70,000 men he went down the Shenandoah valley through Maryland into Pennsylvania. There was great excitement in the North. General George G. Meade, who was then in command of the Union army of 100,000 strong, attempted to head Lee off from Harrisburg and Philadelphia. The two armies met on the famous field of Gettysburg, and after a fierce battle of three days Lee's forces were defeated and forced to retreat.

Gettysburg was the turning point in the Civil War. It was the only battle fought north of Mason and Dixon's Line. It marked the high tide of the Confederacy. Nearly two more years of war were required to force the South to lay down its arms, but the Confederates were never again so strong as they were on that memorable

third of July, '63,
The very day that General Lee,
The Flower of Southern chivalry,
Baffled and beaten backward, reeled
From a stubborn Meade and a barren field.

Gettysburg is famous also as the scene of Pickett's charge, one of the most courageous in the history of war. With 15,000 men, the bravest of the Southern army, General Pickett charged across an open plain and up Cemetery Ridge, which was defended by the troops of General Hancock. The ranks of Pickett's men were plowed by shot and shell, but they moved on, some of them to the very ramparts behind which Hancock's men were standing. Here soldiers on both sides mingled in a terrific struggle, the men fighting hand to hand for the possession of the field. The Union position was too strong and the Confederates were repulsed.



A UNION CHARGE AT GETTYSBURG

Lincoln's Speech at Gettysburg. A part of the battlefield of Gettysburg is now a national cemetery. Many monuments commemorate the valor and patriotism shown on that great field of war where 17,000 "Boys in Blue" and as many "Boys in Gray" bled and died for what they thought was right. On November 19, 1863, a portion of the battlefield was dedicated at Gettysburg by the nation, and President Lincoln made an immortal speech which every American boy and girl should learn.

Lincoln and His Officers

A true camp scene in the war. The small officer facing Lincoln is McClellan.

> Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But in a larger

> sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

The Fall of Vicksburg. On the next day after Gettysburg was won, Vicksburg surrendered to Grant with 30,000 prisoners of war. Siege and starvation had forced the surrender. The Mississippi was now open its entire length, and as Lincoln said, "The Father of Waters flowed unvexed to the sea." The Confederacy was cut in two, supplies could be cut off from the West, and from this time the Confederacy was doomed. Grant, who had shown great military skill in the Vicksburg campaign, was now the most famous Union general.

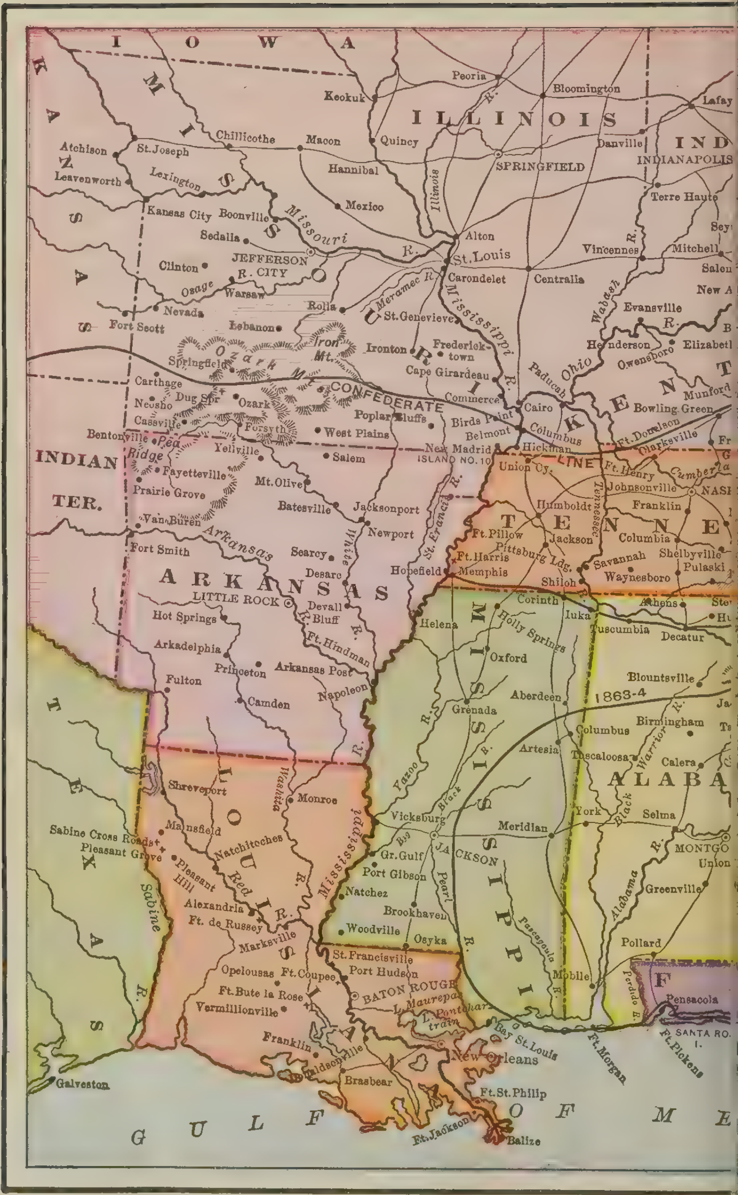
Chattanooga and Lookout Mountain, 1863. While Grant was besieging Vicksburg, the Union army under Rosecrans was in difficulty in eastern Tennessee. After a hard fought battle at Chickamauga (chĭk′ȧ mạ̈′gȧ) (September 19, 1863), the Union forces fell back to Chattanooga (chăt′tȧ nōō′gȧ), where they were besieged by the Confederate army under General Bragg. Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge were held by the Confederates, and there was no way by which the Union army could retreat. For a time it seemed as if Rosecrans would be compelled to surrender his whole army.

Grant and Sherman from the siege of Vicksburg, and Hooker from the Army of the Potomac, came to the rescue. Grant was now in command of all the Union forces in the West. On November 24, 1863, Hooker stormed Lookout Mountain in the famous "Battle above the Clouds," carrying the Confederate works by assault. Sherman and Thomas captured the Confederate defenses on Missionary Ridge. Communication was opened with the army in Chattanooga and Bragg retreated southward to Georgia. All of Tennessee was now in control of the Union.

Grant and Lee around Richmond. After Gettysburg the Union army followed Lee's army in its retreat to Virginia. Early in 1864 Grant was called to Washington and was placed in command of all the armies of the United States. Sherman was made commander of the Union forces in the West. Grant and Sherman were to press the enemy at the same time in order to give the armies in front of them enough to do so that neither could send aid to the other.

In May, 1864, Grant's army, 150,000 strong, entered the "Wilderness," the region between the Rapidan and the James, and several days of severe fighting followed. By flanking movements Grant pressed Lee back to the defenses of Richmond, but he could not turn Lee's lines nor break through. Grant again resolved to resort to a direct attack in front, but in an assault at Cold Harbor the Union army was repulsed with terrible slaughter, losing 8000 men.

The campaign from the Wilderness to Cold Harbor witnessed the bloodiest fighting of the war. It was during this campaign that Grant sent his famous telegram to President Lincoln: "I propose to fight it out on this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L. Pontchartrain
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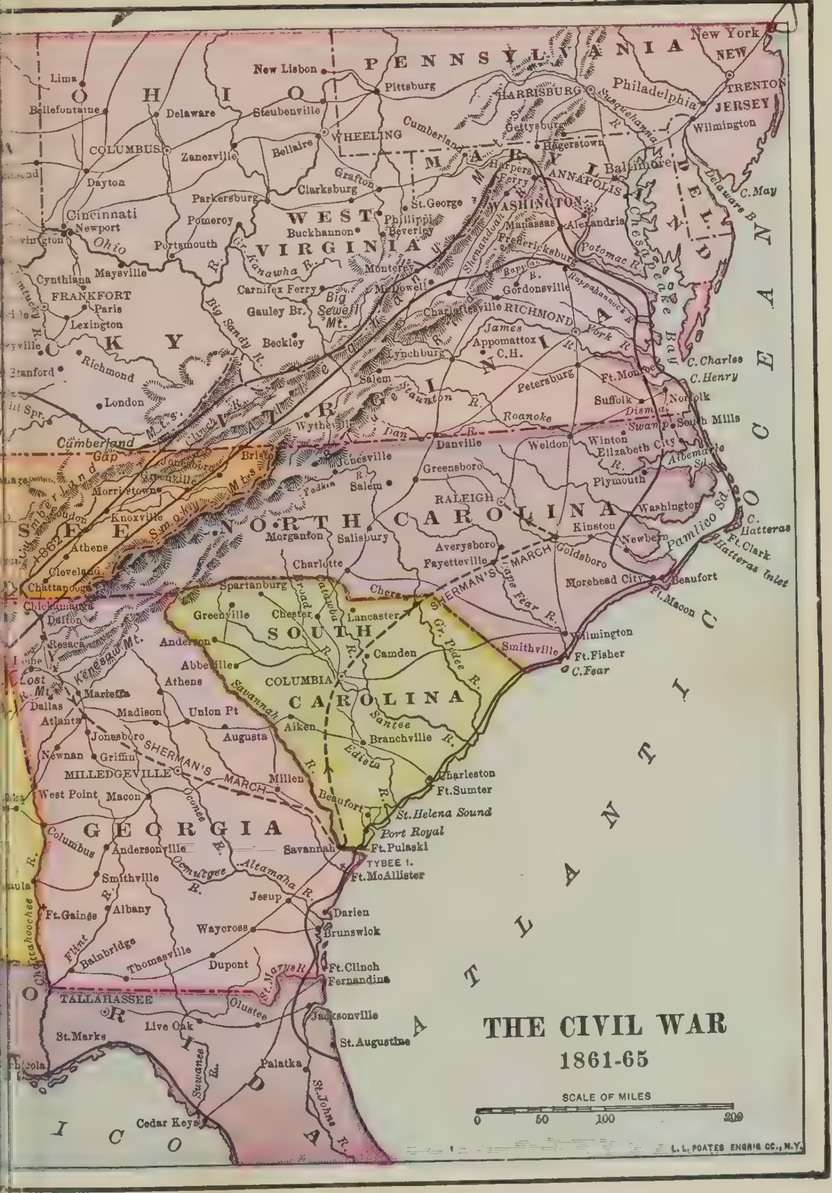
Alan Rosenberg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THE CIVIL WAR
1861-65

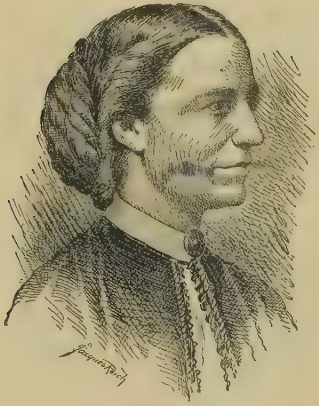
line if it takes all summer.'' He meant that he would hammer and batter Lee's lines until he broke through by sheer fighting force and weight of numbers. The "hammering process'' cost Grant two men to Lee's one,

Ulysses S. Grant Robert E. Lee

Two of the great soldiers of the Civil War. Ulysses S. Grant, the Union commander, was born in Ohio in 1822, died at Mt. McGregor, N. Y., in 1885. Robert E. Lee, the Confederate leader, was born in Virginia in 1807, died in 1870. Both were graduated from West Point. Both served in the Mexican War. Though opposed to secession, Lee obeyed the voice of his State in 1861, resigned his command in the U. S. army, and offered his services to the South. At the surrender Grant offered Lee most generous terms. Lee's officers retained their side-arms and his men were allowed to keep their horses for "spring plowing," which Lee thought would have "a happy effect." Rations for Lee's hungry army were then ordered by Grant. The officers and men were released on parole and allowed to return to their homes.

but the Confederates were gradually forced back toward Richmond.

Opposition to the War. Many people in the North were opposed to continuing the war. Taxes were heavy, a great debt was piling up, and many people saw no hope of defeating the Confederate armies. President Lincoln was ready for peace at any time that the South would lay down its arms, acknowledge the authority of the Union, and abandon slavery. But many people thought that the armies should cease fighting for a time, and that a convention of all the States ought to be called with the idea of bringing about some kind of compromise. They blamed Lincoln for demanding that slavery be given up before the war should cease.



CLARA BARTON

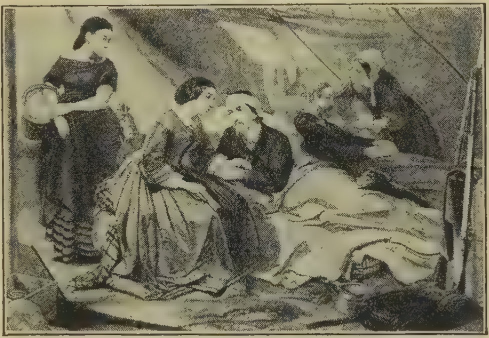
Clara Barton was born in Massachusetts in 1821. She was a school teacher for several years. She served as a nurse in the Civil War and later as the first president of the American Red Cross Society. She worked in Germany during the Franco-Prussian War, and relieved suffering in Cuba at one time and in Johnstown, Pa., during the great flood.

Lincoln thought that no plan of compromise would be safe nor do any good, and that the South would never consent to restore the Union until its armies were beaten in the field. The war had lasted so long that there were not enough volunteers and it was necessary to draft men for the army. This increased the opposition; and in some places the draft officers were resisted.

Many people in the North bitterly opposed Lincoln and the way the war was conducted. Some of these, known as "Peace Democrats," organized a secret society known as "The Knights of the Golden Circle." Its members were called "Copperheads" or "Butternuts"; they generally sympathized with the South, but they were not numerous enough to do much harm.

The great majority of the Democrats were loyal to the Union, but many of them felt that the North ought not to try to conquer the Southern people, but ought rather to negotiate with them. They denounced the draft and blamed Lincoln for violating the Constitution, for putting men in jail without trial, for declaring the slaves free, for enlisting Negro troops, and for not bringing the war to an end. In national convention they declared the war "a failure as a means of restoring the Union," and nominated General George B. McClellan for President.

The "National Union Party," as the Republicans were called, renominated Lincoln for President in 1864. Andrew Johnson of Tennessee was put on the ticket for Vice President to show the national character of the party. The Republicans were successful and Lincoln was re-elected. This meant that the struggle should go on until the South submitted, and she was now pushed by the national forces more vigorously than ever.


NURSING IN THE CIVIL WAR

"Like angels of mercy were the nurses of the Sanitary Commission, who came with bales of blankets, clean sheets, bandages, nourishing food, and delicacies, to administer to the wants of the men."

— C. C. COFFIN.

From Atlanta to the Sea. At the same time that Grant began his fighting in the Wilderness Sherman began to advance from Chattanooga to Atlanta. He was opposed by General Joseph E. Johnston with an army of about 65,000 men. Johnston, who had been gradually falling back toward Atlanta, expected to give battle when he could do so with more nearly equal forces. But the Southern people did not understand his retreat and President Davis, who disliked Johnston, removed him and put General J. B. Hood in command. Hood was expected to fight without delay. He made three furious but rash attacks on Sherman's forces around Atlanta; he was defeated each time and was then compelled to withdraw his forces and surrender the city. The fall of Atlanta was a great loss to the South, for the railroad that carried supples to Lee's army in Virginia ran through this city. The capture of Atlanta also opened the way for Sherman's march through Georgia.

General William Tecumseh Sherman

General Sherman was born in Ohio in 1820, and was graduated from the United States Military Academy at West Point twenty years later. He had three horses shot under him at the Battle of Shiloh, and was himself slightly wounded. He practically brought the Civil War to a close by his famous "March to the Sea." He died in New York City in 1891.

Sherman now proceeded to carry out the plan that he had long had in mind. He proposed to march from Atlanta to the sea, again cut the Confederacy in two, and then go to Richmond, a march of a thousand miles in all. He would come up in the rear of Lee's army, unite with Grant, and end the war. On his march he would tear up railroads, destroy all munitions of war, the factories, the machine shops, and the crops, and thus destroy all the resources of the country that could be used by the South for carrying on the conflict.

On the morning of November 15, 1864, Sherman with 60,000 rugged veterans set out from Atlanta. He had an open field to his goal. "Behind us lay Atlanta," he wrote in his *Memoirs,* "smouldering in ruins, the black smoke rising high in the air and hanging like a pall over the ruined city. Away off in the distance was the rear of Howard's column, the gun barrels glistening in the sun, the white-topped wagons stretching away to the south. . . Some band by accident struck up the anthem of 'John Brown's soul goes marching on'; the men caught up the strain and never before nor since have I heard the chorus of 'Glory, glory, hallelujah,' done with more spirit or in better harmony of time and place. Even the common soldiers caught the inspiration, and many a group called out to me, 'Uncle Billy, I guess Grant is waiting for us at Richmond.'"

The army had to live on the country. Foraging parties roamed the country to search for food. They would bring in loads of supplies—bacon, corn meal, turkeys, chickens, ducks, and everything that could be used for food or fodder. All railroads were destroyed and a strip of country 60 miles wide was laid bare. For days no news came from Sherman to the outside world. On December 12th his army reached Savannah, and on the 24th the city surrendered. Sherman sent a message to President Lincoln presenting Savannah as "a Christmas gift, with 150 guns, plenty of ammunition, and about 25,000 bales of cotton." After resting a month at Savannah Sherman marched north through South Carolina, forcing the Confederates to evacuate Charleston. Sherman thought this march much more important than the one to Savannah. He met and defeated his old foe, General Joseph E. Johnston, in command of a new army, in the battle of Bentonville (North Carolina, March 19, 1865) and then pushed on to Raleigh, where he awaited news from Grant.

Confederate Privateers: the *Alabama*. The Confederates had no navy to blockade Northern ports, but they secured several armed cruisers to destroy Northern merchant vessels at sea. These "commerce destroyers" burned all the merchant ships they could find; thousands of dollars' worth of property was lost by Northern merchants. The *Alabama,* commanded by Captain Semmes, was the most famous of these Confederate cruisers. It was manned by an English crew, was built by English money on English soil, and sometimes hoisted the English flag. The *Alabama* captured over 60 vessels and their cargoes. While she was being built in England our minister there, Charles Francis Adams, the son of John Quincy Adams, complained to the British Government, pointing out that the vessel was intended for hostile purposes against the United States, and that Great Britain should prevent her ports from being used in such ways. Afterward Great Britain, by the Geneva arbitration award, was required to pay the United States $15,000,000 for damages inflicted by the *Alabama.*

For two years the *Alabama* cruised in different parts of the world, while United States warships tried in vain to catch her. She eluded her pursuers again and again, but was finally found in the harbor of Cherbourg (shĕr′bûrg), France, by Captain John A. Winslow in command of the *Kearsarge* (kēr′särj). Captain Winslow waited for the *Alabama* to come out and then in a sea duel he sank her (June 19, 1864). This battle took place about six or seven miles off the coast of France.

The French in Mexico. Napoleon III of France was not friendly to the United States during the Civil War. He also allowed war vessels to be built for the Confederacy on French soil. In violation of the Monroe Doctrine he sent a French army to invade Mexico, overthrew the republican government there, and set up a monarchy with Maximilian of Austria as Emperor. Seward, our Secretary of State, protested, but our hands were tied at the time by the Civil War.

After Lee's surrender General Grant sent Sheridan with troops to the Rio Grande where they might be able to help the Mexicans expel the French. Seward insisted to the French Government that it should withdraw its army. The result was that the French troops were withdrawn and Maximilian's government toppled to its fall. The Mexican republicans regained power and Maximilian was shot. The Monroe Doctrine had been vindicated.

Lee Surrenders at Appomattox. When the year 1865 opened, Lee was still defending Richmond against Grant. Lee could hope for no re-enforcements and his supplies were running low. The blockade and the destruction by the Union armies were bringing starvation to the Confederates. Grant pressed Lee's lines back step by step. Lee had to lengthen his lines to meet the superior force in front of him, and finally his line of defense became so thin — one man to every seven yards — that it could no longer withstand the assault.

"The line has been stretched until it has broken," Lee said. The Confederates had to leave Richmond, which was occupied by the Union forces (April 2, 1865). Lee planned to retreat southward and unite with Johnston, but his weary men were without food and the Union forces were in close pursuit. Lee's army was now reduced to 28,000 men. It was hemmed in by the Union forces at Appomattox Court House, where on April 9, 1865, Lee surrendered to General Grant.

Grant, brave and successful in war, was most generous in peace. He offered liberal terms. Lee's officers and men were not to be taken to prison or punished in any way, but were to be allowed to go to their homes on parole, on condition that they were not to fight any more against the United States. On April 26, Johnston's army surrendered to Sherman on similar terms. The war was over.

The Confederate soldiers had done all that brave men could do for their cause. In their final defeat, as in their many well-earned victories, their courage and devotion commanded the respect and honor of their countrymen and of the world.

Assassination of Lincoln. There was great joy in the North over Lee's surrender. There were bonfires and jubilees in every city and town. The people were tired of bloodshed and war and they were glad that the strife was over and peace had come.

But in the midst of this joy came news that threw every one into the deepest gloom and sorrow — President Lincoln had been assassinated. On the evening of April 14, 1865, the President went to the theater. John Wilkes Booth, a half-crazed actor who thought that Lincoln had wronged the South, gained access to the President's box in the theater and shot him in the head. The assassin leaped to the stage shouting, "*Sic semper tyrannis*" (Thus always to tyrants), and escaped by the stage door. Booth's spur caught in the folds of the American flag as he leaped to the stage, and he fell, breaking one leg. He was pursued and finally shot and killed while resisting capture. On the same night on which Lincoln was shot, an attempt was also made on the life of Secretary Seward who was severely wounded. These attacks seemed like a conspiracy to break up the Government, and many Northerners felt that Southern leaders were responsible for them. Although this was not the case, the result was a bitter and revengeful feeling in the North.

Lincoln died on Saturday morning, April 15. He was buried in Springfield, Illinois, after vast throngs of sorrowing people had viewed the body of their fallen leader as it was carried from city to city to its last resting-place. The Southern people soon came to know that Lincoln would have been their best friend, for his noble spirit is well expressed in his second inaugural address:

> With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan — to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

Cost of the War. It is impossible to estimate the cost of the war in dollars and cents. For a time the conflict cost the Union side $3,000,000 a day, and the national debt rose to $2,800,000,000. But this was only a small part of the money cost. In addition, all that was invested in the Confederacy was lost; and railroads, factories, farms, and homes in the South were largely destroyed. The greatest cost was in the sacrifice of life

WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

SACRIFICE OF WAR

Tombs of soldiers at Arlington National Cemetery decorated with flags on Memorial Day.

and health. Fully 700,000 men lost their lives from battle or disease — a loss to the homes of the land that could never be replaced.[1]

Results of the War. What were the results of all the suffering and sacrifice of the war? They may be summed up as follows:

1. The Union was preserved. It was decided that the States were united into one nation, not a mere league of States. No longer could the right of secession be claimed. Ours was to be an "indestructible union of indestructible states."

2. Slavery was forever destroyed. Lincoln's great proclamation settled this when the Union forces prevailed. The Thirteenth Amendment also came out of the war. It provided that slavery should no longer exist in the United States and its passage was "an immortal and sublime event."

3. Citizenship for the Negro came out of the war. Before the Union was finally restored and as a direct result of the conflict, American citizenship was bestowed

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[1] The lives lost on the Union side were, in round numbers, as follows: killed in battle, 67,000; died of wounds, 43,000; died of disease, 224,000; died in prison, 30,000. The losses on the Southern side were somewhat less. The following letter from President Lincoln to the mother of five boys who, he thought, had given their lives for their country illustrates the terrible suffering and sacrifice of the Civil War and at the same time gives an insight into the tender and noble character of the martyred President.

November 21, 1864.

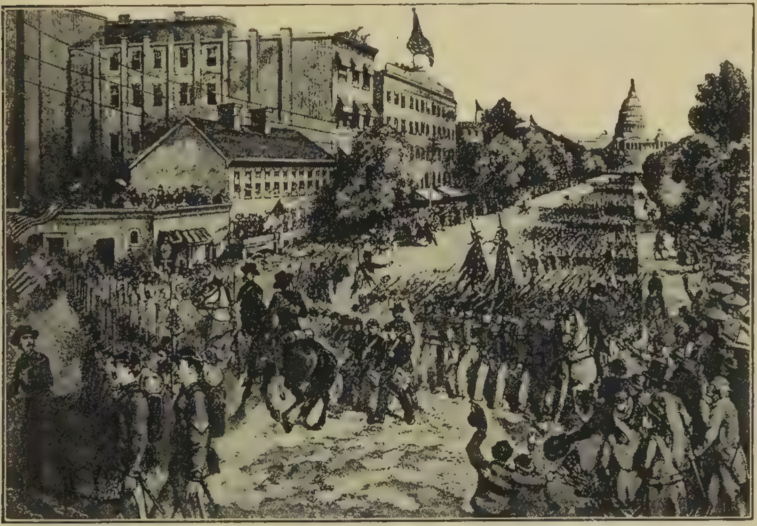
To Mrs. Bixby, Boston.
Dear Madam:

I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

Yours very sincerely and respectfully,
Abraham Lincoln.

upon every person born or naturalized in the United States, regardless of race or color. This was written in the fundamental law of the land by the Fourteenth Amendment.

4. The war showed the strength of republican institutions. It had been doubted whether the United States Government had power to preserve itself. The Civil War proved it to be a strong Government, where self-governing citizens would fly to its standard to preserve order and protect the country. The Southern people, too, loved their country and believed in law and order, but they took a different view of the loyalty and allegiance by which their citizens were bound. All are united now under one law and one allegiance.



Grand Review of the Union Army in Washington, 1865

There were about a million men in the Union army at the close of the Civil War. After an impressive review in Washington, D. C., these men were mustered out to take their places in the peaceful pursuits of life. This was done without confusion and without disturbance.

At the close of the war the nation had fully a million men in arms. Within a year these volunteer soldiers were engaged in the peaceful pursuits of life. The people, especially in the South, had tasted war's cruelty and they prayed that the nation might forever after be spared the curse of war. General Grant declared that he wished never to see another uniform in battle, and in his noble, quiet way he voiced the feeling of the people when he said, "Let us have peace."

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. Why did South Carolina secede from the Union? What defense did she make of her action? What seems to be the weakest point in her argument?

2. When the Southern States seceded, Horace Greeley, the editor of the *New York Tribune,* said, "Let the erring sisters go in peace." What practical difference would it make today had his advice been followed? Give reasons.

3. Explain the efforts that were made to persuade the South to remain in the Union. What was Lincoln's attitude towards the attempts at compromise? Tell why the efforts failed.

4. Why did the Confederates attack Fort Sumter? Describe the effect of the incident on the North and the South.

5. Just what did the North fight for in the Civil War? What was the object of the South?

6. How did the North plan to win the war? Explain the plan of the South.

7. Tell how the navy helped the Union cause. If the navy had been controlled by the South, would the outcome of the war have been different? Give reasons for your opinion.

8. Describe the *Trent* affair. Compare Great Britain's attitude with her policy sixty years before.

9. What difficulties with Great Britain developed in connection with the *Alabama?* How were the disputes finally settled?

10. How did the war affect the slaves? Tell what the Northern generals did with the Negroes who came to their camps. Why did Lincoln issue the Emancipation Proclamation? What effect did the proclamation have on the South? on the North? on foreign countries?

11. What were the main reasons for opposition to the war in the North? Find out if you can whether the war was opposed in the South.

12. Explain the importance during the war of the events connected with each of the following: Bull Run; Ft. Donelson; Antietam; Gettysburg; Vicksburg; Chattanooga; Atlanta; Savannah; Appomattox. Be able to locate each place on the map.

13. Just what was accomplished by the Civil War? How was Lincoln's death a great loss to the South?

THINGS TO DO

1. Copy the following chart and fill in the blanks:

The North and the South
1861-1865

	The North	The South
Name of the Government		
Name of the President		

	The North		The South
Names of the States	1.	12.	1.
	2.	13.	2.
	3.	14.	3.
	4.	15.	4.
	5.	16.	5.
	6.	17.	6.
	7.	18.	7.
	8.	19.	8.
	9.	20.	9.
	10.	21.	10.
	11.	22.	11.

2. Copy the following form and compare the North and the South in the points mentioned:

	North	South
A. Population		
(1) Whites		
(2) Negroes		
B. Chief resources	1. ______	1. ______
	2. ______	2. ______
	3. ______	3. ______
	4. ______	4. ______
	5. ______	5. ______
	6. ______	6. ______
C. Reasons for going to war	1. ______	1. ______
	2. ______	2. ______
	3. ______	3. ______
	4. ______	4. ______

3. Copy the following outline and fill in the blanks:
    - I. The Union Campaigns in the West
        - A. Purposes
            - 1. ______________________________
            - 2. ______________________________
            - 3. ______________________________
        - B. Main battles and the outcomes
            - 1. ______________________________
            - 2. ______________________________
            - 3. ______________________________
            - 4. ______________________________
            - 5. ______________________________
    - II. The Union Campaigns in the East
        - A. Purposes
            - 1. ______________________________
            - 2 ______________________________
            - 3. ______________________________
        - B. Main battles and the outcomes
            - 1. ______________________________
            - 2. ______________________________
            - 3. ______________________________
            - 4. ______________________________
            - 5. ______________________________

4. For volunteers:
    - *a.* Read to the class the most interesting passages of Grant's account of the surrender at Appomattox (Grant's *Personal Memoirs*, II, 483–498).
    - *b.* Read to the class Sherman's description of the Grand Review of the army at Washington at the end of the war (Sherman's *Memoirs*, II, 376–378).

5. Choose a committee to plan a Civil War program. Use such songs as "Maryland, My Maryland," "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," "Dixie," and "Tenting Tonight." Have members of the class read selections from Lincoln's "First

Inaugural,'' the ''Emancipation Proclamation,'' and the ''Second Inaugural.''

For recitations use the ''Gettysburg Address,'' and such poems as Read's ''Sheridan's Ride,'' Harte's ''John Burns of Gettysburg,'' Markham's ''The Commoner,'' and Whitman's ''O Captain, My Captain.'' Have members of the class act out a part of Drinkwater's play, ''Abraham Lincoln.'' Arrange the various numbers in the most effective order. Give the program before the class, with the members offering suggestions for improvement. Then give the program before the school assembly.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. ''The War for the Union,'' *The Book of the United States,* 219–243.
2. ''Robert E. Lee, Soldier,'' *Makers of Our History,* 216–226.
3. ''Ulysses S. Grant, Soldier and Statesman,'' *ibid.,* 291–306.
4. ''Slavery the Corner-Stone of the Confederacy,'' by Alexander H. Stephens, in *Source Book of American History,* 296–299.
5. ''Attack on Fort Sumter,'' *ibid.,* 299–302.
6. ''Battle of Gettysburg,'' *ibid.,* 323–327.
7. ''The War and Slavery,'' by Abraham Lincoln, *ibid.,* 327–329.
8. ''Surrender of Lee,'' *ibid.,* 329–333.
9. ''Julia Ward Howe,'' *Women in American History,* 154–163.
10. ''Mary A. Livermore,'' *ibid.,* 164–178.
11. ''The Nature of the Union,'' *Readings in Community Life,* 480.
12. ''Abraham Lincoln,'' *America First* 354–359.
13. ''Stonewall Jackson,'' *ibid.,* 365–369.
14. ''An Escape from Prison,'' *ibid.,* 379–383.
15. ''Running a Blockade,'' *ibid.,* 383–387.

16. "The War that Preserved the Union," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia,* 2: 776–780.

17. "Abraham Lincoln," *Our Presidents,* 133–159.

18. "States' Rights and Secession," *America the Great Adventure,* 237–242.

19. "The War Between the States," *This Country of Ours,* 515–571.

20. "Mary Todd Lincoln," *The Book of Knowledge,* 2: 395–396.

21. "Confederate States of America," *The World Book Encyclopedia,* 3: 1603–1605.

22. "The Story of Jefferson Davis," *ibid.,* 1837–1839.

LOOKING BACKWARD

A. THE STORY: THE SLAVERY CONTROVERSY

Slavery was introduced into our country in ______________. By 1800 the North and the South were divided in opinion on the slavery question. Slavery had disappeared largely in the (North, South). After the invention of the ______________, the (North, South) needed (more, less) slave labor.

At the close of Washington's administration the number of slave States was (greater than, equal to, less than) the number of free States. The pro-slavery leaders desired to keep the number of slave States (greater than, equal to, less than) the number of free States.

New territory was added to the United States. The (North, South) wanted to move into the new territories, taking their slaves. The (North, South) objected because ______________. As new States were formed from the territories, disputes arose over whether ______________.

Many measures were proposed to settle the disputes. Mason and Dixon's Line became known as the line that ______________. Missouri applied for admission to the Union in ______________. The (North, South) said that Missouri should decide for herself whether she should keep slaves. The (North, South) objected on the grounds that ______________

The Missouri Compromise was proposed. It provided

1. ____
2. ____
3. ____

Many people in the North desired to stop slavery. They were called ________________. They demanded that

1. ____
2. ____
3. ____

The dispute between the North and the South grew very bitter. The Compromise of 1850 attempted to settle the disputed questions. The following outline summarizes the questions and the compromises that were made:

Questions Settled by the Compromise of 1850

The Question	What the North Wanted	What the South Wanted	The Compromise
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.			

But the slavery question was not settled. It was opened again by the ________________ act. This law provided for the creation of the two territories, ______________ and ______________. Which were to enter the Union as (slave States, free States, either free or slave States as the people desired)?

When ____________ was elected President of the United States in ____________, eleven States seceded from the Union. They formed a league of States called the ____________. The Civil War followed the secession of the States from the Union. The North fought to ____________. The war ended in ____________.

The most important results of the bitter struggle were:

1. ______________________________
2. ______________________________
3. ______________________________
4. ______________________________

B. HISTORICAL TERMS

Two lists of terms are given below. In List 1 are terms used in the unit that you have just studied. Find in List 2 a word or group of words which means the same as the term in List 1. In your notebook combine the proper letter with each term in List 1. Number 1 in List 1 has been properly marked.

List 1

__g__ 1. compromise
_____ 2. Confederacy
_____ 3. preserving the "equilbrium"
_____ 4. unconstitutional
_____ 5. abolition
_____ 6. anti-slavery
_____ 7. abolitionists
_____ 8. Emancipation Proclamation
_____ 9. territorial expansion
_____10. popular sovereignty
_____11. fugitive slave
_____12. secession
_____13. neutral nation

List 2

a. requiring men to serve in the army
b. a document in which President Lincoln declared the Negroes in the States fighting against the Union were free
c. a slave who ran away from his master
d. the act of putting an end to slavery
e. the system of helping slaves to escape
f. killing a person in public office.

List 1

______14. contraband of war
______15. invasion
______16. insurrection
______17. assassination
______18. underground railroad
______19. to repeal
______20. draft

List 2

g. a settlement of a question by which each gains something but each gives up something
h. a league of States
i. the withdrawal of States from the Union
j. keeping an equal number on the two sides
k. not in agreement with the Constitution
l. against extension of slavery
m. persons who wished to put an end to slavery
n. the adding of new territory to a country
o. the power of the people
p. a nation friendly to both sides engaged in warfare
q. to abolish or do away with
r. property good for war purposes and therefore subject to seizure during war
s. an uprising against the Government
t. to enter with an armed force to make an attack

C. IMPORTANT PERSONS

The list of persons given below contains names of individuals who played important parts in the slavery struggle:

Eli Whitney
William L. Garrison
Henry Clay
John C. Calhoun
Harriet Beecher Stowe
Jefferson Davis
Ulysses S. Grant
Robert E. Lee
Daniel Webster
Dred Scott
William T. Sherman
Abraham Lincoln
Stephen A. Douglas
Clara Barton
Benjamin Lundy

Fill each blank in the following sentences with the proper name from the list given above.

1. ______________ was an abolition leader.
2. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was written by ______________.
3. ______________ planned the compromise of 1850.
4. The leader of the Confederate army was ______________.
5. The commander of the Union army was ______________.
6. A great orator for the Union was ______________.
7. The President of the Confederacy was ______________.
8. ______________ was a great orator for the South.
9. ______________ issued the Emancipation Proclamation.
10. ______________ founded the American Red Cross.
11. ______________ invented the cotton gin.
12. ______________ made the famous march to the sea.
13. ______________ was a Negro slave whose case was tried in the Supreme Court.
14. ______________ engaged in debates with Abraham Lincoln on the slavery question.
15. One of the first abolitionist publications was edited by ______________.

D. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

The following list of statements names events in history about which you have studied. Copy the statements in your notebooks, and number them so as to show the order in which the events happened. Place a 1 before the event which took place first, a 2 before the event which happened next, and so on.

_____ A great compromise on the slavery question was proposed by Henry Clay.

_____ The Louisiana Territory was purchased.

_____ Negro slavery was introduced in the United States.

_____ The cotton gin was invented.

_____ The Constitution of the United States was adopted.

_____ Texas was admitted as a State into the Union.

_____ The Civil War was fought.

_____ Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States.

E. CLASS PROJECTS

Give an assembly program or a class program reproducing typical scenes in " The Story of the Slavery Controversy."

1. Two pupils give the arguments of the North and of the South on the admission of Missouri.

2. Present scenes in the lives of Lundy, Garrison, Whittier, Wendell Phillips, John Quincy Adams.

3. Three pupils present in dialog the views of the Democrats, the Clay Whigs, and the Liberty Party men in the campaign of 1844.

4. Suggest a cartoon to represent the following: Clay as regarded by a Democrat; Polk as looked upon by a Garrison abolitionist; Birney as viewed by a slaveholder.

5. A committee compose and act out a play based on the escape of a fugitive slave by the underground railroad.

6. A committee represent the delegates at the Confederacy meeting at Montgomery, Alabama, and draw up the constitution for the Confederacy.

7. A pupil read to the class Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

8. Two pupils reproduce the scene between Grant and Lee arranging the terms of the surrender of the Confederate army. See Grant's account in his *Memoirs*, vol. II, 478–498.

9. A pupil read to the class Walt Whitman's " O Captain, My Captain."

PART SEVEN
REBUILDING THE NATION

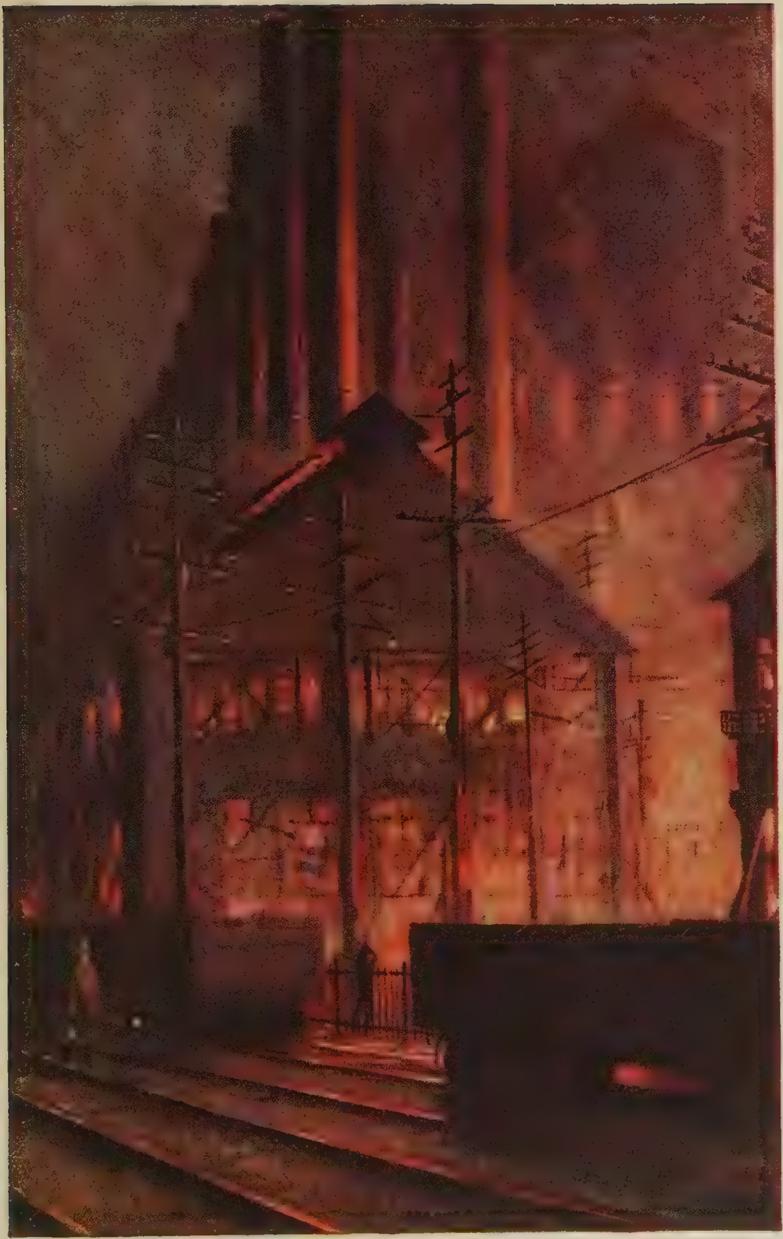
REBUILDING THE NATION

The chief problem before the Government after the Civil War was to unite the different sections of the country into one nation. First the South had to be restored to its former place in the Union. Unfortunately Congress decided that severe punishment was merited by the Southern States and for years kept them in a deplorable and dependent condition. But at last the North permitted the South to solve its problems in its own way, and the sections became friends.

During this same time the Far West was almost an unknown land to the East. Most people thought of it merely as a region of cowboys and sheepherders, mines and deserts. But men of vision saw the opportunities that lay in the West, and recognized the importance of binding it to the East by a railroad to the Pacific coast. This difficult task was accomplished and settlement rapidly followed. The days of the "Wild West" were soon over.

The re-united nation found itself made over by "big business." Instead of small factories producing goods in small lots, such as had been the situation before the Civil War, great factories now turned out their products in huge quantities. Instead of railroads a few miles long, huge railway systems which could make or break entire towns and counties were established. In a few decades "big business" gained control of most of the industries and resources of the country.

Although the laborers benefited in many ways from the "machine age," their wages were still low, their hours long, and their rights often disregarded. Gradually they formed labor unions to improve their condition, and serious conflicts have ensued again and again between them and their employers. Many efforts have been made to solve the perplexing and complicated problems of capital and labor, but the difficulties have not yet been solved.



Courtesy of Pennsylvania Railroad

Modern Industry

PART SEVEN
REBUILDING THE NATION

CHAPTER XXVIII

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE UNION

Conditions After the War. When the Civil War ended, the country had to fit itself to new conditions. More than a million men were discharged from the Union armies. Most of the soldiers were young men from 18 to 25 years of age. They had to find employment. The man power of the North had not been exhausted by the call to war, and the factories and farms were still running. Many of the returning soldiers found a new chance and a new fortune in the West. In spite of the war, or because of the high prices brought by the war, prosperity prevailed in the North.

But it was different in the South. There conditions were sad and desolate. The Southern soldier returning from the battlefield to his home found poverty at his fireside and ruin in the countryside. Desolation stared him in the face.

The war had for the most part been fought on Southern fields. The battles and the campaigns of Northern armies had reduced large sections to ruin. The Southern people now found their slaves free, their stock and crops consumed, their trade destroyed, their money worthless. They had staked their fate on the fortunes of war and had lost.

The Confederate leaders were uncertain what their fate would be. Some of the men in power at Washington insisted that "treason should be made odious," and urged that the chief leaders of the South should be executed, exiled, or imprisoned, and that their property should be taken by the Government and given to their former slaves. Jefferson Davis was imprisoned for two years. General Lee was threatened with arrest, but Grant would not allow it; he had given his word to Lee at the surrender.

The condition of the freedmen was worse than that of their late masters. They came out of slavery empty-handed. They were illiterate and ignorant, ninety-nine out of a hundred being unable to read and write. They were without property, without land, without tools, without homes, without decent clothing to their backs, even without names, except as they were called Joe, John, Sam, or Bill. In many cases they took the names of their former masters.

The Problem of Reconstructing the Union. The Union had been broken for a while by secession and war. Reconstruction was the process of restoring it, of deciding the conditions on which the Southern States were again to be allowed to govern themselves and to be represented in Congress. In reconstruction several difficult questions arose:

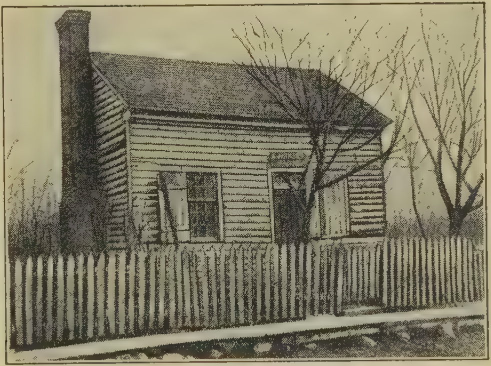
1. What security should the Southern States give for the future to show that the results of the war would not be overturned?

2. What should be done with the Confederate leaders, who had held high office in the Government or who had borne arms against the United States?

3. What should be done with the slaves made free by the war?

The Presidential Plan of Reconstruction. Upon the death of President Lincoln, the Vice President, Andrew Johnson, became President. Johnson was a Southerner who had stood up bravely for the Union and against secession in Tennessee during the war. But he had been a Democrat and a States-rights man, and he thought the Negro ought to have no voice in the government. The result was that the Northern anti-slavery Republicans distrusted him.

When Johnson became President, he sought to carry out a plan of reconstruction that Lincoln had begun, but Johnson was so lacking in tact and wisdom that he could not induce Congress to accept his plan or follow his leadership. The consequence was that an unfortunate quarrel arose between the President and Congress which lasted throughout his whole term.



ANDREW JOHNSON'S TAILOR SHOP

The sign over the door reads, "A. Johnson, Tailor." Johnson was born in North Carolina in 1808 and apprenticed to a tailor when ten years of age. His fellow workmen taught him the alphabet and he later learned to read almost unaided. His wife taught him to write, but he was never able to use the pen with ease until he had been in Congress. He was known as the "Mechanic Governor" of Tennessee. He served in the United States Senate after retiring from the presidency.

President Johnson's plan was to set up new State governments in the South, requiring them to do three things: (1) deny the right of secession; (2) promise never to pay any of the Confederate debt; (3) abolish slavery and adopt the Thirteenth Amendment.

The President thought that when the white people of the South had reorganized their State governments on this basis, the results of the war would be secure, and their Senators and Representatives ought to be allowed to take their seats in Congress. By December 1, 1865, all the seceded States had been reorganized on this plan, which is known as the "Presidential Plan." All that Congress had to do under this arrangement was to admit the Southern members to their seats in Congress and the process of reconstruction would be complete.

The Congressional Plan of Reconstruction. For several reasons Congress would not accept the President's plan. Northern leaders feared that the Negroes would not be properly cared for, and thought that the ex-Confederates were not sufficiently punished. They were afraid that the Confederate debt would be paid off if power were left with the Southern States, and that promises imposed upon them against their will might not be kept; they felt that the Southern white people would have an unfair share of political power because, since the slaves were now free, all of the Negroes, instead of three-fifths of them, as before the war, were to be counted in allotting Representatives to the States.

Accordingly, Congress refused to follow the President's lead and, instead, developed a plan of its own. In the first place Congress passed two measures to help the Negroes — the *Freedmen's Bureau Act* and the *Civil Rights Act.* The first measure provided that officers of the United States Government should give clothing, food, and fuel to the destitute Negroes and that some abandoned land should be divided among them, not more than 40 acres to any one man. Now that the Negroes, being without money, land, or homes, were no longer cared for by their former masters, it seemed only right that they should be helped and given a fair start.

The intention of this law was good, but many people thought that it had a bad effect. The ignorant Negroes were led to believe that the Government was going to support them and that they would not have to work. They stood about, idly waiting for their "40 acres and a mule,'' and many Negroes who had been faithful, hard-working slaves soon became good-for-nothing loafers. For this reason the Southern people felt that vagrancy laws and apprentice laws were needed to prevent disorder and violence. Under the apprentice laws young Negroes could bind themselves out to white men for board and clothing as pay until they reached a certain age. Under the vagrancy laws Negroes found wandering without work or "visible means of support" could be fined, and the white man who paid the fine could compel the Negro to work for him until the amount of the fine was repaid.

The Civil Rights Act, the second measure Congress passed to help the freedmen, granted citizenship, but not the right to vote, to the Negro. This gave the freedmen the right to hold property, make contracts, and enforce their rights in the courts. The purpose of the act was to give them the equal protection of the law.

President Johnson vetoed both the Freedmen's Bureau Act and the Civil Rights Act, but Congress passed them over his veto. The President spoke disrespectfully of members of Congress, and the congressional leaders, in turn, abused the President. Thus, one department of the Government did all it could to destroy the confidence of the people in the other part. The President in particular lost all sense of dignity during this bitter quarrel. It was most unfortunate when the difficult problem of reconstruction was to be solved that the President and Congress could not act together.

The congressional leaders felt that they must safeguard the results of the war while they had an opportunity. For one thing they wished to deprive the white people of the South of what was thought to be an undue share of political power. Before the war, as pointed out above, Southern representation in Congress was increased by counting three-fifths of the slaves. Now that the slaves were free they would *all* be counted in the population for determining representatives and votes in the Electoral College, though only the white people voted. Thus the Southern whites would have more power in the National Government than before. One ex-Confederate soldier in South Carolina would have four or five times as much political power in the National Government as one Union soldier in Ohio. Could the North be expected to accept this unfair distribution of power to the white people of the South? Northern Republican leaders were determined to prevent it. They drew up a plan of reconstruction embodied in the Fourteenth Amendment. This amendment provided:

1. That citizenship should be conferred upon the Negro, with equal protection of the laws. This put the principle of the Civil Rights Act into the Constitution so that a later Congress could not repeal it.

2. That the number of representatives in Congress from the various States should be in proportion to population, but that the Negroes were not to be counted for this purpose unless their States allowed them to vote.

3. That all leaders of the South who had ever taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and had afterwards "engaged in insurrection or rebellion" should be disqualified from holding office in State and Nation. This prevented the natural leaders of the South from being chosen to office. It was intended as a punishment for secession and was the result of the bitterness and anger of the time. Soon afterwards, however, amnesty, or pardon, was granted to all, and no one was executed, imprisoned, or otherwise punished for having engaged in war against the United States.

4. This important amendment also made it forever unlawful for the United States or any State to pay any

debt brought about by the Confederate cause, and it guaranteed the payment of the national debt contracted in carrying on the war for the Union.

The South Rejects the Fourteenth Amendment. Such was the "Congressional Plan," as first proposed in 1866. These terms, in the Fourteenth Amendment, were submitted to the Southern States in the summer of 1866 as a condition of readmission to the Union. All of them refused to accept the terms, except Tennessee, which was immediately readmitted. The other States thought the conditions "degrading," and (they, badly advised by President Johnson and certain Northern Democrats,) rejected the offered terms, hoping that the people of the North would elect a Congress which would adopt the President's plan. It must be remembered that the Fourteenth Amendment was not finally adopted until July, 1868.

Thus the election of a new Congress in 1866 was of special importance. Would the people of the country uphold the President's plan or the plan of Congress? It was an intense campaign. National conventions were held merely to influence public sentiment. A riot occurred in New Orleans in which many Negroes were killed, and the Republicans said that that was the way the freedmen would be treated under the President's reconstructed governments. President Johnson took a trip through the country, a "swing around the circle," during which he made coarse speeches, exchanging insulting words with rowdies in the crowd. His conduct injured his cause, disgraced his office, and led to his defeat, for the election resulted in an overwhelming victory for Congress. More than two-thirds of the members elected were opposed to the President.

The Reconstruction Acts. The Congressional leaders were now triumphant. They were displeased because the

South had rejected the Fourteenth Amendment and they were ready to impose still harder conditions upon the Southern States. Instead of giving the South a year or two to reconsider the terms that had been rejected, and instead of waiting for hot tempers to cool off, the Congressional leaders unfortunately began on a new and harder plan of reconstruction. It was this plan that caused the suffering and bitter resentment in the South that was to last for many years.

Reconstruction Acts were passed (March, 1867) which overthrew the State governments set up by President Johnson, and placed the South under military rule. New State conventions were to be held and new constitutions made for all the Southern States. Negroes were to be allowed to vote and the ex-Confederates, the leading white people, were not to be permitted to vote. No white man was to be allowed to vote unless he could take the "iron-clad oath," saying that he had not borne arms against the United States.

The new State governments established by this method were, of course, controlled by the Negroes, or by the few white men who managed the Negroes. When the constitutions and the State governments were approved by Congress, and when the newly-made Southern States ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, the States were to be readmitted to the Union and their senators and representatives allowed to take their seats in Congress. Under these conditions all the seceding States (except Tennessee, already restored) were readmitted by 1870.

Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens were two of the principal leaders in Congress who were responsible for the reconstruction measures. Stevens was a forcible leader who hated the "rebels," and wanted to punish them. He favored seizing their property for the benefit of the former slaves. He wanted to treat the Southern

Alan Rosenberg

States as conquered provinces without any rights under the Constitution.

Impeachment of President Johnson. In 1867 Congress passed the Tenure of Office Act to prevent the President from removing Republican office-holders. The act required the President to give his reasons to the Senate if he wished to remove an officer; if the Senate then deemed his reasons unsatisfactory the officer should not be removed.

Shortly after the measure was passed President Johnson sought to remove Mr. Stanton, his Secretary of War, in spite of the provisions of the act. He asked General Grant to hold the office for a time until the law could be tested in the courts. Johnson believed that the act was unconstitutional, as it probably was, and he wanted Stanton to sue for his office under the act and have the case brought before the Supreme Court. When Congress objected and Stanton claimed the office, Grant withdrew, without a contest. Johnson charged that Grant had promised to hold on and that he had gone back on his word. Grant denied this and the country generally believed Grant.

This quarrel between Johnson and Grant threw Grant with his powerful influence on the side of the President's opponents. But for this quarrel Grant might have become the Democratic candidate for President in 1868 instead of the Republican candidate. He had no politics. He had voted for President but once in his life, and that was for Buchanan, the Democratic candidate in 1856.

When Grant withdrew from the office, President Johnson appointed General Lorenzo Thomas to be Secretary of War. For thus ignoring the Tenure of Office Act, and for his speeches against Congress, the House of Representatives decided to impeach the President for "high crimes and misdemeanors." He was tried before the

Senate, Chief Justice Chase presiding. If the President were found guilty, he would be removed from office and would not be able to hold any office thereafter. A two-thirds vote was required to convict. When the Senate voted at the end of the trial, the President escaped conviction by only one vote.

Grant's Tomb on the Hudson River, New York City

General Grant Elected President, 1868. In 1868 General Grant was elected President on the Republican ticket. The Democrats nominated Governor Horatio Seymour of New York. Nebraska was admitted in 1867, in time to take part in this election. By this time all States in the South, except Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas, had "accepted" the terms imposed by Congress (the Southern white people had no voice in the matter), their representatives in Congress had taken their seats, and their electoral votes were counted in the election. The Democrats denounced the reconstruction work of Congress as establishing "military depotism and Negro supremacy in the South," and many of them said that what Congress had done ought to be overthrown as null and void. Thus reconstruction was the principal issue in the campaign.

The Fifteenth Amendment. After Grant was elected, Congress proceeded to complete the work of reconstruction. The reconstructed State governments in the South that had been set up under military rule allowed the

Negroes to vote, and Congress wished that these States, if they ever came under white control, should never be permitted to deprive the Negro of this privilege. Therefore the Fifteenth Amendment was proposed. It did not *confer* suffrage — the right to vote — on the Negro; that had been done by the reconstruction acts. But it provided that no citizen should be deprived of his right to vote "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." This was ratified by three-fourths of the States and became a part of the Constitution in 1870. Before this the Negroes could vote in some of the States by State laws, as they could in the reconstructed States of the South, but now they could vote in all the States.

Negro Rule in the South. The reconstructed State governments brought a great hardship to the better class of white people in the South. Ignorant Negroes were elected to office and intelligent white people were kept out. Negroes were sent to Congress and sat in the seats once honored by the great statesmen of the South.

The Negroes were unfit to rule, since the great majority of them could neither read nor write. They were just out of bondage and had no property; high taxes made no difference to them. They were easily controlled by bad white men, and soon came under the influence of two classes — "scalawags" and "carpetbaggers." The "scalawags" were mostly Southern scamps, without character or property, who wished to be elected to office, and were ready to use the Negro for their own gain. The "carpetbaggers" were Northern men who had settled in the South after the war and who were so called, it is said, because they carried all the property they owned in carpetbags.

These new rulers of the South — "carpetbaggers," "scalawags," and Negroes — began to waste and steal the public money. They increased the taxes and piled up debts which the respectable white people were expected to pay. One Southern legislature provided a free restaurant for the use of members and gave away as " legislative supplies " such articles as perfumes, bonnets, suspenders, hams, oysters, and a metallic coffin. The corruption and extravagance were unbearable, and it seemed that the reconstruction times were harder on the South than the darkest days of the Civil War.

Negro Suffrage. It was a mistake to impose Negro suffrage on the South before the Negroes were ready for it, and to try to prevent the intelligent white people from governing. Men of intelligence and property will not submit to the rule of the ignorant very long. The Southern white people soon began a determined effort to control the elections and secure the offices.

A secret society was organized by the whites, called the " Ku Klux Klan," whose purpose was to scare the Negroes and keep them from voting. This secret society was originated in fun. At first it consisted of young men who thought it a joke to ride about the country dressed like ghosts in hideous caps and long white gowns. When the Negroes saw the ghostly figures they were frightened. This gave the members of the society the idea of increasing the terror of the Negroes. The practice quickly grew into a system by which many Negroes and some of their white Republican friends were whipped, driven out of the country or murdered, and their homes burned. Later, the whites, in some States, instead of " bulldozing," or frightening the Negroes, used tissue ballots and stuffed the ballot boxes and carried the elections by fraud.

Thus, partly by violence and partly by fraud, the Southern whites by 1877 came into control of their State governments. Congress tried to prevent violence and to protect the Negro in his right to vote by passing certain " Force Bills " (1870–71). The President was authorized to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*[1] (hā′bē ȧs cōr′pŭs) and to send troops to the South. But the enforcement of such laws was very difficult and caused a great deal of trouble. Ku Klux raids were finally stopped but only with the help of National troops which were kept in the South until 1877 to protect the Negroes and guard the elections.

Taking the Vote from the Negro. When the Southern white men came again into the control of their State governments, they proceeded to pass laws and adopt new State constitutions designed to take the vote from the Negro. They did not wish to keep any white men from voting. Accordingly, in order to let ignorant and incompetent white men vote and at the same time to take the ballot from the Negro, the Southern whites resorted to several kinds of tricky laws:

(1) It was provided that, in order to vote, a man must have a certain amount of property. Very few Negroes had property.

(2) If a man did not have the required amount of property, he was still allowed to vote if he could read a section of the Constitution or understand it when it was read to

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[1] *Habeas Corpus.* (See page ix.) An innocent person may be charged with crime and arrested and imprisoned. The writ of *habeas corpus* is the means by which he obtains release from such illegal arrest and imprisonment. He applies through his agent or attorney to the judge of a court, who issues an order, or writ, ordering the sheriff, or constable, to bring the prisoner into court in order that it may be ascertained whether there is a good reason for keeping him in prison. If it appears that the prisoner has not been guilty of violating the law, the judge orders his release. In this way justice is not denied or delayed. To suspend the writ is to deny to an imprisoned citizen the right to have the charges against him examined, and it might permit those in office to exercise arbitrary power and practice injustice and oppression. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* is a "guarantee of personal liberty as old as Magna Charta" (1215 A.D.). The Constitution says this privilege "shall not be suspended unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it." This leaves unsettled the question whether the power of suspending the writ is to be exercised by the President or by Congress. Judicial decision has assigned the power to Congress, but during the Civil War President Lincoln suspended the writ and Congress confirmed his act.

him by a member of the Election Board. When a white man who could not read came up to vote (and there were many such men), the white Election Board decided that he could understand what was read to him. But when an illiterate Negro wished to vote, the Board decided that he could not understand what was read to him. He was thus prevented from voting.

(3) If a man had neither property nor intelligence, he was still allowed to vote if he, or his father, or grandfather, had voted before 1867, the year of the Reconstruction Acts. This was the famous "grandfather clause" which was inserted in some of the State constitutions in the South.

These provisions may have been fair enough if they had been applied to all alike, white and black, except the "grandfather clause," which was a plain scheme to excuse ignorant whites from the suffrage test. The "grandfather clauses" clearly violated the Fifteenth Amendment and the Supreme Court so declared in an Oklahoma case (1915). At the present time certain Northern States (Massachusetts and Connecticut) require educational qualifications for the suffrage, partly to keep out the illiterate foreign vote, but no one objects so long as the qualifications are applied to all races and nationalities alike.

The Southern laws have, for the most part, excluded Negroes from the elections in that section of the country. The race problem there has been most difficult to deal with. In two States (South Carolina and Mississippi) and in certain sections of the "black belt," the blacks are in a majority. Fear of "Negro supremacy" has not been overcome, and the whites are determined that they shall have a "white man's government." However, in a number of the border States once slave (Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and Tennessee) the

Negroes have been gradually granted suffrage. Time and education, and a development of better relations between the races, may be depended upon to solve the problem to the satisfaction of all.

The Liberal Republicans and the Election of 1872. Conditions and events in the South during reconstruction days gradually caused many Northern Republicans to feel that the Southern white people had better be left to themselves, and be allowed to take care of the Negro and manage their own State governments in their own way. These "Liberal Republicans," as they were called, wished the reconstruction measures to stand, but they were ready to withdraw troops from the South, to pardon all who had taken part in the war, and permit them to hold office and take part in politics. They also favored the lowering of the war tariff. Instead of the "spoils system," that is, the use of public offices to reward party favorites, they vigorously urged civil-service reform.

The Liberal Republicans hoped to prevent President Grant's re-election. They nominated Horace Greeley, the editor of the New York *Tribune,* for President; he was also nominated by the Democrats. Many Democrats would not vote for Greeley, however, because all his life he had denounced and ridiculed the Democratic Party. The regular Republicans renominated General Grant and he was chosen for a second term. In this campaign the Prohibition Party appeared for the first time. It has nominated candidates at every presidential election since 1868. It has lived longer than any other third party in our history.

Political Scandals. During Grant's second term much political corruption came to light. A "whisky ring"— a combination of revenue officers and distillers — cheated the Government out of taxes on whisky and distilled spirits. Indian agents defrauded the Indians in furnishing them supplies. General Belknap (bel′năp), the Secretary of War, took bribes from an Indian agent who did not wish to give up his place. Belknap was impeached and escaped conviction only by resigning his office. The "Credit Mobilier (crĕd′ĭt mō bē′lĭ er)," a company organized to carry out certain contracts in the building of the Pacific Railroad, gave some of its stock to members of Congress to influence them to vote for certain measures the company wanted.

President Grant was innocent of wrong-doing in these matters, but he was imposed upon by men who had gained his confidence. When the scandals came to light, he said, "Let no guilty man escape." However, there was much dissatisfaction with his administration and a strong demand for reform arose.

Corruption also existed in a number of States and cities as well as in the National Government. It was during this period that the "Tweed ring" flourished in New York City. This was a group of men no better than a gang of highway robbers. They were a disgrace to the city and a by-word throughout the world. The ring was led by Boss William M. Tweed, head of Tammany Hall. He bribed aldermen, legislators, and judges. He made corrupt agreements with plumbers, plasterers, pavers, builders, and contractors by which the public was robbed. If a contractor had a bill against the city for $5000 he was asked to make out his bill for $50,000. He received the $5000 and the balance was divided among the members of the gang. In such ways the ring defrauded the taxpayers of the city and State out of sums estimated from $45,000,000 to $200,000,000.

When he was first denounced, Tweed impudently asked, "What are you going to do about it?" Then the New York *Times* obtained evidence of the frauds, and the ring offered George Jones, the owner of the newspaper,

$5,000,000 as "hush money." But Jones was not to be bribed. The *Times* soon published the evidence it had discovered and with the help of the cartoons of Thomas Nast in *Harper's Weekly,* aroused the people against the corruption that was in progress. The ring was overthrown, some of its members fled from the country, and Tweed himself died in jail.

Panic, Hard Times, and Politics. The extravagance and waste of public money came at a bad time. In 1873 a terrible financial panic swept over the country and many business failures occurred. The story of this disaster is told in the chapter on the long financial struggle (page 569). As a result of the dissatisfaction and hard times which are always bad for the party in power, the Democrats carried the congressional elections of 1874, in a "tidal wave" that almost engulfed the Republicans. Encouraged by their victory, the Democrats looked forward to the election of 1876 in hopes of turning the Republicans entirely out of power.

In 1876 the Republicans nominated Governor Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, for President. The Democrats nominated Governor Samuel J. Tilden, of New York. The Democrats demanded reform of all departments of the Government, and Governor Tilden of New York had made a good record in this direction in his own State. He had helped to convict Boss Tweed and send him to prison.

The election resulted in a close and disputed vote. Three of the Southern States, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida, were still under the control of "carpetbag" governments, and two sets of electoral votes were returned from these States. One of the Oregon electoral votes was also disputed, making twenty disputed votes in all. Tilden had 184 votes beyond dispute, Hayes only 165. One more vote would have elected Tilden.

In Congress the Senate was Republican and the House Democratic. Since the two branches of the legislature could not agree as to which of the doubtful votes should be counted, they created an Electoral Commission to decide the controversy. This commission consisted of five senators (three Republicans and two Democrats), five representatives (three Democrats and two Republicans), and five members of the Supreme Court, three of whom were Republicans. The commission was thus composed of eight Republicans and seven Democrats. It decided by a vote of eight to seven in favor of the Republican electors on all the disputed returns and, as the law creating the commission provided that the decision could not be overturned except by joint agreement of the two houses, the commission's decision was accepted as final. The decision was announced only two days before the time for inaugurating the President, and on March 5, 1877, Hayes was peacefully inaugurated. The Democrats were greatly disappointed, but Tilden and his supporters patriotically accepted the result.

CLASS PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. Mention ways in which the Civil War made a rebuilding of the nation necessary (1) in the North and (2) in the South.

2. In what respects was the condition of the freedmen in the South worse than the condition of the Southern whites?

3. State the problem of reconstructing the Union. What difficulties did the problem include?

4. What was President Johnson's plan of reconstructing the Union? Tell why it aroused opposition in Congress.

5. Explain the Congressional plan of reconstruction. In what ways did it differ from the presidential plan? Which of

the two plans do you think was better (1) to safeguard the Negro; (2) to enable the Republicans to retain control of the National Government; (3) to restore good feeling between the North and the South?

6. Give the main provisions of (1) the Freedmen's Bureau Act and (2) the Civil Rights Act. What did Congress hope to accomplish from the two laws? Why did the President veto both measures? What does it mean to "veto" a bill? What finally became of the two measures? Explain the effect that they had (1) on the Negro, (2) on the Southern whites.

7. State the four main provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment (read the amendment, page xviii). What do you think were the chief reasons the Southern States rejected the amendment? Would it have been better had they accepted the amendment? Why?

8. Explain the main reasons for the quarrel between President Johnson and Congress. What were the results of the controversy? Do you think the quarrel might have been avoided? If so, how?

9. What does the Fifteenth Amendment provide? (See page xviii.) How was it related to the work of reconstruction? Be definite.

10. Describe Negro rule in the South. What were its chief evils? How did Southern whites regain and maintain control?

11. Who were the Liberal Republicans and for what did they stand? Tell what they accomplished, if anything.

12. Tell about the political scandals that occurred during Grant's administration. How do you account for them? What effect did they have?

13. Explain the dispute over the election of 1876. How was it related to the problem of reconstruction in the South? Why did Congress create an Electoral Commission to settle the controversy instead of deciding the dispute itself? Tell what the commission did.

THINGS TO DO

1. Two boys volunteer to represent two soldiers returning home after the Civil War. One boy act the part of a Northern soldier and the other boy the part of a Southern soldier. Express as a monolog, or soliloquy, the feelings of the men over the results of the war and over the changes they observe as they arrive at home.

2. Two pupils volunteer to give the main arguments in favor of Johnson's plan of reconstruction and the Congressional plan of reconstruction. One pupil present Johnson's point of view, and the other the opinions of Congress.

3. Choose a committee to dramatize the impeachment and trial of President Johnson, and with the help of other pupils, to act out the episode before the class.

4. Sketch or suggest a cartoon for one of the following:
    - *a.* Andrew Johnson, as viewed by Thaddeus Stevens and his followers.
    - *b.* Thaddeus Stevens, as viewed by Johnson and his supporters.
    - *c.* A "carpetbagger" in the South.
    - *d.* Secretary of War Belknap as seen by a Liberal Republican.
    - *e.* Boss Tweed as pictured by Thomas Nast.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "Reconstruction," *The Book of the United States,* 244–252.
2. "Andrew Johnson," *Our Presidents,* 160–170.
3. "Condition of the South in 1865," by Sidney Andrews, in *Source Book of American History,* 336–339.
4. "A Southerner's Advice on Reconstruction," by General Robert E. Lee, *ibid.,* 342–344.
5. "Congressional Reconstruction," by Thaddeus Stevens, *ibid.,* 344–346.

6. "A Military Governor in Louisiana," by General O. O. Howard, *ibid.*, 346–349.

7. " Failure of Reconstruction," *ibid.*, 349–351.

8. " Iniquities of the Tweed Ring," by Samuel J. Tilden, *ibid.*, 352–355.

9. " How the President Was Impeached," *This Country of Ours*, 572–575.

10. " The United Nation," *The Book of Knowledge*, 8 : 2669–2670.

11. " The Stormy Career of Andrew Johnson," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia*, 5 : 1896–1898.

12. " The Story of Andrew Johnson," *The World Book Encyclopedia*, 6 : 3683–3688.

13. " Reconstruction," *ibid.*, 6 : 3096.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE END OF THE FRONTIER

Rapid Settlement of the Region Beyond the Mississippi. After the Civil War the people of America again took up the settlement of the continent that had been going on for over two hundred years. "Westward Ho!" was once more the cry. In this final march the occupation of the country was completed. Within less than half a century the white man reduced to his control the rest of the vast continent. How could he do this so rapidly when his march westward had hitherto been so slow?

Coal and steam made possible this more rapid settlement and conquest. From Jamestown and Plymouth the colonists for two hundred years had pushed slowly westward through forests and mountains. They settled chiefly in the river districts of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri. Lack of transportation kept them near the rivers. They brought their imports by heavy wagons over the Alleghenies. Their exports—hogs, cattle, grains, and lumber—they shipped by flatboats down the Ohio and the Mississippi to New Orleans. There these flatboats were knocked to pieces because they could not be pushed back upstream against the current. When the steam-driven locomotive came, the white man's settlements stretched away from seashore and river bank, and in a half century he spread out five times as far as he had gone in the two previous centuries.

In the early days the railroads followed the settlers to obtain freight rates and markets. But in the conquest of the Far West the railroads went ahead of settlement. The railroad builders had the vision to see that large cities might arise in the new West. They built miles of road over vast stretches where no settlers had yet been able to come. They then encouraged settlements by advertising the attractions of the West, and by sending out agents to persuade Mid-West farmers to move farther west. The railroads brought out long trains of settlers, with bag and baggage, to cultivate the new lands and build up new towns.

Early Frontier Lines. In 1880 the Director of the Census Bureau announced that the frontier was no more. The frontier had been the line between civilization and barbarism, the outpost where white men and red men had often battled for possession. Steadily the line had moved toward the Pacific. Settlers had followed the lead of Lewis and Clark, Frémont and Pike, and by 1880 the country was settled from ocean to ocean.

The long story of the West is the story of the ever-advancing frontier. In colonial days the "West" was in western Massachusetts or in the uplands of western Virginia; then in western New York or Pennsylvania or Kentucky. In 1824 the first professor in Indiana University, at Bloomington, described his experiences there in a book which he called "The New Purchase, or Seven and a Half Years in the Far West." A little later Illinois and the land across the Mississippi were the "Far West." In this way the frontier line kept steadily moving toward the setting sun, with scattered settlements always bordering the wilderness.

The life of the pioneer was a life of conflict with nature, with wild animals, and with Indians. His days were spent in a wilderness in which "the weak die and toward which the coward never starts." The story of the settler is the story of conquering nature, mastering the wilderness, clearing the forest, taming the prairie, pushing back the Indian, producing food, making roads for farther advance, building towns and cities.

The Pacific States and Kansas. The conquest of our own Far West has come about in large part within the memory of men still living. By 1865 certain States beyond the Rocky Mountains had been admitted to the Union. California came in with the Compromise of 1850. Oregon was admitted in 1858, and "Bleeding Kansas," rescued from slavery by a hard struggle, came in during the first year of the Civil War (1861). In 1864 Nevada was admitted in order to get another vote for the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment. Nevada did not have, and has never had, enough population to *entitle* her to a Representative in Congress.

The Great Plains. Between the Rocky Mountains and the States to the East were the "Great Western Plains" formerly called the "Great American Desert." The region was a treeless land, except for a few small cottonwood trees that grew along the streams. The farmer and the settler had a harder experience here than he had known before on all his westward march. For a time he tried farming with 160 acres, then with 320, then with 640. But even on a whole section of land—640 acres—he could barely make a living. The land was too dry, the rainfall too uncertain, and two or three years of crop failures sometimes followed one another in succession. Five or six years of such trials caused many settlers to give up the struggle.

In regions that were better watered the settlers endured, but their life was one of hardship. They had no wood for fuel or building; they lived in sod houses; they suffered long winters, heavy snows, intense cold, the mercury often falling to 40° below zero, and blinding blizzards often causing the death of such wayfaring settlers as were unfortunate enough to be caught in the open. The summers were not much better. Sandstorms, swarms of locusts or grasshoppers, prairie fires, and tornadoes were common occurrences. At times there was no making headway against the wind; one had to lie down and hold on to the prairie grass, in order not to be blown away. Such winds caused a prairie fire to sweep with amazing rapidity. The settler could not flee before it, and he might be caught by the flames before he could plow enough furrows around his home to save the dwelling from destruction.[1]

The Promised Land Beyond the Mountains. Because of such experiences, people looked for years upon the "Great Desert" not as a region for farmers and home-builders, but as an obstacle to cross, a long and weary stretch of dry or desert land, separating the emigrant from the place he wanted to reach — California, New Mexico on the "Santa Fé trail," or the Oregon country, where the great Columbia rolls to the sea. The promised land lay across the desert, beyond the mountains. *There* was the "pot of gold," the "land of milk and honey," the region of sunshine and fertile soil.

Accordingly trains of "covered wagons" and "prairie schooners" made their slow way across the plains to reach these favored lands. On the prairies and the plains the bleaching bones of many of the emigrants as well as those of their horses and cattle testified to the hardships encountered by the caravans. Hunger and thirst, the lack of a trail on a boundless and trackless prairie, and the hostile Indian had done their worst.

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[1] Read O. E. Rolväag's *Giants in the Earth* for a description of the hardships endured by the early Scandinavian settlers in the Dakotas, and Herbert Quick's *Vandermarck's Folly* for an account of an Iowa prairie fire.

Western Mining. In 1862 gold was discovered in Montana and a few years later in Idaho City. Mines were developed that produced more than $1,000,000,000 before they were exhausted. Similar discoveries in Cripple Creek, Leadville, and other mining towns in Colorado attracted large numbers of fortune hunters. Some were successful in their search for riches; others failed. Many a gold-seeker failed to find a fortune; then, broken in health and fortune, he started back home "to live with his wife's relatives." But many prospectors "struck it rich." In 1871, for example, two men struck the "Big Bonanza" of the Comstock Lode in Nevada, a silver mine that made them millionaires. Such finds attracted people by the thousands to "the diggings," as the mining regions were called.

The West's Wild Life. During these days the West was a land of adventure and romance, occupied by cowboys, Indians, Mexicans, and miners. Here were the scenes reproduced by "Buffalo Bill" in his wild west show; of Mark Twain and his *Roughing It;* of the "Covered Wagon" and Indian fights; of the "rip-roaring" mining camps; of the rodeo and broncho busters; of round-ups and hold-ups; of the pony express; of buffaloes, wolves, coyotes, rattlesnakes, and blizzards. Was there ever another land in which there were so many strange and stirring scenes? The Sioux (sōō) Indians roamed over the plains of the Dakotas. Herds of buffaloes followed their pastures, going northward from Texas and Oklahoma in the spring, southward from Canada in the fall. Often the trains of the Union Pacific stopped to let thousands of these animals lope across the tracks, followed by Indian hunters on their swift ponies. The Indians used the buffalo meat for food and the skins for clothing, but they killed thousands for sport and without need.

Between 1868 and 1872 the white hunters of the Western plains with their six-shooter revolvers and their repeating rifles slaughtered the buffaloes by the millions. These fine animals were about to be exterminated when they were rescued by the American Bison Society. In 1917 it was found that only about 5000 buffaloes remained in the country. They are now increasing in many of our national parks.

BUFFALOES ON THE PLAINS OF WYOMING

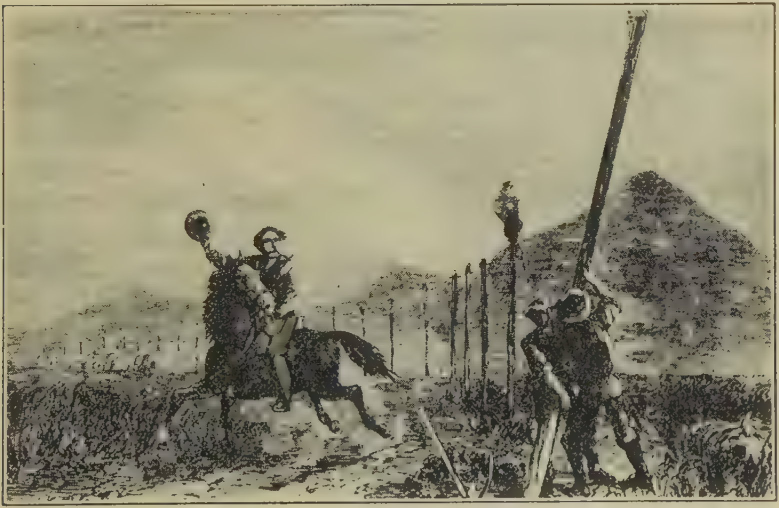
The Cattle Kingdom and the Cowboy. The white man's cattle and the cowboy took the place of the buffalo. It was by order of nature that the "cattle kingdom" rose in the West as the "cotton kingdom" had arisen in the South. No one cared to farm the land. The region belonged to the Government and it was open to anybody who could make use of it. Cattle were cheap, and it was easy to brand them and turn them loose to graze as the buffaloes had grazed. Since much of the land was level, cattle could be kept in sight for great distances. The region of the "Staked Plains" of western Oklahoma, Texas, and a part of New Mexico is the largest tract of nearly level land in the United States. One historian has called it "a place where you could see a visitor starting for your place at sun-up, you could watch him coming all day, and then he would not get to your place until half an hour late for supper."

The cattlemen had wild animals to contend with. They killed most of the coyotes which had kept the prairie dogs in check, and the latter began to increase like rabbits. Prairie dogs, gophers, and ground squirrels multiplied over thousands of square miles in western Kansas and in other parts of the West. Their countless burrows threw up the earth and destroyed the grass, until it seemed as if they would over-run the whole plains. Then poison gas was discovered; and through its use ground pests ceased to trouble the ranchman.

Among the larger and more dangerous animals that threatened to destroy the cattle and sheep were wolves, mountain lions, and bears. These had to be hunted down. Over the whole region the United States maintained a staff of Government hunters for this purpose. One lone she-wolf with only three toes, showing that she had once been caught in a steel trap but had made her escape, cost the cattlemen $15,000. She ranged the country for forty miles around, killing on the average *two yearlings every week for five years* before she could be killed.

The Pony Express. The history of the "cattle kingdom" on the plains begins with 1869, the year in which the Union Pacific was completed to the Pacific Coast. In Civil War times the railroads had not yet gone beyond western Missouri. The means of "rapid transit" to California for mail and news was by the famous "pony express," which was organized in 1860 to carry mail from St. Joseph, Missouri, to Sacramento, California.

Expert riders on swift horses went in relays; men left the coast at the same time that men left Missouri. Colonel William F. Cody (*Buffalo Bill*), the famous scout and showman, at the age of fifteen was one of the riders of this famous express. These riders made the trip in ten days; the old Pacific stagecoach required more than twice as long. When the telegraph and the railroad came, both the ponies and the coaches were discontinued.



THE PONY EXPRESS GREETS THE TELEGRAPH

Building of the Union Pacific Railroad. The first efforts to establish a railroad to the Pacific failed. Money and lands from the National Government seemed necessary to build a line across the plains, and the bitter struggle over slavery in the years preceding the Civil War prevented favorable action by Congress. After the war was under way, however, that body took up the project, hoping that the railroad would be a means of binding California and the Pacific coast more closely to the Union. Accordingly, in 1862, Congress granted large tracts of land and loaned great sums of money to help build a line of railway from the Missouri River to the Pacific.

Leland Stanford directed the building of the road from the western end, importing Chinese laborers, or coolies, to do most of the hard work. At the same time the eastern end of the road was started from Omaha. On May 10, 1869, the two lines, from Omaha westward and from Sacramento eastward, met near Ogden, Utah. Here, amid impressive ceremonies, the last rail was fastened with spikes of silver and gold. The two locomotives drew together "till their noses touched," and the great enterprise was completed — the Atlantic and the Pacific were connected by rail and the hardships of crossing the plains and the mountains were at an end. The first through train from California arrived in New York on July 26, 1869, after a run of six and a half days. The North and South had been re-united after the war. Now economic forces — quick transportation, increased travel, easy means for trade, penny postage — were uniting our vast country stretching over 3000 miles from sea to sea into a unified republic.

The Last Indian Wars and Our Indian Policy. After the coming of the railroads and the white settlements and the building of new States in the West, the wild Indians of the plains were doomed to disappear or to settle down to the pursuits of peace. The Government's policy of confining the Indians to certain reservations and there furnishing them with annual supplies, or requiring them to move from their hunting grounds to a more settled life in Indian Territory, was resisted by many of the tribes. United States soldiers were sent out to enforce the Government's policy. When the Indians resisted, fighting occurred.

The Indian rode his wild horse with daring and with such skill as to make his body appear a part of his steed. But in a running fight the mounted "Texas Rangers" with their six-shooters were more than a match for the red men of the Southwest (Apaches and Comanches). In the North the warlike Sioux in the summer of 1876, under their famous chief, Sitting Bull, attacked from ambush General George A. Custer and his little band of regulars. At the Little Big Horn in Montana, Custer and 264 of his men rode into the midst of the Indians and were shot down to the last man.

Sitting Bull

But such Indian victories were temporary and local and could not save the red man from the fate in store. Shortly after the Custer massacre the Sioux were compelled to accept lands on a reservation in South Dakota. When the Apaches under Geronimo (jĕr ŏn′ĭ mō̇) surrendered to the Government in 1886, the long struggle between the whites and the Indians for the possession of North America came to an end.

Treachery and cruelty appeared on both sides during the long struggle with the Indian, the white man showing little more humanity or honor than the red man. His treatment of the Indians for a hundred years, his broken treaties during that time, and his merciless driving of the natives from their lands caused Helen Jackson to write her two novels, *A Century of Dishonor* and *Ramona*. During the twenty years that followed the Civil War fully a dozen Indian wars were fought at an expense of $30,000,000 and a sacrifice of more than a thousand American soldiers.

GERONIMO

Before the Indian wars were over, Congress began to make provision for the Indians as wards of the nation. In 1869 a Board of Indian Commissioners was created and the Government soon ceased to deal with the tribes by treaties. In 1887 Congress passed the Dawes Indian Act by which citizenship was offered to the Indians, their tribal relations were broken up, and lands were allotted to them as individuals. Many of the more advanced tribes became citizens. Some of the Chocktaws, Creeks, and Cherokees in Oklahoma (the old Indian Territory) received valuable oil lands and grew rich.

Schools were established among the Indians and a higher education was provided for their best prepared youths at Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

Many of the Indians have accepted the white man's civilization, and are becoming prosperous. They drive their own automobiles, farm their own lands, and carry on their trade, not as tribes but as individuals. Under the new policy of peace and good will, they have increased in numbers and wealth. In 1928 the American people elected as Vice President, Charles Curtis, a Kansan with Indian blood in his veins, his grandmother being a Kaw Indian.

Cattle and Sheep on the Ranges. In the central part of the Great West before the Indians had been subdued, a large industry arose on the plains in the grazing of cattle and sheep. On the semi-arid region between the Rocky Mountains and the frontier farms were vast ranges for grazing. Great herds of cattle, the Texas longhorns, were driven north from Texas, along the buffalo trails. In charge of them was the cowboy, picturesquely clad, astride his pony, with his lariat, and with his pistols in his belt.

Every year, in early summer, there was a round-up of each owner's cattle. Then the calves were branded with the same mark of ownership that had been burned into the hides of their mothers. As the plains were without fences, the herds became mixed, and branding was the only means by which a rancher could claim his own cattle.

The cattle, in charge of the cowboys, and the sheep, under the watchful eye of the herders, roamed at will on the plains stretching a thousand miles from Canada to Texas. They were driven to market a part of the way on the hoof to the nearest railway station — to Abilene, Newton, Wichita, Dodge City, towns in Kansas, along the railway lines. From these towns the cattle were shipped to the buyers in the cities. Kansas City and Omaha, like Chicago, became great centers of the meat-packing industry.

Feuds Between Cattlemen and Sheepmen. Bitter feuds often arose between the cattlemen and the sheepmen, verging on civil war. In the shooting that ensued many men lost their lives. The chief cause of the rivalry was a struggle for better pastures. The sheep were driven to the drier regions and the shorter grass. They crop the grass closer than cattle and require less water. They can live and thrive where cattle cannot.

Dry Farming. The cattle and sheep industry on the unfenced plains reached its peak about 1885. By that time the farmer had moved into the region again with new machinery and new methods of farming. Wire fencing (barbed wire at first) enabled him to enclose his fields and confine his stock. To produce crops on the land where the rainfall was slight, he resorted to dry farming. This consisted of frequent harrowing and pulverizing the soil, thus making a covering of dust on the surface which prevented evaporation and held the moisture in the ground. By this process and by such irrigation as was available, the farmer and the homesteader gradually displaced the cowboy and the Indian and pushed the "Great American Desert" back toward the mountains.

The Great American Desert. Old maps show the "Great American Desert" reaching almost a thousand miles east of the Rocky Mountains. When men learned that corn would grow on the grass lands of western Kansas and Nebraska, and that sheep would feed and flourish on the brushlands of Colorado, the "Desert" retreated toward the west. American farmers made it grow food for man and beast.

New States from the West and Northwest. As the desert was conquered and rich mines were discovered, new States developed in the West.

Nebraska came into the Union in 1867, with a rural and farming population. It had been organized as a territory along with Kansas by the famous Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. It was not invaded by slaveholders from Missouri and it escaped the turmoil which Kansas suffered.

Colorado, a mining State, was admitted in 1876, and is known as the "Centennial State." When the gold and silver deposits of Leadville and Cripple Creek became known, people poured into the State and by 1875 the population was estimated at 100,000.

In the Northwest there were rich lands in the Red River valley of the *Dakotas.* Scandinavians, Germans, and Canadians came in to take up new farms. Gold was discovered in the Black Hills and a new rush occurred.

At Butte, *Montana,* rich deposits of copper were found, one of the greatest of all the Rocky Mountain discoveries; the Butte hill alone has yielded a billion dollars' worth of copper since 1869. The mining industries brought to Montana a population sufficient for statehood, and this territory, together with the two Dakotas and *Washington,* a growing territory in the far Northwest, offered their claims for statehood and were all four admitted in 1889. The next year *Idaho* and *Wyoming* also came into the Union.

Utah and the Mormons. Utah's admission to the Union was delayed on account of polygamy (plural marriages) there. The region about Salt Lake had been settled by the Mormons in 1847, while that territory was still a part of Mexico. The Mormons, or "Latter Day Saints," were a religious sect founded in 1830 by

Joseph Smith, who claimed to have received a revelation from heaven engraved on a number of gold plates which he said he had dug up near Palmyra, New York. After a few years Smith and his followers were forced to migrate from New York because of their practice of polygamy, and for a time they settled in Missouri and then in Illinois at Nauvoo (nô vōō′). Here they were mobbed and Smith, their leader, was killed.

Brigham Young now became their leader and apostle. Under his guidance the Mormons began their long journey across the plains and mountains and settled in a beautiful valley near Salt Lake. By irrigation they made the land productive, built comfortable homes and the beautiful Mormon Temple, and were, as they thought, far from persecution and from the reach of any outside power. They did not foresee the coming of the Union Pacific Railroad, which brought many newcomers who were not in sympathy with their faith and who represented a power destined to bring about a change in their ways.

The Mormon practice of polygamy offended the moral sentiment of the country. The Republican platform of 1860 denounced slavery and polygamy as "twin relics of barbarism." In 1862 Congress prohibited polygamy, but the law was disregarded and the practice continued. Twenty years later (1882) Congress made another attempt to suppress polygamy by passing the Edmunds Act. This law provided that no one who practiced or approved polygamy should be allowed to vote, or hold office, or sit on a jury, and it imposed fines, imprisonment, and confiscation of property on all who should violate the act. The leaders of the Mormon Church gave in, and Utah adopted a constitution which declared that "plural marriages are forever prohibited." Under this constitution Utah was admitted to the Union in 1896.

The Rush for Oklahoma: the "Sooners." Oklahoma, the "Beautiful Land," as the Indians called it, was the old *Indian Territory* which had been reserved for many years for the Indian tribes alone. As good land became scarce in the West, it was increasingly difficult to keep the white squatters from rushing in and occupying the best areas. Occasionally United States troops had to be sent to Oklahoma to remove such settlers. Finally the United States bought the lands from the Indians (1889) and announced that the territory would be opened on a certain day to homesteaders for settlement.

For weeks people who wished to enter the region gathered on the border ready for the rush. Troops were stationed on the line to hold back the eager land-seekers until the hour came for them to start. When the signal was given, men and women of all ages raced in — on horseback, in wagons, afoot. Some of the contestants started too soon before the bugle sounded at noon, April 22, 1889. These people were called the Oklahoma "Sooners," who stole a march on their rivals.

By night of the first day's rush town sites were laid out; 6000 people had settled at Guthrie, in a city of tents. Within a month Oklahoma City had the appearance of a large city on the prairie. This rush for land by the land-hungry is one of the most remarkable on record. There are rich lands in Oklahoma, and in addition abundant deposits of oil were discovered in the territory within a few years. As a result population grew by leaps and bounds. By the time of its admission as a State (1907) Oklahoma had a population of over a million; it was the most populous territory ever admitted to the Union.

Five years later the admission of two other States, New Mexico and Arizona, rounded out the country. With their admission the story of the Far West was absorbed in the history of the rest of the country.

CLASS PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. More than one hundred and fifty years passed by before the early settlers and pioneers were able to cross the Allegheny Mountains — a distance of less than 300 miles from the Atlantic coast. During the next one hundred years pioneers and settlers occupied the region to the Pacific — a distance of almost 3000 miles. How do you account for the great difference in the time required for settling the two areas? Give as many reasons as you can.

2. What do you understand is meant by "the frontier"? Has it always been in the West? Or has it sometimes been in the North and in the South? Explain clearly, with examples.

3. Mention several different meanings which the term, "Far West," has had. Account for the differences.

4. "The life of the pioneer was a life of conflict." Explain the quotation, and give examples of the conflicts experienced by the following types of pioneers: the Mormons in Utah; the "Sooners" in Oklahoma; the "Forty-niners" in California; the "dry farmers" on the Great Plains; the homesteaders in the Dakotas.

5. Explain the part that was played in the settlement of the West by the following: the "covered wagon"; the buffalo; the revolver; dry farming; the pony express; the railroad; the telegraph; the rodeo.

6. Where was the "cattle kingdom"? Point it out on the map. Why was the region so called? Describe life and work in the cattle kingdom. Tell what became of it. Explain the reason for the quarrels between the cattlemen and the sheepmen.

7. Why was the pony express established? Tell about the adventures of some of the riders (see references below). What caused the pony express to be discontinued?

8. Describe the building of the Union Pacific Railroad. Do you think it was right for the National Government to give the company vast tracts of land and to lend it large sums of money? Give reasons.

9. Explain the connection between the building of the Union Pacific Railroad and (1) the last Indian Wars and (2) the admission of six new States in 1889 and 1890.

10. Describe the Indian policy adopted by Congress in the Dawes Indian Act. What became of the Indians who did not accept the provisions of this law?

11. Show the location of the Great American Desert and tell what became of it.

12. What great contribution did the Mormons make to the settlement of the West? Why was the admission of Utah so long delayed?

13. In what ways does the settlement of Oklahoma differ from the settlement of other parts of the West? Why? Tell how the story relates to the title of this chapter.

THINGS TO DO

1. Volunteers construct model log cabins (such as Lincoln's birthplace), a lean-to (such as the Lincoln family occupied when they first lived in Indiana), and a sod hut (such as were used by the early settlers in Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas).

2. Volunteers make a model of a "covered wagon" or a "prairie schooner" for your historical collection (see page 44).

3. Read one of the following and tell the story to the class:
   - *a.* Bret Harte, "The Luck of Roaring Camp."
   - *b.* Ernest Thompson Seton, "Lobo, the King of Currumpaw."
   - *c.* Mark Twain, "The Genuine Mexican Plug."

4. On an outline map of the United States show the following:
   - *a.* St. Joseph, Missouri; Santa Fé; Salt Lake City; Sacramento; Cripple Creek; Butte; Oklahoma City; Omaha (by black dots).

b. Oregon trail; Santa Fé trail; the Union Pacific Railroad (by red lines).

c. The States that entered the Union between 1875 and 1912 (by shading).

5. Contribute pictures, maps, stories, and poems to a book to be entitled, " The Far West Before 1900." Choose a committee to arrange and mount the material. Show the book to your principal and then place it on your reading table where all may examine it.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. " Our Indian Policy," *The Book of the United States*, 256–258.
2. " Our Treatment of the Indians," *Source Book of American History*, 366–369.
3. " Round-Up on a Cattle Range," *In Our Times*, 1–6.
4. " Hunting Buffalo," *ibid.*, 6–11.
5. " The Pioneer," *ibid.*, 115–119.
6. " Building the Union Pacific Railway," *ibid.*, 119–124.
7. " Getting Land to the People," *ibid.*, 179–184.
8. " New States from the West," *This Country of Ours*, 584–587.
9. " The Mormon Migration," *The Book of Knowledge*, 6: 1920–1922; 18: 6430–6434.
10. " Indian Policy of the United States," *ibid.*, 19: 7235–7244.
11. " The Pony Express," *America First*, 339–344.

CHAPTER XXX

THE GROWTH OF BIG BUSINESS

Extension of Railroads. When the railroads came and transportation was made easier, small industries moved to the cities, to railroad centers, to take advantage of better shipping conditions. Factories did not increase in number, but they became larger and more productive.

It was not until the Civil War that the industries of the United States entered upon "large-scale production"; that is, upon building big factories and turning out goods in vast quantities. Railroad construction was one of these great industries, and the railroads proceeded to provide transportation on a large scale. The building of railroads continued during the Civil War and for a few years after its close. The panic of 1873 brought construction to a stop for a time, but by 1880 railroad building was again well under way and during the next ten years over 70,000 miles of new railroad lines were laid. Four new transcontinental lines were completed between the Pacific coast and points on the Great Lakes and the Mississippi — the Northern Pacific, the Great Northern, the Southern Pacific, and the Santa Fé. A little later the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul was put through. By 1880 the United States contained 93,000 miles of railway lines, a greater mileage than in all Europe combined. There are now about 250,000 miles of railroad in use in the United States.

The earlier locomotives weighed only about ten tons. Now locomotives of fifty tons weight are used to draw a freight train of a hundred loaded cars instead of forty-eight or fifty cars, as had previously been the case. In addition, the freight cars are much stronger and larger than in earlier years.

The large-scale transportation of passengers and freight that followed was aided greatly by the Westinghouse quick-action air brake invented in 1887. This new contrivance, which applied the brakes by air pressure to all the wheels of the train at the same time, made it possible to stop even long and heavy trains quickly. Formerly a brakeman had to run along the top of the freight train and by turning a wheel crank tighten the brakes of one car at a time; many minutes were usually needed to bring a train to a stop.

Railroad Abuses. The railroads were first looked upon merely as investments and not as public enterprises to make travel and transportation cheaper and easier for the people. Not content with a fair return on their money, many of the owners and managers of the roads began to seek unfair gain and to crush out certain industries and to build up others. The managers had power to fix the freight rates, a power like the taxing power, because industries, farmers, and shippers had to use the roads and were obliged to pay what the railroads charged.

Frequently the same men owned the railroads and certain industries, and they would give lower rates to themselves. For example, a railroad company owning stone quarries in Indiana shipped their own stone more cheaply than they would ship stone for others. In Pennsylvania coal lands were owned by the same men who owned the coal-carrying roads.

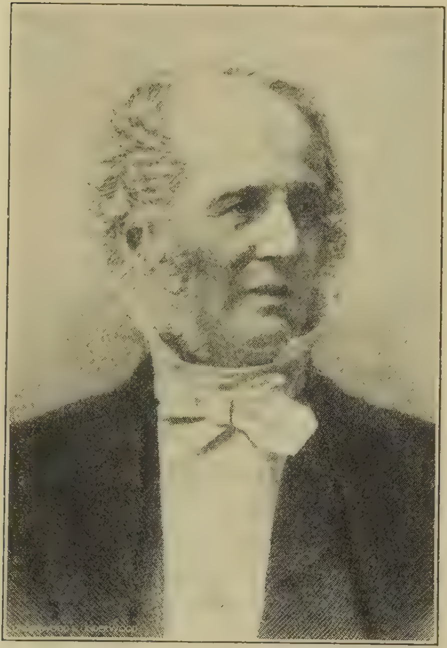
Rates were fixed to give advantages to a favored company and to handicap, or freeze out, its rivals. Thus the railroads could, and did, force companies out of business, or compel them to sell their products cheaply to rival companies favored by the railroads. Sometimes the railroad owners favored certain cities over others. They could " make or break " a new town in the West by refusing to stop their trains at the place, or by putting their station ten miles farther on and building up another town of their own on their own lands.

The railroads also gave better freight rates to some cities than to others. Rates from Chicago to Minneapolis were cheaper than to the small towns along the line between these two cities. Thus the roads often charged less for a " long haul " than for a " short haul." They frequently gave passes to judges and members of State legislatures and to other officials of influence, hoping that they would prevent the passage or the enforcement of laws to control their rates.

Interstate Commerce Act, 1887. The abuses of the railroads finally brought about the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act. When the roads were built, the public had given the railroad companies the " right of way " along with large grants of land or had voted great sums in taxes to help build the roads. The public depended on the railroads for a livelihood. In consequence, the public proposed to assert some degree of control over the conduct and regulations of the roads.

Some of the States first tried to control the railroads. Illinois in her constitution of 1870 declared railroads to be public highways and authorized the State legislature to fix rates for freight and passengers. Acts were passed in Illinois and Wisconsin regulating rates, which gave some relief, but these acts often interfered with interstate commerce, which the National Constitution placed under the control of Congress; they were therefore declared unconstitutional by the courts.

To meet the situation Congress, after years of effort and agitation, passed the Interstate Commerce Act (1887). This law required that all railroad charges should be "reasonable and just"; forbade "rebates," or preferences to any person or locality; prohibited higher charges for "short hauls" than for "long hauls," and ordered that all rates should be publicly announced.



Cornelius Vanderbilt

This capitalist and railroad builder was born in 1794, on Staten Island, New York. When he was sixteen he bought a sail boat on which he carried produce and passengers between Staten Island and New York. Then, as captain, he ran a steam ferry. Within a few years he had a fleet of boats so large as to win the nickname of "Commodore." In 1857 he became interested in railroads. He died in 1877, leaving a huge family fortune. He endowed Vanderbilt University, in Nashville, Tennessee.

But the act did not prove very successful. The railroads found secret ways of evading it, and nearly twenty years passed before railroad regulation was made effective by the Hepburn Act (see page 674).

Great Railroad Builders. Because of the important part they played in extending and combining the railroads, certain men came to be known as the "Railroad Builders." Cornelius Vanderbilt was one of the first and greatest of these men. His interest in railways began in 1857. Eleven years later he became president of the New York

Central from Albany to Buffalo, which he later combined with his Hudson River Road from Albany to New York City. In 1873 he gained control of the Lake Shore and the Michigan Central and was able to establish the first through line of traffic from New York City to Chicago and St. Louis. He worked for the combination and control of a great transportation system.

Another great railway captain was James J. Hill, the "Builder of the Northwest," who was the leader in opening up the Northwestern country and bringing its freight to market at fair rates. In 1889 he organized the Great Northern Railway System, reaching from Lake Superior to Puget Sound, there to connect with steamship lines to carry the grain, ore, lumber, and other products of the Northwest to China and Japan. He saw that what the farmer needed most was a low freight rate for wheat. His policy contributed to the rapid growth and prosperity of the Western country. He encouraged settlers to come and helped to pay their way. Four new States, North and South Dakota, Montana, and Washington, came into the Union the year Hill's road was launched (1889). Hill believed that great highways, or arteries of trade, including the waterways, would develop a new country quickly and would lead to the growth of great cities. This is just what happened in the case of St. Paul, Minneapolis, Duluth, Spokane, and Seattle.

Among the other great railway magnates were Collis P. Huntington, Leland Stanford, and E. H. Harriman. These men controlled and developed the Union Pacific, Southern Pacific, Santa Fé, and the Burlington. "Rate wars" at times occurred among them and there was intense rivalry on the Wall Street stock market to obtain control of rival roads, but finally the policy of combination and co-operation prevailed.

The railway managers became men of vast wealth. In ten years Vanderbilt increased his fortune from $8,000,000 to $80,000,000. Stanford founded Leland Stanford University at Palo Alto, California, and Huntington established and endowed the famous Huntington Library and Art Gallery in San Gabriel, near Pasadena, California.

The Story of Oil. As Vanderbilt was the "Railroad King" of America, so John D. Rockefeller was the "Oil King." The oil industry represents another of the great combinations of "big business." The story of oil in America is like a fable or a romance. At first petroleum was regarded as a nuisance. It seeped out of the rocks and flowed on the surface of the brooks, making the water unfit for the cattle to drink. If floods carried the oil to grazing lands, the pastures were destroyed. "Rock oil," as it was also called, had a disagreeable, penetrating odor. Sometimes it was sold by Indian doctors as medicine good for lungs and liver.

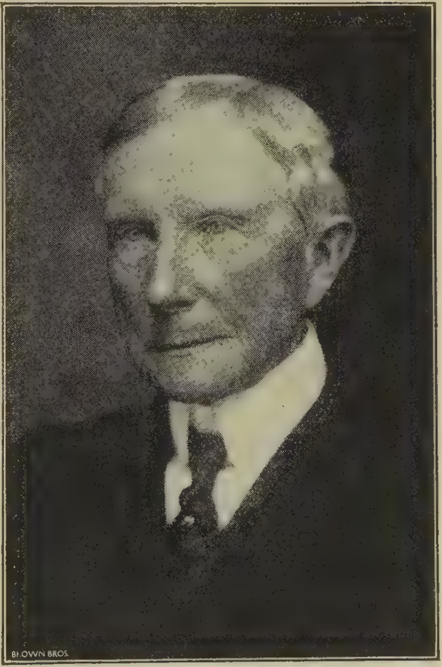
But petroleum, then so despised and so little known, has since enabled men to travel on the surface of the earth, above the clouds, upon and beneath the seas. By 1930 the total yearly value of oil and its products in the United States was about $3,000,000,000.

The name best known in the history of the oil industry is Rockefeller. John D. Rockefeller began refining oil in 1862. He was frugal and thrifty in habit. He planned his business carefully. Later in life he gave this bit of advice to a young business man, "If you want your business to succeed, be there early and start it yourself." That was Rockefeller's way.

Rockefeller had saved a little money while working as a bookkeeper in Cleveland at $25 a month, and in 1870 he and his brother organized the Standard Oil Company with a capital of $1,000,000.

Rockefeller saw much waste in the oil business. "Cut-throat" competition was common among the various companies, causing frequent and violent changes in price. Competition was called "the life of trade," but Rockefeller looked upon it as wasteful. He desired *monopoly*, or the bringing of all the companies in the oil-refining business into one company under one leadership. Their combined strength would bring about improvements and economies, cut out the small plants, reduce production when there was an oversupply of oil, and keep prices more uniform.

By 1885 the Standard Oil Trust, as it was then called, controlled more than 90% of the oil-refining business in America; it was piling up profits more rapidly than the most hopeful had dreamed could be done. Investigations, trials, and restrictive laws were


BROWN BROS.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER

John D. Rockefeller was born in Richford, New York, in 1839. He became, perhaps, the richest man of all time. He was the financial founder of the *University of Chicago*. He also endowed the *Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research* (1901), which has established hospitals and medical research throughout the world. In 1913 he established the *Rockefeller Foundation*, with an endowment of $101,324,000, to carry out his desire "to promote the well-being and advance the civilization of the peoples of the world, in acquiring and spreading knowledge in the prevention of suffering, and in the promotion of any and all the elements of human progress."

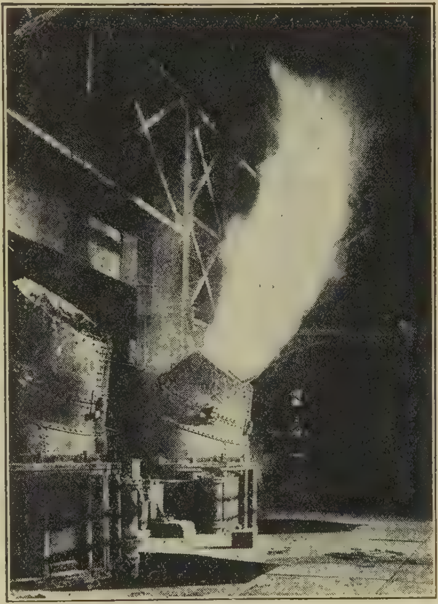
all tried as means of controlling its operations, but as a rule Standard Oil found a way to retain its power. On one occasion Judge Landis of Chicago assessed a fine of $29,200,000 against the company for various "acts in restraint of trade," but the fine was set aside by the Supreme Court. Finally in 1911 the National Government dissolved the Standard Oil Company into "subsidiary corporations," or separate companies, which still exist.

Steel and Its Uses. Manufacturing depends on iron and steel. Without these metals no nation can become a great industrial country. Coal is another necessity in manufacturing, since coal furnishes heat for steam and power.

Steel is an iron which is hardened by a mixture of alloys, mostly carbon. The great development of the steel industry began after the invention of the Bessemer (bĕs′ė mẽr) process of making steel. Bessemer was an Englishman who in 1860 devised his famous method of steel-making. By this method melted iron is put into a large vessel through which a current of air is blown. The oxygen of the air unites with the carbon of the iron and burns out the impurities. Then we have wrought iron which is changed to steel by adding the proper amount of carbon and other alloys.

The Bessemer process has been of great service in many lines of industry. It has made steel much cheaper than it was formerly. It has brought heavier and stronger rails for our railroads, the steel rails being twenty times as durable as iron rails; it has provided steel cars, much stronger and safer than wooden ones; it has supplied steel girders for bridges and elevated railroads, and has furnished the steel frame-work for tall buildings, or "skyscrapers." It has also made possible steel motor cars, airplanes, and steel ships.

The first steel used in America came from England. In 1865 the first American steel rails were made in a Chicago rolling mill. In 1867 American mills made 19,000 tons of steel. Ten years later America was independent of the foreign supply.



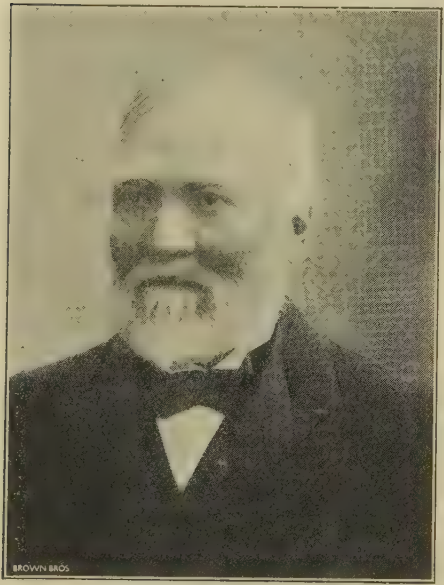
A Bessemer Converter in Action

This photograph was made in a large steel plant in Lackawanna, New York.

The greatest steelmaker in America was Andrew Carnegie (kär nĕg′ĭ), known as the "Steel King." Carnegie came to America in 1848, a poor Scotch boy of twelve. He was keen, thrifty, and industrious. After his early struggles he became known to Thomas A. Scott, vice president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, who put him in charge of the Pittsburgh division of the road. Carnegie worked at a salary, never more than $125 a month, but at thirty years of age he was a rich man with investments bringing him $50,000 a year.

No man could have *saved* so much from so small a salary. Carnegie had other ways of making money. He acquired interests, or stock, in a locomotive works, a bridge-building company, a rail-making concern, and an iron mill. Stock was given him in these concerns in return for the shipping favors he granted them. Such was the way of the business world in those days. Thus Carnegie laid the foundations for his fortune.

Carnegie resigned his position with the railroad to give his attention to his investments. His bridge-building company grew into the Carnegie Steel Company, and by 1900 he had become the greatest steel-maker in America. His wealth was then estimated at over $200,000,000, a vast sum for one man in that day. His company looked forward to controlling the steel business of the world.



ANDREW CARNEGIE

Andrew Carnegie was born in Dumferline, Scotland, in 1835. He came with his parents to America as a boy of 12, worked as a bobbin boy in a cotton factory at 20 cents a day, and then became a messenger boy in a telegraph office at $2.50 a week. Later he took up the making of steel and became the greatest manufacturer of the kind in America. He amassed a vast fortune.

Carnegie did not try to avoid competition by buying out his rivals or forcing them into a combination. Instead, he fought his rivals and in many cases drove them out of business by the fiercest kind of competition. He made good steel at a lower cost than any one else. In 1900 he was ready to retire from business, as he did not really care to continue merely piling up money, and he professed an earnest desire to do good to humanity.

Big Business. A man who was rich and powerful enough to buy Carnegie's large steel plants was J. Pierpont Morgan, the New York banker. Morgan had reorganized the country's railroads into a group of systems. He was interested in other steel works, in a number of railroads, and in many enterprises which might be seriously injured by Carnegie's competition. Carnegie even proposed to build a railway line from Pittsburgh to the East; he could make it pay by the shipment of his own products. This new road would compete with the Pennsylvania, which was a Morgan road. Morgan was eager to get Carnegie out of the steel business, and partly through the influence of Elbert H. Gary and Charles Schwab, important men interested in steel, he decided to buy out the Carnegie interests.

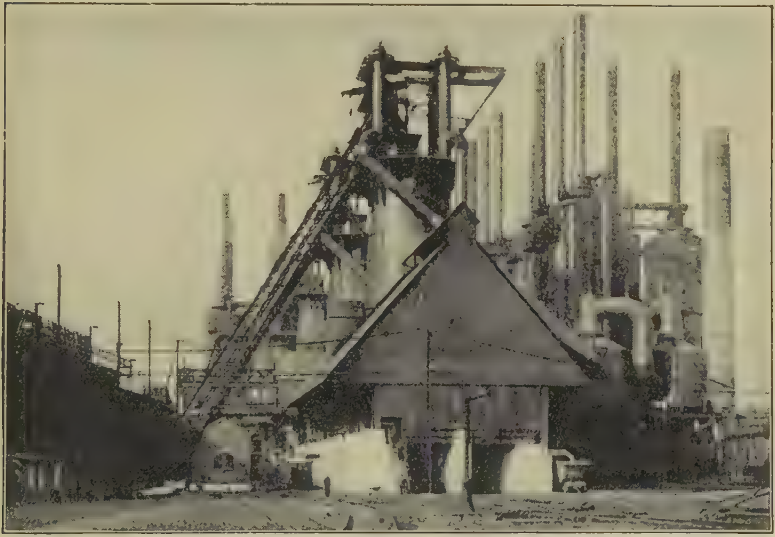
Morgan did not like competition; like Rockefeller, he favored big combinations. In 1901 he bought the Carnegie interests and proceeded to finance the United States Steel Corporation, which became the largest unit of organized business in the world. This great steel trust controlled nearly all the manufacturing of steel in America. It was capitalized at $1,403,000,000, the greatest combination of capital yet known to America. Here was " big business " on a huge scale.

Carnegie retired worth over $250,000,000, to begin his career of giving away the fortune he had made. He believed that " surplus wealth is a sacred trust to be administered for the highest good of the people." He gave $4,000,000 as an endowment, the income to be used for the workers at Homestead. He gave $25,000,000 to found the Carnegie Institute at Pittsburgh, a school of technology, with library and art gallery and fine equipment. He founded the Carnegie Institution at Washington to promote original research and to enable students to devote their whole time to study and experiments. He gave at first $10,000,000 and later millions more, to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, for pensioning college professors and to induce capable men and women to go into the teaching profession. He gave $5,000,000 for the Carnegie Hero Fund to reward those who performed deeds of heroism in saving life. He built the Peace Temple at The Hague. He gave thousands of dollars to buy church organs, and millions for libraries abroad as well as in America. He remembered his native town in Scotland with $3,500,000 as a trust fund for public uses.

To meet cheaper transportation needs, there was a shift in iron manufacturing from Pittsburgh to Cleveland, Buffalo, and Chicago. In these cities one less handling of iron ore is necessary than at an inland point like Pittsburgh or Youngstown, Ohio, and accordingly steel mills were established in them to make bridge material, nails, wire fencing, steel cars, and various kinds of iron work. The United States Steel Corporation built at Gary, Indiana, on the lake shore, one of the largest and most complete steel plants in the world. In twenty years Gary grew from a homeless prairie to a city of 100,000 people of forty nationalities.

The steel industry is a good illustration of the growth of "big business." The United States Steel Corporation was a united financial group, or a great combination of capital, to control iron and steel products. Old-time competition had given way. Waste was prevented, economies were effected, costs were lessened, wages were raised, profits were increased; the companies by uniting ceased a "cut-throat competition," greater efficiency was promoted, and the product of the mills was much improved.

Other corporations and combinations of "big business" were formed about the same time as the Standard Oil Company and the United States Steel Corporation. Prominent among such organizations were the American Sugar Refining Company, the Armours and the Swifts (meat packing), and the International Harvester Corporation. There was also a tobacco trust, a coal trust, and a copper trust.



A Blast Furnace in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania

Big banking combinations and big bankers used their credit and deposits to finance railroads, mines, and mills. The railroads, which combined and pooled their interests, were controlled largely by "Wall Street" financiers, men who had large steel interests, as well as oil, coal, and banking interests. The laborers who worked for all these interests, and the farmers who had to use the railroads to ship their produce to market, came to have a deep suspicion or hostility toward " Wall Street " and its " money barons."

While these powerful combinations of " big business " were being formed, what were the masses of laborers doing on the farm and in the shop, factory, and mine? Let us turn from the world of capital to see the struggle of the great masses of men who were toiling with their bodies to earn their living.

CLASS PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. What is " big business," as used in this chapter? Do you have any examples or evidences of " big business " in your community? If so, name instances. Have you any cases of " small business "? Explain.

2. How is it possible for the *number* of manufacturing plants to grow smaller and the *quantity* of goods manufactured to grow larger? Explain the meaning of large-scale production. Mention examples of large-scale production that you have seen. What are the principal advantages of large-scale production?

3. Why was large-scale production impossible before the coming of the railroad and the steamboat?

4. Tell how the Westinghouse air brake aided the railroads. Some pupil volunteer to find the story of the making of the invention and report to the class.

5. What abuses arose in connection with railroad service? How could a railroad " make or break " a town? Suggest reasons why a railroad might want to ruin a town. How have the conditions described in the chapter been changed at the present time?

6. How did the States attempt to stop the abuses of the railroads? What difficulty did they meet that they were unable to overcome? Why were they helpless in the matter?

7. Explain the chief provisions of the Interstate Commerce Act. Why was it passed? What good work did it accomplish?

8. Tell the story of the chief railroad builders. In your opinion which of the two men, Vanderbilt or Hill, made the greater contribution to the progress of the country? Give reasons.

9. Sketch the story of oil, including in your story the early attitude of people toward petroleum, the present uses of oil and oil products, and the activities of John D. Rockefeller, founder of the Standard Oil Company.

10. Point out ways in which your community depends on iron; on steel; on coal; on oil. Mention industries that make no use of any of these materials. Are you sure?

11. Tell the main steps in the development of the steel industry in the United States. How did Andrew Carnegie become the "Steel King"? What part did J. Pierpont Morgan play in bringing about the United States Steel Corporation? Why was Gary, Indiana, built? Give reasons for Gary's unusually rapid growth.

12. What is competition? What is monopoly? Compare the attitudes of Vanderbilt, Carnegie, Morgan, and Rockefeller on the two subjects. What do you think is the chief benefit of each? The chief evil?

13. For a volunteer: If your State has a public utility commission, report what it does.

14. Mention evils that have come to the public from "big business"; benefits that the public has received from "big business."

THINGS TO DO

1. Make a table of two columns, as shown below. In the first column list the advantages of " big business " and in the second column the disadvantages. Copy the form in your notebook and fill in the columns.

Big Business

Advantages	Disadvantages

2. Choose a committee to secure time tables of the railroads named in this chapter. Put the maps in the time tables on your bulletin board. Find out the mileage of the different systems and other items of interest about the lines that run through or near your community.

3. Make a scrapbook on the Railroads, the Steel Industry, or the Oil Business. Include in the book pictures and clippings relating to the industry you select. Prepare an attractive title page for your book. Arrange your material in an orderly manner, grouping appropriately the items that deal with the various aspects of the industry. Keep the books on your reading table for a week so that all the members of the class may have opportunity to see them.

4. Committees of the class volunteer to act out scenes in the lives of Cornelius Vanderbilt; Andrew Carnegie; J. Pierpont Morgan; John D. Rockefeller. Consult the biographies of the men named, in the library of the school or the community and in the references given below. Do not confuse J. Pierpont Morgan with his son of the same name. The latter succeeded his father as active head of J. P. Morgan and Company in 1913.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "John Wanamaker, Founder of the Department Store," *Heroes of Progress,* 122–131.

2. "James Jerome Hill, Builder of Railroads," *ibid.,* 168–178.

3. "Andrew Carnegie, the Man Who Would Not Die Rich," *ibid.,* 228–236.

4. "Our Social Organization," *Readings in Community Life,* 12–17.

5. "Quantity Automobiles," *In Our Times,* 165–170.

6. "The Scotch Boy Who Gave Away a Fortune," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia,* 2: 645–646.

7. "Rockefeller, the Croesus of the Modern World," *ibid.,* 7: 3034.

8. "Carnegie and the Steel Industry," *The World Book Encyclopedia,* 2: 1202–1203.

9. "Henry Ford," *ibid.,* 4: 2531.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE NEW WORLD OF LABOR

Changing Labor Conditions. A century and a half ago nearly everything was made by hand. Each workman had his own tools and many owned their own shops. In order to learn a trade, a boy would become an *apprentice* to a master workman. In a few years he became a skilled workman himself and plied his trade independently. Although he sometimes hired others to work for him and often trained apprentices, he worked also. All were of the same social class and lived under the same general conditions.

A marked change in the world of labor has come about in the last one hundred and fifty years. Inventions and labor-saving devices have been introduced. Water, steam, and electricity have been harnessed to powerful machines in great mills and factories. No longer does the independent workman remain at home or in his small shop, carrying on his own little industry. Now he works in a large factory where with the aid of machinery he is able to turn out a thousand times as much as he could before, thus increasing the amount produced and decreasing the cost.

Vast sums of money are invested in these factories and their equipment. The owners of the factories, the *capitalists*, purchase raw material and engage the labor of the workmen. In the mills and factories the raw material is turned into manufactured goods, and made ready for sale.

This great change in the methods of manufacturing goods is called the Industrial Revolution. It began in England with the invention of the steam engine and with the introduction of the spinning jenny and the power loom. Steam was used to drive machines for many purposes. These machines were installed in a central place near the source of power, and this place of centralization became a factory.

The machine age did not come about suddenly, but by gradual change and growth. In America there was but little change until after the Civil War. Then there began to develop a marked contrast between the individual labor of former days and the modern factory system.

Conflicts between Capital and Labor. A laborer operating a machine produced far more than the same man working at home or in a small shop with only hand tools. The workers began to feel that this increase in wealth benefited the factory owners and not themselves, since the workers received fixed wages and worked long hours. The laborers wished to receive what they considered their fair share of the profits, while the factory owners sought to secure labor as cheaply as possible. Thus began the long struggle between capital and labor.

The men who gained most of the wealth brought about by this improvement in production organized companies and combined their resources to establish still larger enterprises. They were eager to increase their profits and usually returned the money to industry by building more factories and thus increasing the number of jobs for the workers. Their problems were financial ones. Cheap labor was available and they took advantage of it, just as they tried to obtain raw material at the lowest prices. To obtain men willing to work many hours a day at low wages, they sometimes imported cheap labor from Europe and cheaper from Asia.

The influx of foreign workers at times "glutted" the labor market, and there were many more laborers than there were jobs for them. Under such circumstances work was hard to get and hard to keep. Each worker had to look out for himself since there were no labor organizations. Often the conditions under which the men worked were unhealthful; inadequate precautions existed against accidents, and no general provisions were made for the care of old or crippled workmen.

The Labor Movement. Confronted with these conditions, laborers everywhere came to the conclusion that they should unite their forces so as to formulate and secure their demands. They reasoned that if they would stand and act together, they could better protect their own interests, make better bargains with their employers, and have a voice in fixing their hours and working conditions, as well as their wages.

Efforts were made to organize trade unions as early as 1830. Shorter hours, better wages, and safer conditions of labor were desired, but laboring men were then struggling to secure other ends — the right to vote, to avoid imprisonment for debt, to obtain free public schools for their children, and a chance for free lands in the West.

During the Civil War many new labor unions were formed. A National Labor Union held annual congresses, or conventions, from 1865 to 1868, and set forth certain labor demands. These meetings may be looked upon as the beginning of effective labor organization in the United States.

In 1869 several tailors and garment workers of Philadelphia organized the "Knights of Labor." This was at first a secret society, with grips and passwords, signs and countersigns. In 1881 secrecy was abandoned and the purposes of the organization were made known. It aimed to promote the welfare of the laboring class as a whole and to enable them to act together. Its motto was: "An injury to one is the concern of all." By 1886 the "Knights" had over 700,000 members, men and women, and had become a power in industrial disputes. For many years Terence V. Powderly was the president of the order. During the later eighties the Knights of Labor declined in number and influence, and the organization was gradually displaced by the American Federation of Labor.

The American Federation of Labor. This great labor organization grew out of a convention of workingmen which met at Pittsburgh in 1881, its name being adopted five years later. The organization is a union of unions; that is, a federation or combination of labor unions of various kinds. As a rule each trade has its own *union*— plasterers, carpenters, bricklayers, steel workers, miners, printers, and tailors. In relating themselves to the Federation these workers do not abandon their own trade unions; each union is left to govern itself as before. The arrangement, however, enables the workers to link themselves together in a great organization that voices their views on public questions and looks out for their common interests. For over forty years Samuel Gompers served as the able president of the Federation.

Demands of Organized Labor. Organized labor has had many causes for which it battles, the most important of which are as follows:

(1) Better wages for the worker, more leisure for his recreation, wider opportunities for education.

(2) Safeguarding the health and safety of the working classes.

(3) Adequate pay for injuries due to lack of proper safeguards.

(4) State laws compelling the payment of weekly wages.

(5) The "closed shop"—that is, the shop that employs only union labor.

(6) Recognition of the unions and *collective bargaining*.

(7) Prohibition of child labor. Children from eight to fourteen years of age were worked at times eight hours a day, without opportunity to attend school.

(8) An eight-hour working day. In many industries from twelve to fifteen hours were required for a day's work, with no time off on holidays or Sundays the year round. Every two weeks it was the practice to change day workers to the night shift and at that time men worked twenty-four hours at a stretch.

(9) Abolition of the company store. The corporation hiring laborers had stores at which the workers were expected, or forced, to trade. The workman found that he might lose his job if he failed to buy his groceries and goods at the company store. Many of these stores were run for the profit of the employer and not for the benefit of the worker. In 1886 a committee of Congress found that company stores charged much higher prices than were charged at other stores.

Such were some of the aims of organized labor. Most of the demands now seem right and reasonable, but when first set forth they seemed rash and extreme, especially to employers of labor. The rights of the laboring people were then lightly regarded. Capitalists declared that the American workingman was the best paid, best fed, and the best clothed workingman in the world, which may have been true, but which was no argument against improvement, or in favor of the hard conditions that existed.

Labor and Immigration. Labor unrest was laid to the " foreigner " who was said to be unappreciative of the better treatment he received in America. The coming of foreign laborers into the United States tended to reduce wages, and organized labor, therefore, began to favor the restriction of immigration.

Labor and Politics. If laboring men combined and, regardless of party, voted for candidates who would help them, their votes would be effective. The American Federation of Labor did not pursue the policy of organizing a separate political party, but they voted for candidates in both parties, as their interests dictated. In voting they announced the principle, " reward your friends and punish your enemies."

The result was that political parties and candidates began to appeal to the labor vote, and both the National Congress and the State legislatures started to " do something for labor." In 1884 Congress established a Bureau of Labor which became a Department of Labor and Commerce in 1903. In 1913 a separate Department of Labor was established, with a representative in the President's Cabinet.

Trying to Settle the Class Struggle by Force. At first neither labor or capital was willing to submit their differences to arbitration. For a number of years there was a bitter struggle with violent and destructive strikes. A *strike* in any industry is a quitting of work by the whole body of men at once, with the aim of righting wrongs and of enforcing demands upon employers. The object of a strike is to " tie up " the industry and to cause such loss to the employer that he will yield to the demands of the strikers. Dues paid by members of a labor union go into a fund used to supply money to workers out on strike or in times of industrial depression or unemployment.

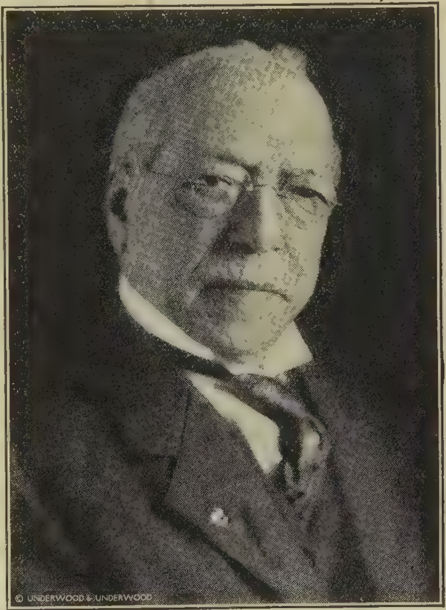
The Railroad Strike of 1877. The money panic of 1873 brought with it a depression which affected workers in all American industries. Unemployment was common and the jobless tended to gather in the cities; as a result there were rioting and disorder. In 1877 a great strike of railroad workers occurred with Pittsburgh as its center, in which many lives were lost and much property destroyed. The strikers failed to gain their demands, however, because their strike was without effect. The railroad companies could hire as many non-union men or "scabs" as they wished and could thus break the strike. Federal troops were called out to suppress both rioters and strikers.

The Haymarket Riot, 1886. Industrial unrest continued for several years. Strikes and strike-breaking were common throughout the country. In 1886 the workers in the McCormick Reaper Works in Chicago went out on strike. A meeting of the strikers offered resistance to police forces which ordered their meeting to disperse. The strikers were fired upon and four were killed and several wounded. At a subsequent meeting in Haymarket Square, Chicago, a bomb was thrown among the police and seven policemen were killed. Eight anarchists were tried for murder on the grounds that they had incited this act of violence; four were hanged, one committed suicide, and three were imprisoned. In 1893 Governor Altgeld pardoned these three prisoners.

These convictions helped break up the anarchist movement. It was known that neither the Knights of Labor nor the American Federation of Labor had had anything to do with these acts, since both were opposed to violence.

The Homestead Strike. In 1892 workers in the Carnegie Steel Company at Homestead, Pennsylvania, went out on strike because of a reduction in wages and a refusal of the company to recognize the union of iron and steel workers. Clashes occurred between the strikers and the men hired by the company to protect its property. Many men were killed and property was destroyed, and finally the State militia was called out to establish order.

The Railroad Strike of 1894. A sharp reduction of wages by the Pullman Car Company of Chicago caused another great strike in 1894. The American Railway Union, under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs, took up the cause of the strikers, while the General Managers Association, composed of the officials of twenty-four railroads running into Chicago, sided with the Pullman Car Company. Violence soon followed the beginning of the strike. Cars were overturned and burned, property was destroyed, and running trains were stopped. President Cleveland sent troops to Chicago to restore order, stating that interstate commerce and the carrying of the mails were being interfered with. A United States Court issued an injunction forbidding the strikers to interfere with the running of the trains. Strikers,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Samuel Gompers

Gompers was born in London, England, in 1850. At twenty-two years of age he became a citizen of the United States. In 1881 he helped to organize the American Federation of Labor. He favored law and order and never advocated violence or revolution as a means of helping the cause of labor. He died in 1924.

including Debs, disregarded this injunction and were sent to prison for contempt of court. The strike was broken and the strikers had again failed to secure what they had demanded.

Such was the situation on the eve of the famous election of 1896. The laborers, unemployed or forced to toil for low wages, were sullen and dissatisfied. Many of them were ready to join the dissatisfied farmers and go into politics with the purpose of wresting the Government from the control, as they thought, of capitalists who were using the Government for their own ends and against the workers.

CLASS PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. What is meant by the title of this chapter? Mention ways in which the "new" world of labor differs from the "old" world of labor.

2. What was the Industrial Revolution? In your judgment, why did it take place so much later in the United States than in Great Britain?

3. Research topic for a volunteer: Explain the connection between the Civil War and the Industrial Revolution in America.

4. How did the Industrial Revolution change the relation between workers and employers?

5. Explain the main reasons for conflicts between capital and labor. What do you understand by the term "capital"? by the term "labor"? In what ways do the interests of the two conflict? In what ways are the interests of the two the same?

6. Describe the beginnings of the union-labor movement. What were the chief demands of the early labor unions?

7. What were the chief differences between the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor? Why do you think the first declined in influence and numbers, and the latter grew in both respects? Be definite.

8. State and explain the main aims of the American Federation of Labor. Find out, so far as you can, which of the original aims have been largely realized.

9. Explain the following terms: trade union; wages; strike; closed shop; strike-breaker; lockout; collective bargaining; injunction; industrial depression; anarchy.

10. Tell the story of the following industrial controversies, giving in each instance the main causes, the character of the struggle, and the outcome: railway strike of 1877; Haymarket riot of 1886; the Homestead strike of 1892; and the Pullman controversy of 1894.

11. What part did each of the following men play in the labor movement: Terence V. Powderly, Samuel Gompers, Eugene V. Debs?

THINGS TO DO

1. Bring to class newspaper clippings or cartoons referring to labor conditions and to relations between employers and employees, or to other matters discussed in this chapter. Read aloud the clipping that illustrates most clearly some detail in the chapter, tell where you obtained the item, and point out the features that interested you most.

2. Choose a committee to paste the clippings mentioned above, properly arranged, in a booklet entitled, "The New World of Labor," for your reading table.

3. Two committees of volunteers dramatize a morning and an evening in the home of a typical workingman of 1770 and of 1930.

4. Two boys volunteer to present the main arguments of persons appealing to workers to support the Knights of Labor or the American Federation of Labor. One boy present the appeal for the former, and the other boy the appeal for the latter.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "Capital and Labor," *America the Great Adventure,* 322–338.
2. "Who Pays for Strikes?" *In Our Times,* 326–328.
3. "The School of Experience," by James J. Davis, *ibid.,* 478–481.
4. "Samuel Gompers," *The World Book Encyclopedia,* 5: 2868.
5. "Labor Organizations," *ibid.,* 6: 3825.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE NEW NATION AND POLITICS

The New Era. Following the hotly contested election of 1876, Rutherford B. Hayes became President, March 4, 1877. A new era had come. The Civil War was over, slavery was abolished, the Union was restored, and reconstruction was completed. For nearly half a century slavery and reconstruction had occupied the attention of the people. These were no longer living issues but matters of history. The "Southern question" as a topic of importance appeared for the last time in American politics in 1876. "Waving the bloody shirt," or appealing to the passions of the war, was not much longer to be indulged in. One of the first acts of President Hayes was to withdraw the Federal troops from the Southern States, leaving those States to govern themselves, like the other States.

As the South became peaceful, industrial life took a new start. Cotton-raising went on even more extensively than before the war. People found out that cotton could be grown more profitably with free labor than with slaves. Besides, new industries soon took root in the South. The region was a land of great natural resources, and within a few years coal and iron especially were produced in great quantities. Better transportation facilities were provided and as a result cotton factories arose in the Carolinas, and the steel industry in Georgia and Alabama. Cities of the South such as Richmond, Norfolk, Atlanta, Columbia, Mobile, Memphis, Houston, and New Orleans experienced a growth and prosperity that they had never known before.

The " Old South " was almost exclusively agricultural; the " New South " is dotted with furnaces and factories. The " one-crop system " on the old plantation has given way to the production of many crops. River trade on the Mississippi has increased greatly as compared with the traffic in the old days. James B. Eads, an American engineer, built the Mississippi jetties, or dikes, to deepen the channel and hold back the overflow, but the problem of flood control has not yet been solved.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

Hayes was born in Ohio in 1822. He was graduated from Kenyon College, practiced law, and later entered the Union Army. He was elected Governor of Ohio in 1867 and was twice re-elected. He died in 1893.

Hayes and Republican Factions. Hayes, the new President, gave the country a clean and upright administration. He was friendly towards the South. He believed that there would be no further violence and that future disputes could be settled by peaceable means and without resort to force. In addition to recalling the troops from the South he appointed to a place in his Cabinet a Southern Democrat and an ex-Confederate soldier (David M. Key of Tennessee).

Many Republican leaders, like Senator Conkling of New York, did not like the President's Southern policy. They thought the Southern Republicans (the Negroes and their leaders) were being abandoned and betrayed.

They called Hayes and his supporters "Half-breeds." Conkling's faction of the party were called "Stalwarts." Hayes supported the cause of civil service reform, which Conkling and other leaders of the party opposed, sneering at it as "snivel" service reform. Hayes announced a good slogan in politics, "He serves his party best who serves his country best."

Election of 1880. Hayes served his country so well that even though his party did not renominate him it was able to carry the country in 1880 and elect his successor. The Republicans nominated General James A. Garfield, of Ohio, who had been a volunteer officer in the Union army and a member of the House of Representatives since the Civil War. The Democrats nominated General Winfield Scott Hancock, a graduate of West Point and a gallant soldier of the Civil War. There was no particular issue between the parties, except the tariff, and both parties were somewhat divided on that. Hancock called the tariff "a local issue," meaning that each State or locality generally favored a protective tariff on its own products, which was true.

Garfield became President on March 4, 1881. He made James G. Blaine, of Maine, a political enemy of Senator Conkling, his Secretary of State. Blaine had been the leading candidate before the convention that nominated Garfield, and only after it had proved impossible to nominate Blaine had Garfield been chosen as a "dark horse." Under Blaine's influence Garfield made an appointment to the Collectorship of the Port in New York which gave deadly offense to Conkling. Conkling, who had expected to have one of his followers named for the place, immediately resigned from the Senate, followed by his fellow New York Senator, "Me Too" Platt. The incident caused controversy within the party and widened the breach between "Stalwarts" and "Half-breeds."

Garfield had been in office only four months when he was shot (July 2, 1881) in a railway station at Washington, D. C., by a disappointed and half-crazy office-seeker. After weeks of suffering, Garfield died on the 19th of the following September, deeply mourned by his countrymen. Chester A. Arthur, of New York, the Vice President, then became President. He had been nominated with Garfield to please Conkling, as Arthur was a friend and supporter of Conkling.

Reform of the Civil Service. The assassination of President Garfield called attention very forcibly to the dangers and evils of the spoils system. Under the spoils system, at the beginning of every presidential administration, a horde of hungry office-seekers gathered at Washington, annoyed the new President, and took up his time. For months the Chief Executive could pay attention to little else than the business of distributing offices and rewarding party workers. In 1841 the life of President Harrison had been cut short by the strain of caring for office-seekers, and now forty years later the life of another President was forfeited to the system. All the Presidents had been worried by it. On one occasion during the Civil War, when President Lincoln seemed especially depressed, a friend remarked upon the dreadful burden of the war which the President had to carry. "Oh," said Lincoln, "it isn't the burden of the war that is worrying me; it is that confounded Pepperton post-office in Illinois."

Political scandals and annoyances had always been connected with the spoils system. Under the plan the country was almost certain to have second-rate men, or worse, in office, men who were more concerned in serving the party and the party candidates than in fulfilling their duties. The time had come for reform, and after a struggle, the *Pendleton Act* for the reform of the civil service was passed by Congress in 1883 by the united efforts of Democrats and Republicans.

The Pendleton Act provided that appointments to certain offices in the National Government should be made only upon competitive examination; that officers appointed should not be removed from office for political reasons; and that assessments should not be levied upon office-holders to pay campaign expenses. The act also created a Civil Service Commission to direct its operation.

The merit system, as the new plan is called, did not go into operation all at once. The first law applied only to a few classes of officers. The National Civil Service Reform League, led by men like George William Curtis, Carl Schurz, Theodore Roosevelt, and William D. Foulke, had to keep on " fighting the spoilsmen " for a generation longer. Every subsequent President helped the merit system along and together they greatly extended appointments by merit. President Cleveland made additions to the classified lists; President Roosevelt extended the merit system to collectors of internal revenue, fourth-class postmasters, and carriers; President Taft added 36,000 fourth-class postmasters; and on March 31, 1917, President Wilson announced that all nominees for postmasters of the first three classes would be chosen as the result of civil-service examinations.

The new system has been extended to States and cities. At the present time a vast majority of our public officials hold their positions because of merit and not because of political " pull " and influence. No political party today would dare to come out in favor of the spoils system.

Election of 1884. Arthur's administration was uneventful and at its close his party refused to nominate him for re-election. Instead, the Republicans chose James G. Blaine, of Maine, a brilliant orator and a man of rare personal charm. However, there was discord among them over his political record, and a group of independent Republicans, called "Mugwumps" (Indian for "Big Chief"), refused to support Blaine. The Democrats nominated Governor Grover Cleveland of New York, a self-made man of outstanding integrity, courage, and common sense. The tariff was the principal issue of the campaign, which resulted in the election of Cleveland, the first Democratic presidential victory since the success of Buchanan in 1856.

Among the important acts passed during Cleveland's administration was that establishing the Interstate Commerce Commission (1887). Complaints against the railroads were made by shippers because freight rates were not the same for all who sent goods by rail. It became the duty of the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate freight and passenger rates within and between the various sections of the nation. Because of the alarming increase in the yearly number of strikes, Cleveland urged the formation of a Federal commission to arbitrate labor disputes. Reform was demanded of the Civil War pension lists, concerning which there was much fraud.

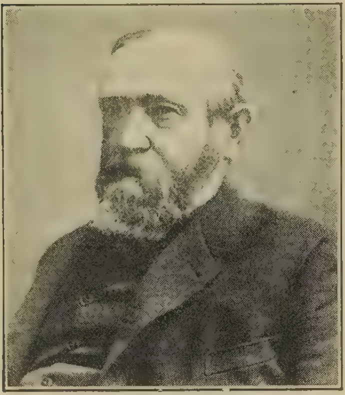
The Presidential Succession. Revision of the tariff and other much needed reforms were urged upon Congress, but failed to pass the Senate which was Republican. The Presidential Succession Act was an outstanding measure and won the support of both houses in Congress. Up to this time the law provided that the Vice President, the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives should succeed to the presidency in the order named, in case the President should die or should not be able to perform the duties of his office. This was not a good plan. Mr. Hendricks, of Indiana, who had been elected Vice President with Cleveland, died in 1885. In case of the death of President Cleveland, therefore, the presidency would have gone to Senator John J. Ingalls, of Kansas, the President *pro tem* of the Senate. But Mr. Ingalls was a Republican, and it was not thought right that the presidential office should go to the Republicans when the people had voted to give it to the Democrats for four years; rather it seemed proper that the President and the person succeeding him in case of his death should be of the same party.

Accordingly a law was passed (1886) which provides that upon a vacancy in both the presidency and vice presidency the members of the Cabinet shall succeed to the office of President in the following order: Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of War, Attorney-General, Postmaster-General, Secretary of the Navy, and Secretary of the Interior. The departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor were not then in existence.

Grover Cleveland

Cleveland was born in New Jersey in 1837. He was a teacher for a time, then studied law, and later entered public life. After retiring from the presidency he lived in Princeton, N. J., and continued to write and speak on public questions. He died at Princeton in 1908.

Election of 1888. In the election of 1888 the Democrats renominated Cleveland. The Republicans had as their candidate Benjamin Harrison of Indiana. By devoting his entire message to Congress in December, 1887, to the reform of the tariff, President Cleveland made the tariff the chief issue between the parties in 1888. Harrison championed the protective tariff and was elected. Many of the independents, or "Mugwumps," supported Harrison because they thought Cleveland had not been faithful to the cause of civil service reform. The President had been influenced in one way by the party workers and in another way by the reformers.



Benjamin Harrison

Harrison was born in Ohio in 1833. He was a soldier in the Civil War, a distinguished constitutional lawyer, an able orator, United States Senator and President. His published essays and addresses are well worth reading. He died in 1901.

The McKinley Act, 1890. After Harrison's election the Republicans in the House of Representatives, under the leadership of William McKinley of Ohio, passed a high protective tariff measure known as the McKinley Bill. By this act the duties on imported goods were made much higher than they had been, the average duty on imports being as high as 49 per cent. This means that an importer had to pay an average tax of 49 cents to bring a dollar's worth of dutiable goods into the United States.

Elections of 1892 and 1896. Dissatisfaction among Western farmers, party divisions, labor troubles, and the Homestead strike made the Republicans unpopular, so that the voters elected a Democratic Congress in 1890 and a Democratic President (Cleveland again) in 1892. These elections were so decisive that they were called "landslides," or overwhelming victories; in 1892 the Democrats carried old-time Republican States like Illinois and Wisconsin and almost won Ohio.

In his second term (1893–1897) Cleveland could neither lead his party nor keep it united. The party was sharply divided on all the questions of the day — on the tariff, civil service reform, the labor question, and especially on the money question, that is, what kind of money the country should have and how much of it.

Cleveland's financial policy greatly displeased the Democrats of the South and the West, and they threatened to leave the party and join the Populists. The panic of 1893 caused great business losses and hard times, with the result that in the Congressional elections of 1894 the Democrats suffered one of the most sweeping defeats in the history of any party. In 1896 the Democrats chose a new leader, William Jennings Bryan, but their divisions continued and they were again defeated by the Republicans, who nominated and elected William McKinley.

Thus we see that this period in politics, from 1876 to 1896, was one of "seesaw," of ups and downs — first one party was up and then the other. The Republicans won in 1880, the Democrats in 1884, the Republicans in 1888, the Democrats in 1892, the Republicans again in 1896. The truth is that, although each party was sharply divided within itself, the parties were not separated from each other by clear-cut issues. They "went on existing because they had existed," and most young voters were Democrats or Republicans because their fathers were.

The year 1896 is a landmark in party history. It marked a break-up in old party ties. The Democratic convention that nominated William J. Bryan for President refused to endorse the administration of President Cleveland; that is, the party disapproved an administration of its own choosing — so sharp was the division in the Democratic ranks. The "Cleveland Democrats" tried to control the convention, but they were decisively defeated. The "Bryan Democrats" obtained control. A new sectional dispute had grown up in the country, this time between the East and the West.

To see how this came about and to understand the party issues and divisions of 1896, we must now turn from the major political parties and to see what the minor political parties had been doing. We must review the long struggle over monopoly, transportation, and money.

CLASS PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. Mention four ways in which the nation of 1880 differed from the nation of 1860.

2. How did Hayes promote the peace and welfare of the country?

3. What was the spoils system? How did it originate (see page 338)? Tell about the evils it caused. How did Garfield's death help to bring about civil service reform? State the main features of the Pendleton Act.

4. Explain the chief reasons for Blaine's defeat in the election of 1884.

5. Give the meanings of the following political slogans or campaign terms and tell how they were used in the days following reconstruction: "waving the bloody shirt"; "snivel service"; "Half-breeds"; "Stalwarts"; "Mugwumps"; "dark horse."

6. Why did Congress pass the Presidential Succession Act? If the office of President were to become vacant now owing to the death, resignation, or disability of both the President and the Vice President, who would become President?

7. What kind of tariff duties were established by the McKinley Act? Mention groups of Americans who would be likely to approve the measure; groups who would probably oppose it. Give reasons for the attitude of each group.

8. Explain this quotation from the latter part of the chapter: "The parties were not separated from each other by clear-cut issues." Mention facts that tend to prove that the statement is true.

THINGS TO DO

1. Make a list of the main political questions before the country during the twenty years following the election of Hayes. So far as you can, state the position taken upon each issue by the two great political parties. Arrange the results of your study in the following form:

Issues	Attitude of Republican Party	Attitude of Democratic Party

2. Four pupils volunteer to debate this question: Resolved, that the merit system should be applied to all positions in the National Government below the rank of member of the Cabinet.

3. Choose a member of the class to write to the Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C., to secure sample questions used in civil-service examinations and to obtain information about the number of positions now on the merit basis.

4. Ask older people whom you know to tell you their recollections of any of the elections described in this chapter and report what you learn to the class.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "Prosperous Years," *The Book of the United States*, 263–269.
2. "Grant in the White House," *Our Presidents*, 178–185.
3. "Rutherford Birchard Hayes," *ibid.*, 186–196.

4. "The Last of the Log Cabin Presidents," *ibid.*, 197–207.

5. "The Man Who Found Himself," *ibid.*, 208–214.

6. "Grover Cleveland," *ibid.*, 215–226, 231–235.

7. "The Second Harrison," *ibid.*, 227–230.

8. "Workings of Civil Service Reform," by George William Curtis, in *Source Book of American History*, 363–365.

9. "Politics and the Nation," *This Country of Ours*, 579–587.

10. "Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Cleveland, and Harrison," *The Book of Knowledge*, 11: 3943–3948; 19: 7193–7196.

11. "The Story of Cleveland's Two Administrations," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia*, 2: 789–792.

12. "America's Second Martyred President," *ibid.*, 4: 1398–1399.

13. "President and Grandson of a President," *ibid.*, 4: 1591–1593.

14. "President Hayes, Valiant Fighter in War and Peace," *ibid.*, 1610–1611.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE STRUGGLE OVER MONEY AND TRANSPORTATION

Minor Parties: Political Pioneers. The long struggle over money, transportation, and industry naturally led to wide differences of opinion concerning the way such problems should be solved. As we have seen in the preceding chapter, the older political parties refused to take a definite stand upon these questions. That was left for the minor political parties, whose leaders and members may be regarded as political pioneers.

The members of minor political parties, like the men who conquered the forests, are usually ahead of their time, clearing the way for others to follow. The principles and policies they advocate are often adopted later by the old parties and become a part of the public policy of the country. "Third-party" pioneers are not "hide-bound partisans," and when they leave the beaten paths to urge the reform of abuses their influence on the course of events is often greater than that of the old parties.

The Greenbackers. Following the Civil War the first "third party" to be noticed in the struggle over money was the National, or Greenback, Party. This party took its name from the *Greenbacks,* or *Treasury* notes, that were issued as money during the Civil War. These notes were authorized by the Legal Tender Act of 1862, which provided that the greenbacks (the back of the bills was green) should be "legal tender"; that is, that the bills must be taken in payment of all debts, except tariff duties and interest on the public debt. By the act a debtor could legally offer, or tender, the greenbacks for payment. That satisfied the debt.

The Government issued the greenbacks because it needed money to carry on the war. Specie payments had been suspended in 1861; that is, gold and silver money had gone out of circulation. None could be had at the banks, and the Government could not obtain enough coin either by taxing or borrowing to settle all the claims against it. War expenses were mounting higher and higher as the days passed. To meet its financial needs, therefore, the Government issued greenbacks to circulate as money. The people could pay their debts and taxes with them, and the Government could pay the soldiers and meet its other obligations.

During the war the Government issued $450,000,000 in greenbacks. This greatly increased, or *inflated,* the currency. Since money was more plentiful, prices became higher. Thus prosperity came to the farmer who could get more for his products. He could get high prices for his corn and wheat, his cattle and hogs, and could pay off his debts, or buy more land.

Retiring the Greenbacks. After the war the Government began to take the greenbacks out of circulation. As they came into the Treasury they were burned or otherwise destroyed at the rate of $4,000,000 a month. In this way about $44,000,000 was taken out of circulation by 1868. This action decreased, or *contracted,* the currency and prices fell. The lowering of prices brought distress to the farmer, especially to the debtor farmer. Wheat had been selling at $3.00 a bushel; it soon fell to $1.00, and the prices of other farm products decreased at about the same rate.

Imagine a man buying a farm in 1865 or 1866, as did many an old soldier when he returned from the war. The price of the farm was $5000. He paid $2000 in cash and gave a mortgage for the balance. With prices as they then were, he estimated that he could pay off the mortgage within a few years. In 1866, with wheat at $3.00 a bushel, he could have paid off his mortgage with 1000 bushels of wheat, but with wheat selling at $1.00 a bushel, as it did a few years later, he would require 3000 bushels to pay the mortgage. Since the prices of all farm products had fallen in the same way, the farmer would need three times as long and would have to give up three times as much of his produce to cancel the debt. But with lower prices for his crops, he would probably be unable to meet the debt, the mortgage would be foreclosed, and since the land had also fallen in price, he would have to give up all his farm to satisfy the mortgage. He would then have lost the $2000 which he had paid at first, the later payments he had made, and the land as well. Such was the experience of many farmers. In some way or other it seemed that a plain injustice had been done to debtor farmers and producers.

Opposing Contraction: Greenbacks as Lawful Money. Many farmers, known as "Greenbackers," thought that their sufferings were caused by the policy of contraction. In 1868 they induced Congress to stop taking the greenbacks out of circulation. At that time the amount in circulation was $356,000,000; in 1878 it was reduced to $346,681,016, and this amount still holds. The Greenbackers wanted the greenbacks retained and the number in circulation increased. They urged that greenbacks be made a legal tender for *all* debts, including the interest due to Government bond-holders. They believed that the Government, not the banks, ought to issue paper money and control its quantity.

The Greenbackers also demanded that Government bonds be paid in greenbacks, in all instances in which the contract did not specify coin. In support of their argument, they said that the bond-holders had bought the bonds with greenbacks; that in 1864 a person with $100 in gold could buy $250 in greenbacks; and that with the greenbacks he could buy $250 in bonds. Now, they declared, the bond-holders demanded that their bonds, and the interest on them, should be paid in gold. The Greenbackers pointed out that most of the bonds were payable in "lawful money," and that the Supreme Court had decided in several cases that the greenbacks were "lawful money." The soldiers had been paid in greenbacks; the laborer had to take them in return for his toil; and the farmer had to accept them for his product. "Money good enough for the plow-holder is good enough for the bond-holder," was the Greenback slogan.

When the Government finally provided that Government bonds should be paid in coin and continued to allow the banks to issue notes to be used as money, the Greenbackers denounced such measures as directly in the interest of bond-holders and capitalists and at the expense of the laborers and producers of the country.

Panic of 1873. When the panic of 1873 occurred, the Greenbackers declared that it was the direct result of the mistaken money policy of the Government. But there were other causes as well. Railroads had been built more rapidly than they could be paid for. Unhealthy speculation had taken place in many business enterprises. Jay Cooke and Company, big bankers of Philadelphia, who had been financing Western railroad building, failed. Their failure led to other bank failures and prices came down with a crash.

Money now became "tight"—that is, hard to borrow. People lost confidence in banks and rushed to draw out their money. In many cases they could not get it. Many were unable to sell their property for enough to pay their debts. Mortgages were foreclosed, and thousands of men were thrown out of employment. Hard times resulted and many men became tramps and roamed through the country.

The Grangers. Many farmers in the West were organized into what was known as *Grangers,* or *Patrons of Husbandry.* This organization was started in 1867 by O. H. Kelly, who was employed in one of the Government offices in Washington. Kelly urged farmers everywhere to organize in neighborhood societies, where they could meet together for picnics and entertainments, and where they could discuss their common interests and agree upon the laws necessary to promote their welfare.

The *Grange* became the farmers' *lodge,* or fraternity, with a formal initiation and with enough secret ceremony to make the brotherhood attractive. The Grange had its organizers and lecturers, its weekly journals, its song books, and its declamations. Within a few years the Grangers numbered hundreds of thousands of members, including women. In their meetings they discussed questions of politics and government. They were especially interested in the farmers' struggle with the railroads to get cheaper freight rates on the grain, cattle, and hogs which they shipped to the city markets, and more reasonable charges for storing wheat in the railway elevators while waiting shipment. (For railroad abuses see page 530.)

The Grangers went into politics in 1874 as members of both parties. They obtained control of a number of legislatures in the Middle West (Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin) and several "granger laws" were passed regulating railway and elevator rates. The Grange did much for the education of the farmer. It led him to read and think for himself and to be more independent in political action. In their meetings the Grangers heard the money question discussed and many of them became Greenbackers.

Further Inflation Attempted. The terrible panic of 1873 and the hard times that followed led to a demand for more paper money, but the Inflation Bill of 1874, providing for an increase, was vetoed by President Grant. This veto aroused great opposition in Western communities. The *Specie Resumption Act* of 1875 was even more objectionable. This law provided for the return of specie payments by 1879; that is, greenbacks and all Government obligations were to be redeemable in coin. Under this act the greenback circulation was to be gradually reduced, and a further fall of prices occurred.

The Greenback Party. These measures led the more radical advocates of paper money to form the *Greenback Party.* Many who agreed with their financial ideas remained in the old parties. The third-party men, however, did not believe that either of the old parties could be relied upon to carry out the greenback policy.

The third-party Greenbackers met in a national convention in Indianapolis in May, 1876, and nominated Peter Cooper, the great philanthropist, for President. They demanded the immediate repeal of the Specie Resumption Act of 1875. They favored Government paper money, limited in supply, full legal tender, exchangeable for a Government bond, the bond again to be exchangeable for money when the holder of the bond wanted the money. This the Greenbackers maintained would be " the best circulating medium ever devised." Their opponents ridiculed the Greenbackers as " hayseeds " and called their paper money " rag-money " or the " rag-baby." The Greenbackers cast 81,000 votes for Cooper in 1876.

Two years later they cast over a million votes for Congressmen and elected fourteen members of the national legislature. In 1880 they nominated General James B. Weaver of Iowa for President, and cast 308,000 votes for their candidate, declaring themselves in favor of an eight-hour law, Government inspection of factories and workshops, a graduated income tax, and the regulation of railroads and interstate commerce. They stated that they were against the importation of cheap contract labor, gigantic land grants to railroads and corporations, and all influences tending to deprive the people of direct power over their Government. Theirs was a forward look. They advocated reforms which thirty years later were to occupy the center of the stage, when many of them were adopted.

In 1884 the Greenbackers united with the Democrats in a number of the Western States, and in 1888 they merged with the *Union Labor Party* and disappeared from the scene. The organization had been distinctly a farmers' party, whereas the *Union Labor Party* of 1888 was led chiefly by organized labor men in the cities. The latter party voiced the same complaints as the Greenbackers — that an increasing number of farmers were obliged to mortgage their farms; that low prices were forcing small business men into bankruptcy; that laborers were sinking into dependency; and that railroads were obtaining profits through unjust charges. The Union Labor Party increased the protest vote in several of the agricultural States of the West. Western farmers were getting ready for the *Populists.*

The Populists. *The People's Party,* or the *Populists,* first appeared in American politics in 1890. This organization came to be the strongest "third party" in American history (if we consider the Roosevelt Progressives of 1912 a division of the Republican Party). The party grew out of the *Farmers' Alliance,* an organization of farmers, North and South, that had taken the place of the Grange. Certain labor organizations in the cities joined with the farmers in an attempt to unite rural and city labor for the purpose of controlling legislation in the interest of the common people. The new party was a protest against great combinations of wealth, and against the control of the country by "big business." Hard times and the feeling that the wealth of the West was being drained into the banks of the East caused the party to grow rapidly in influence and numbers.

Complaints and Policies of the Populists. The Populists presented three main grievances. These related to (1) transportation, (2) land, (3) money.

On *transportation* their quarrel was with the railroads. The roads, they declared, were active in politics and usually controlled legislation no matter which of the great parties was in power, giving "rebates," "drawbacks," and special favors, and overcharging whenever they could. (See page 531.) Although Congress had passed the Interstate Commerce Act, the railroads were doing all they could to violate the law and break it down. They still charged high freight rates, and the farmers felt that the profits on their products were eaten up by the cost of transportation. If they were to combat the power of the railroads, the farmers felt that they must go into politics and bring the railroads under public control.

On the *land* question, the Populists saw that Western lands were being bought by speculators who made no improvements, but merely waited for the land to go up in price through the sacrifice and toil of actual settlers. Large areas, some of them owned by foreigners, were kept from home-hunters for a rise in price. In many cases these lands had been presented as a free gift to the railroads to induce capitalists to build the roads. The Populists wished these policies reversed and all public lands to be held by the Government for actual settlers.

On *money*, the Farmers' Alliance and the Populists believed that an increase in circulation would raise prices, and that a decrease would lower prices. They thought that money was too scarce at that time. There was only about $14 for each person in the country; they wanted this amount increased to $50 a person. They felt that low prices caused their troubles, and that scarcity of money and low prices went together.

The Populists accepted the Greenback idea of money, and they wanted the Government to issue more legal-tender paper bills. They also favored the free coinage of silver, since that would increase the money supply. Their preference, however, was for paper money, and they wanted plenty of it.

On the foregoing grievances and policies thousands of farmers and Union Labor men were ready to support the new party. In the West the Congressional campaign of 1890 was remarkable. Farmers packed their schoolhouses with political gatherings, singing, "Goodbye, old party, goodbye." Disgusted with the old parties, they proposed to form a new one. Their new party, known as the Populists, held its first national convention in Omaha in the summer of 1892. The platform adopted by the convention made this assertion: "Corruption controls the ballot box, business is prostrated, our homes are covered with mortgages, labor is reduced to poverty, and the land is concentrating in the hands of capitalists. The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up immense fortunes for the few as never before known in the history of mankind; governmental injustice is breeding the two great classes of tramps and millionaires." In their platform they came out for the following policies:

(1) Free coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of 16 to 1.

(2) Government paper money to take the place of bank notes and an increase in the amount of money in circulation to $50 a person.

(3) No more Government bonds to be issued.

(4) Postal savings banks, as a safe place for the savings of the people.

(5) A graduated income tax, to force the holders of great wealth to pay their fair share toward the support of the Government.

(6) Government ownership and operation of the railroads, the telegraph, and the telephone, in the interest of the people.

(7) All lands held by aliens or by railroads or other corporations in excess of actual needs to be reclaimed by the Government and held open for settlement.

They also declared for the initiative, the referendum, and other measures designed to give the people more direct control over the government.

The party nominated James B. Weaver, of Iowa, for President, and polled over a million votes (1892).

Panic of 1893. This was like the panic of 1873, but it was worse. (See page 505.) It increased the dissatisfaction among the voters, and as a result the Populists cast two million votes in the congressional elections of 1894, electing several United States Senators and a number of Congressmen in the Western States. The Populists had absorbed the Democratic Party in some of these States. Indeed, William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska voted for the Populist presidential electors in 1892. The Democrats in that State endorsed the

Populist ticket for President to keep the State from going Republican. The Populists looked forward to the presidential election of 1896 with the hope of becoming one of the two leading parties in that contest.

The Silver Party. Another factor in the money struggle that so divided parties in 1896 was the "Silver Party." This group was not a real political party; it never nominated candidates for President and Vice President, but merely endorsed the candidates of some other party. It was, in fact, only a body of men from all parties who wished to make the "silver question" a political issue and to bring about the restoration of silver to the coinage at the historic ratio of 16 to 1.

Free Silver Coinage at 16 to 1. "Free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one" meant that silver dollars weighing sixteen times as much as gold dollars should be as freely coined for those who had silver bullion as gold dollars were coined for those who had gold bullion. Before 1873 this had been the practice of the Government, but in that year an act was passed "demonetizing" silver; that is, the mints were closed to silver coinage and silver was abandoned as money, except for small change. The silver men charged that there had been no public demand for such an act, and that it had been pushed through Congress corruptly and secretly by the creditor classes. It had passed through Congress, said one Senator, "like the silent tread of a cat." The silver men called this act "the crime of '73," and declared that it had caused lower prices and had helped to bring on the panic of that year.

The silver men demanded that the act demonetizing silver should be repealed and that the mints should be reopened to silver on the old terms. Those who made this demand included Greenbackers, Populists, labor men, and many Republicans and Democrats. They wanted silver coinage because that would increase the money supply, would raise prices, and would bring relief to farmers and producers.

Some Silver Men Had Silver Mines. The free-silver men had in their ranks the owners of silver mines in the States of Colorado and Nevada. These men wanted silver coinage because that would raise the price of silver bullion, and would thus increase the profits of their mines. After the act of 1873 silver began to fall in price. Of course, so long as a person who had 371 grains of silver could have the metal coined into a dollar, he would not take any less for it; the coinage law fixed the price, just as it does now with gold. But when the coinage privilege was withdrawn silver sold merely as a commodity and its price began to fall. By 1878 the commodity price of the silver in a silver dollar was only 92 cents and by 1896 it had fallen to 58 cents. The charge was brought against the silver men that they proposed to coin a "fifty-cent dollar," or to make fifty-eight cents into a dollar. What the silver men really wanted, except the owners of silver mines who wanted a higher price for their product, was to increase the money supply of the country. They believed that if the mints were opened to silver coinage the amount of silver in a dollar would not sell anywhere for less than a dollar.

Fifteen or twenty years later the silver men and the Populists got what they were contending for, but not in the way they were advocating in 1896. The unexpected discovery of gold in the Klondike (in Alaska) and in South Africa brought about an enormous increase in the gold supply which resulted in a like increase in the money supply. Within a few years these discoveries brought $1,000,000,000 more money into circulation. This increase caused high prices and brought hardship on people living on fixed incomes — interest, rents, salaries — for the dollar of 1914 could buy only what fifty cents could buy in 1894. Thus we had a "fifty-cent dollar" even under the gold standard.

The Bland-Allison Act. For twenty years before 1896 the struggle over free silver had gone on. People who wanted more money in circulation succeeded in getting a free-silver bill through Congress in November, 1877, but the measure was vetoed by President Hayes. Then a compromise, known as the Bland-Allison Act, was arranged (February, 1878), providing that the Government should purchase every month from $2,000,000 to $4,000,000 of silver for coinage into dollars. Under this act, which operated from 1878 to 1890, the Government coined $2,000,000 in silver each month, the lowest amount the law allowed, not the highest.

The Sherman Silver Purchase Act, 1890. This was only a partial coinage of silver, not "free and unlimited," and the measure was not satisfactory to the silver men. In 1890, therefore, they secured the passage in the Senate of another free-silver coinage act, but those who opposed free coinage of silver forced another compromise known as the Sherman Silver Purchase Act. This law stopped the coinage of silver dollars as required in the Bland-Allison Act and provided instead for the purchase of silver bullion to the amount of 4,500,000 ounces each month. For this silver bullion Treasury notes were to be issued, to be "full legal tender for all debts," and "redeemable in gold or silver coin at the option of the Secretary of the Treasury." The Secretary always paid out gold when it was called for, and this displeased the silver men. The Sherman Act declared that it should be the "established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity — on equal basis with each other," and the Secretary of the

Treasury held that gold should be paid when it was asked for, or parity could not be maintained.

Silver Question Undecided: Both Parties Divided. For thirty years neither party to the financial controversy had been able to have its way. The Bland-Allison Act and the Sherman Silver Purchase Act had forced $450,000,000 of silver into circulation, but that amount did not satisfy the silver men. The gold-standard men in both parties felt that the country was drifting to a silver standard, and they believed that such a result would be disastrous. The gold men spoke for "sound money," urging that all money should be "as good as gold"; they were not concerned with having more money. Indeed, it was to their interest to have less money, since they belonged generally to the creditor class and were interested in having money buy more, not less.

Both parties were divided on the subject and in 1892 both of them evaded the issue, adopting "straddling" platforms that "looked both ways." But in 1896 they could avoid the issue no longer. The growth of labor organizations and of the Populist party, the growth of Socialism, the policies of wealthy corporations, the railroad strike of 1894, the employment of soldiers by President Cleveland to suppress the strikers, the hard times and the calamities resulting from the panic of 1893, the overthrow of the income tax law by the Supreme Court — all these events tended to bring about discontent and revolt and to force a decision on the money question.

The Conventions of 1896. The old parties had to face the issue. After some hesitation the Republicans declared for the gold standard. McKinley and the Republicans had expected to make the tariff the issue, but they had to abandon their plan and take up the money question. In Congress McKinley had voted for the free coinage of silver, and the gold standard men felt that he was uncertain and "wobbly" on the subject, but after his party took a decided stand McKinley concurred.

The Democrats came out boldly for the "free and unlimited coinage of silver at sixteen to one"; they declared that all paper money should be issued by the Government; they denounced the decision of the Supreme Court on the income tax and looked forward to its reversal; they denounced "arbitrary interference by Federal authorities in local affairs," referring to Cleveland's action in the Chicago railway strike; and they condemned "government by injunction," which had led to the imprisonment of Debs. They also refused to endorse the administration of Cleveland, and then nominated for President, William J. Bryan, a young orator from Nebraska, who had served two terms in Congress but was almost unknown to the country.

The Bryan Democracy. Bryan had captivated the convention by one of the most eloquent speeches in American history. He spoke with honesty and deep conviction. He felt that his cause was that of the common people, of the suffering masses, oppressed by the corruption and power of great wealth. He aroused the delegates and the vast audience in the Coliseum in Chicago to a frenzy of applause.

> "The contest," he said, "is between the idle holders of capital and the toiling millions. . We are fighting in defense of our homes, our families, our posterity. We have petitioned, entreated, begged; and they have mocked when our calamity came. We beg no longer; we entreat no more; we petition no more. We defy them. . . We shall answer their demands for a gold standard by saying to them, 'You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns! You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold!'"

To the conservative of the East this bold defiance came as a thunderbolt. Here was a new sectionalism; class was being arrayed against class, the poor against the rich. Conservative eastern Democrats denounced the Democratic platform as "revolutionary," tending to bring about revolts and riots. The men of big property and big incomes, well fixed and well satisfied, denounced the income tax as communistic, socialistic, populistic; it was but a stepping-stone to other far-reaching confiscations of property. They condemned free silver as a refusal to pay debts and as no better than robbery, an effort of debtors to pay their debts with money worth only 50 cents on the dollar. They declared that the forces of disorder were let loose, and that, if they won, the ship of state would be run upon the rocks and disaster would come to the country.

The Populists in a national convention endorsed Bryan's nomination and made him the candidate of their party. The silver wing of the Republicans left the party and joined with the Populists in support of Bryan.

Thus the Democratic Party lost the support of its millionaires and men of wealth. With few exceptions the big railroads, the big banks, the big insurance companies, and the big industries supported the Republican candidate. The Bryan Democrats and the Populists felt that their opponents were standing for the wealthy, the aristocratic, and the privileged classes represented by "big business" and the trusts. The conservatives felt that the greatest danger to the country was in socialism and radicalism and that the safety of property was threatened. They asserted that if Bryan were elected and the country dropped to the silver standard of money, all security and safety would be destroyed, that there would be a great crash in business, and that the factories would have to close.

The Campaign and the Election. In the campaign the Republicans became the conservative party of the country. Under the vigorous leadership of the chairman of the National Republican Committee, Marcus A. Hanna of Ohio, who represented "big business" in politics, the Republicans appealed to conservative business men; to the banking interest; to the great insurance interest, which had money to lend; to the managers of the great railroads; and to manufacturers. All these brought pressure upon the wage earners and made them fear that the factories would close and that they would lose their jobs if Bryan were elected. Republican campaign speakers declared that the blessings of profits, good wages, and the "full dinner pail" could come about only through the prosperity of the great business enterprises of the country.

William McKinley

McKinley was born in Ohio in 1843. He served with distinction in the Civil War, and for many years was a member of the House of Representatives, where he served as Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. He was elected President first in 1896 and again in 1900.

The contest of 1896 was the most exciting campaign since 1860, and like the contest of 1860 it was marked by a break-up of parties, both the old parties being divided. Lifelong Democrats voted for McKinley, and lifelong Republicans voted for Bryan. Even the Prohibitionists were divided on the social and financial issues of the year. One group felt that the contest was a struggle of human rights against property rights. The other group felt that the contest was a struggle against dishonesty and disorder.

The country decided in favor of the conservatives, believing that the election of Bryan would be a dangerous adventure. "Free silver" was defeated, the Populists disappeared, the gold standard was soon finally adopted (1900), and prosperity returned to the country by another route. How the struggle was renewed, in a sense, will be clear when we come to the story of Roosevelt and the Progressives.

CLASS PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. In what ways are minor political parties like pioneers? Explain clearly, with examples.

2. Name one minor political party that existed before the Civil War. Was it a pioneer? Explain.

3. Was it fair for the Government to pay gold for bonds that had been purchased in greenbacks? Give reasons. Was it wise to pay in gold? Why?

4. Who gains if the currency is *inflated?* Who gains if the currency *contracts?* Explain your answers and give illustrations.

5. What classes of people or what interests prefer to have the currency neither contract nor expand? Give examples and reasons.

6. Who were the Greenbackers and what did they want? Who opposed them? Why? Did the Greenbackers get what they desired — wholly or in part? Explain.

7. Describe the Grangers and their organizations. In what ways did they differ from a trades union? What do you think they accomplished, if anything?

8. Explain the grievances of the Populists and tell what they proposed to do about each grievance.

9. Why did the Populists want "free coinage of silver"? Tell what they meant by the term.

10. Compare the panics of 1873 and 1893 with one another, and with one other panic in our history. How did the panic of 1873 affect the growth of the Greenback party? How did the panic of 1893 affect the growth of the Populists? Give reasons in each case.

11. Point out facts in this chapter and in Chapter XXXII that show that the two great parties evaded important issues of the day.

12. Tell the main provisions of the Bland-Allison Act; of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act. What was the chief purpose of these laws? Was the purpose accomplished? Explain.

13. What difference do you think it would have made to the common people if free silver had been victorious in 1896? Give reasons. How would you have voted in 1896? Why?

14. What was the Gold Standard Act? Tell what relation it bears to the different kinds of money we have. Did it settle all aspects of the money problem? Are you sure?

15. Explain this statement: Years after 1896 we had a "fifty-cent dollar" even under the gold standard.

16. Tell what was accomplished in establishing public control of transportation between 1865 and 1900. What more was needed?

17. Explain the following terms and expressions and tell how they appeared in the struggle over money: "greenback"; "legal tender"; "tight" money; Specie Resumption Act; "crime of '73"; "16 to 1"; "full dinner pail."

18. Mention all conditions referred to in this chapter that have been changed since 1900.

19. For volunteers: Prepare a special report on William McKinley or William J. Bryan. Use the references given on page 589.

THINGS TO DO

1. Copy the form given below and fill in the different columns. Use the Index if you need information.

Five Important Minor Parties in Our History

Names of Parties	Length of Life	Chief Leaders	Principles
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			

2. Interview older persons of your acquaintance and find out all you can about their recollections of the campaign of 1896. Report to the class what you discover. Decide in class what questions to ask before making the interviews.

3. A pupil volunteer to secure a copy of Bryan's "cross of gold" speech and read aloud to the class interesting portions of the address.

4. Act out the Democratic or the Republican National Convention of 1896. For information about the conventions, see J. F. Rhodes, *United States*. For details concerning the conduct of a national convention see J. A. Woodburn, *Political Parties and Party Problems* (Putnam), 175–196, and McPheters, Cleaveland & Sons, *Citizenship Dramatized* (Holt), 167–188.

5. Bring different kinds of paper money to class. Read aloud what is printed on a "greenback"; a "silver certificate"; a "treasury note." Find passages in the chapter that explain each of the three kinds of paper money.

6. Make a cartoon or suggest ideas for one to show the gold men as viewed by the believers in the free coinage of silver, or to represent the silver men as looked upon by advocates of the gold standard.

7. Have an exhibit of posters, campaign documents, pictures, books, and relics dealing with political parties and campaigns that occurred before 1901. Secure what you can at home, of friends and neighbors, and at your public library.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "Gold," *America the Great Adventure,* 296–310.
2. "Resumption of Specie Payments," *Source Book of American History,* 360–363.
3. "The Gold Seekers in Alaska," by Hamlin Garland, *In Our Times,* 298–302.
4. "Money," *The Book of Knowledge,* 16: 5679.
5. "Greenback Party," *The World Book Encyclopedia,* 5: 2956–2957.
6. "Financial Legislation and the Resumption of Specie Payments," *ibid.,* 5: 3096–3097.

LOOKING BACKWARD

A. THE STORY: REBUILDING THE NATION

Copy the following story of Rebuilding the Nation, filling the blanks with the correct words where alternatives are given.

After the Civil War the nation faced the problem of rebuilding the Union. People from the different sections of the country, the North, the South, the East, the West, must be brought to think of belonging to (the United States, their own section of the country) first, and as belonging to (the United States, their own section of the country) afterwards.

The first step in rebuilding the nation was to bring the ______________ back to share in the government. President ______________, and later President ______________, proposed plans known as the ______________, which was (liberal, harsh). Congress proposed the ______________ plan, which was (liberal, hard), and which brought punishment to (the freedmen, the white men who fought for the Confederacy). The ______________ plan was finally adopted. The South had to accept the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

The Fourteenth Amendment provided that ______________. The Fifteenth Amendment provided that ______________. The Southern representatives were again allowed seats in Congress, and the North and South both shared in the government.

Other changes came about in the nation which brought the people of the different sections closer together. The Western frontier had been pushed to the ______________. The ______________ railroad, completed in ______________, extended to the ______________. Products from the (East, West) were shipped to markets in the (East, West). Better communication between the different sections was brought about by the invention of the ______________ and the ______________.

Six new States were admitted to the Union from the ________ ________ in 1889–1890. They were ______________, ______________, ______________, ______________, ______________, ______________. Three other States, ______________, ______________, ______________, were admitted by 1912.

Before the Civil War the introduction of new machinery brought such changes in manufacturing, in transportation, and in communication that the change was called ______________. Later improvements in machinery brought still greater changes in every section of the country. The North and the Northeast became the ______________ center of the nation. The South remained largely ______________, but is gradually becoming ______________.

New methods of doing business have also developed to fit the new nation. Simple tools have been replaced by ______________ and small shops have been replaced by large ______________. Business management has changed also. Instead of one man ownership and management, there has come joint management by several men called a ______________. Men have also formed large ______________ which operate under charters granted by the ______________. For a time corporations fought each other or worked in (competition, co-operation). When one corporation succeeded in crushing out others in the same business, it then had a ____________, or exclusive control of the goods it sold. Corporations began to combine and form ____________.

The changes in business methods led to new relationships between employers and workers, or between ____________ and ____________. The workers organized ____________ to deal with their new employers who were often ____________ or ____________ rather than one individual. Many labor unions have combined into the ____________________ so that they may handle their problems as one group and protect themselves against ____________.

The changes in methods of living and carrying on business have created a need for new legislation. Many evil practices have grown up with big business. Gradually the ____________ has taken over the regulating of ____________, ____________, and ____________.

Gradually a new nation has been built, a nation that is united both in government and in spirit.

B. HISTORICAL TERMS

1. The terms given below are used in Rebuilding the Nation, the division of the book which you have just read:

reconstruction
amendment
impeachment
supremacy

commission
suffrage
Industrial Revolution
spoils system

tenure of office
electoral votes
ratification
sectionalism

Copy the following sentences and place each of the foregoing terms in the right blank:

a. The practice of making public offices the reward for party services is called the ____________.

b. The process of restoring the South after the Civil War was a process of reconstructio.

c. By the ____________ Act no officer could be removed from his position by the President without the approval of the Senate.

d. A change to the Constitution is called an amendment ________ .

e. ________________ means the right to vote.

f. The act of bringing an officer to trial for crimes or misdemeanors in office is called ________________.

g. supremacy ________ means the state of being the highest in authority.

h. The act of granting official approval to a measure is an act of ratification.

i. A ________________ is a body of persons acting under public authority.

j. Each State is granted a certain number of ________________ according to its population.

k. The term ________________ means a complete change in industrial methods, an overthrow of old ways in industry by new ways.

l. ________________ refers to the regard a people hold for the rights of one section of the country or of one class of people as opposed to the rights of other sections or other classes of people.

2. The list of terms given below has also been used in this section:

legal tender
specie payment
inflate the currency
a trust
financial panic
parity
conservatives
interstate commerce
greenbacks
monopoly
competition
corporation

Copy the following sentences and place each word in the right blank:

a. A sudden overpowering alarm in financial circles that leads to bank failures is called a ________________.

b. Money that may legally be offered in payment of a debt is ________________.

c. ________________ means equality.

d. ________________ is settlement for a debt or a purchase in coins rather than in paper money.

e. To ________________ means to increase the output of money.

f. Members of a political party who wish to keep the old party principles and who oppose changes are called conservatives.

g. Exclusive control of anything is called a monopoly.

h. Treasury notes issued as money during the Civil War were called greenbacks.

i. The term applied to trade between the States is interstate commerce.

j. competition means rivalry in business.

k. A corporation is a form of business organization operated under a charter granted by the government.

l. A combination for the purposes of controlling the production and price of some commodity or the management and profits of some business is a ________.

C. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

1. A list of States is given below. Copy them in your notebook, and put the figure 1 before the name of the State that was admitted into the Union first, the figure 2 before the name of the one that was admitted second, and so on:

5 Utah
4 Montana
1 Delaware
2 Missouri
6 Oklahoma
3 Texas

2. A list of political parties is given below. Copy them and put a figure 1 before the name of the organization which appeared first in the story of our country, put a 2 before the one that appeared next, and so on:

____Union Labor Party
____Liberal Republicans
____Populist Party
____Greenbackers
____Democrats

3. A list of persons is given below. Copy them and put a 1 before the one who did his work first, a 2 before the one who did his work next, and so on:

3 Samuel Gompers
1 George Rogers Clark
2 Cyrus H. McCormick

4. Check the following list of persons in the same way:

____Andrew Carnegie ____Charles Goodyear
____Eli Whitney

5. Check the following list in the same way:

____Henry Clay ____Patrick Henry
____William J. Bryan

6. Check the following list in the same way:

3____William McKinley 2____Stephen A. Douglas
1____Thomas Jefferson

7. A list of important events is given below. Copy them and put a 1 before the event that happened first, a 2 before the one that happened next, and so on.

____The question of the free coinage of silver was a campaign issue.

____The pony express carried the mails.

____The Union Pacific Railroad was built.

____The American Federation of Labor was organized.

____The Fifteenth Amendment became a part of the Constitution.

____The United States Steel Corporation was organized.

PART EIGHT
THE COMING OF WORLD POWER

THE COMING OF WORLD POWER

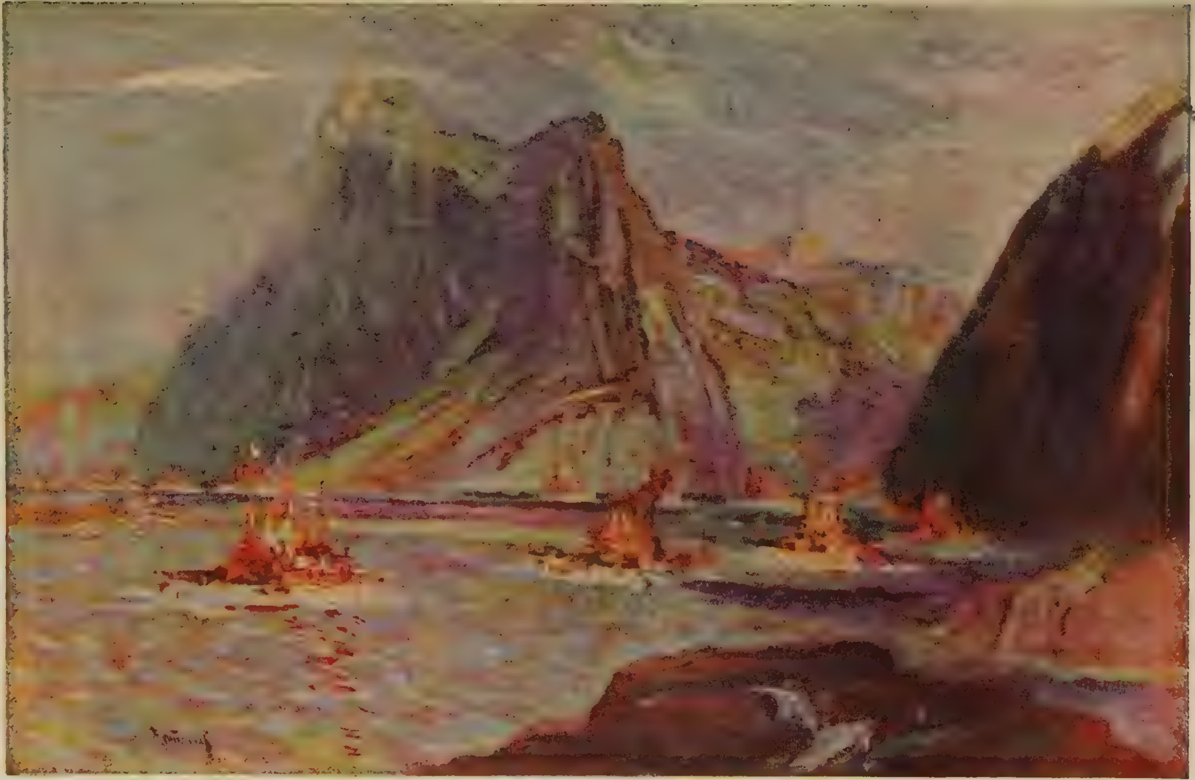
For almost a century the United States followed the policy of keeping to itself as much as possible. It did not want to become entangled with the affairs of other nations. But in 1898 it was drawn into the troubles of Cuba, then a colony of Spain. War with Spain followed and the United States emerged from the conflict with possessions in the Caribbean Sea, the Pacific Ocean, and on the other side of the world. These possessions brought vexing problems of government. They also brought world power.

The United States gradually built up a wide market for its manufactured goods and products among the other nations; and when they prospered it prospered also. In 1914, however, a terrible war broke out among the countries of Europe. For three years the United States was able to remain neutral in the struggle, but at last the unrestricted use of the submarine brought America into the conflict.

On entering the war the United States faced the huge task of training, feeding, and equipping armies, and of raising money to pay the expenses incurred in the conflict. This task was successfully accomplished; and American soldiers played a valiant part in bringing to a close the greatest war in history.

At the end of the struggle the world was exhausted and impoverished. People everywhere longed for a lasting peace. Could not some way other than fighting be found for settling quarrels between nations? Several attempts had previously been made — diplomacy, mediation, and arbitration. The League of Nations was now formed to enable representatives of all nations to meet and discuss their problems, and the World Court was organized as a means of settling peaceably their controversies with one another.

Thus, stumblingly, the countries of the world attempted to walk together as friends and neighbors in the family of nations.



Courtesy of P. F. Collier and Son Co.

THE AMERICAN FLEET IN THE STRAIT OF MAGELLAN DURING ITS WORLD CRUISE, 1907

From a painting by Henry Reuterdahl, in the Naval War College.

PART EIGHT
THE COMING OF WORLD POWER

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE SPANISH WAR AND IMPERIALISM

The War with Spain. When Washington was President, Spain owned all of South and Central America, nearly all of North America west of the Mississippi River, and Florida east of the Mississippi. France forced Spain to surrender Louisiana in 1803, and three years later France ceded that princely domain to the United States. During the next twenty years Spain's colonies in South and Central America revolted one by one and became independent countries. In 1819 the United States bought Florida. The result of these changes was to leave to Spain none of her vast empire in the Western World except Porto Rico and Cuba, that rich island known as the " Pearl of the Antilles."

Toward the end of the century Cuba became a cause of war between Spain and the United States. Americans had inherited a prejudice against the Spaniards that dates back to the days when Florida was a Spanish possession, and even before. The American frontiersmen in the South and the West thought that Spanish government in Louisiana and Florida was but little better than Indian government.

For fifty years the Cuban people had been repeatedly in revolt. From 1868 to 1878 a " Ten Years War " took place between Spain and the Cubans, and the island was left almost a waste. In 1873 the *Virginius,* a ship flying the American flag, carrying insurgents, was captured by the Spanish. More than fifty of her crew were executed as filibusters, persons making unlawful military expeditions into a foreign country. Eight of the persons executed were American citizens. Great indignation arose in the United States, and the *Virginius* affair almost caused a war with Spain.

The people of the United States had always sympathized with colonies in revolt, and wished to see the Cubans become free and independent. After a long struggle Spain finally put down this insurrection, but her promises of reform were not kept and conditions in Cuba grew steadily worse. The result was another revolt by the Cubans in 1895. Cruelties were committed by both sides. Since Gomez, the leader of the Cuban forces, could not meet the Spanish armies in battle, he resorted to guerrilla warfare. As the war went on, buildings were burned, plantations laid waste, laborers thrown out of employment or forced to join the insurgents and forage on the country for a living. Those who were not slaughtered by the Spanish soldiers starved to death.

Many Americans lived in Cuba to carry on business there. From $30,000,000 to $50,000,000 of American capital was also invested in the island. Americans interested in Cuba naturally desired peace, order, and protection. Some of the American people wanted the United States to buy the island from Spain; others wanted the United States to drive the Spaniards out and let the Cubans have control. Individual Americans tried to help the Cubans by sending them shiploads of arms and men. President Cleveland attempted to prevent such acts by enforcing our neutrality laws and by holding an even hand between Spain and her unhappy colony, but his peaceful policy became more and more difficult to carry out.

When General Weyler was made Governor General of Cuba he issued a "reconcentration order," compelling the rural population to come into the garrisoned towns, where the Spanish soldiers were stationed. Here the people were neither properly clothed nor fed, they lived in miserable surroundings, nearly half of them died, and for a time it seemed that the inhabitants of Cuba were to be destroyed. Many Americans felt that for the sake of humanity the United States should intervene and help the Cubans gain freedom from the Spanish.

Destruction of the *Maine*. Such was the situation when an event occurred that led directly to our taking part in Cuban affairs. Early in 1898 the United States Government sent the battleship *Maine* to Havana harbor, to protect American interests in the city. This was not a hostile act nor a threat, but relations between the two countries were so strained that the Spanish authorities looked upon the action in that way. While the *Maine* was lying at anchor in Havana harbor, the ship was shattered by an explosion. Whether the explosion came from a magazine within the vessel or from a mine planted under the ship by hostile Spaniards has never been certainly determined.

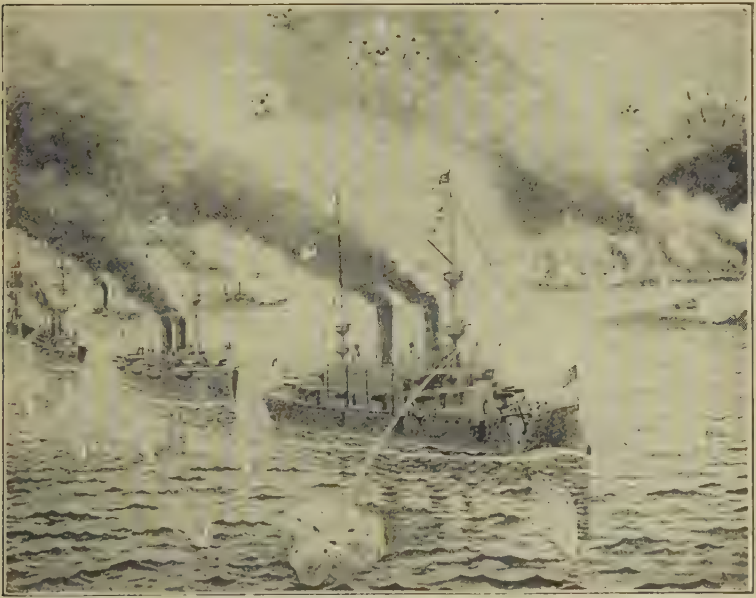
The destruction of the *Maine* caused the death of more than 260 officers and sailors. At once an outburst of indignation occurred in America. "Remember the Maine" became the slogan of men in the streets, in the newspapers, and in public meetings. Americans generally believed that Spanish authorities were responsible for the explosion and the loss of American lives. The war spirit was aroused and Congress voted $50,000,000 for national defense.

Spain expressed regret at the loss of the *Maine*. She proposed that the matter be referred to a committee of persons chosen by different nations, but the United States refused. Just on the eve of war, when the United States was preparing to give notice to Spain to get out of Cuba, Spain expressed her willingness to withdraw her troops from the island. A little more soberness and patience, a little more forbearance, and war might have been avoided. But the war excitement had been aroused and was hard to control.

Resolutions Leading to War. On April 19, 1898, the anniversary of the battle of Lexington, Congress passed resolutions declaring that Cuba ought to be free and independent, and served notice on Spain to withdraw her troops from the island. The President was authorized to use the army and navy of the United States, if necessary, to compel Spain to give up her control of Cuba. Congress declared that the United States would assert no "sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control" over Cuba except to bring peace, and when that was accomplished we would leave the island to its own people. Some Europeans smiled skeptically over this assertion of our good intentions, thinking that we really intended to take Cuba for our own; but in the end the United States kept its word.

Spain was given five days in which to answer the resolutions, but she indignantly took the notice as a virtual declaration of war. By way of reply she recalled her minister from Washington and dismissed the American minister at Madrid. On April 24 she declared war against the United States and the two nations made ready for the struggle.

Military Events in the War. The war was short and decisive. Only three battles were fought, two on water, one on land. All were victories for the Americans. The first contest was a sea fight on the other side of the world, the clash occurring in Manila Bay in the Philippines. Commodore George Dewey, who was in command of the American fleet in Asiatic waters, sailed from Hong Kong, China, in search of the Spanish ships. He found them in Manila Bay, and on May 1, 1898, won an easy victory. "You may fire when ready, Gridley,"



THE BATTLE OF MANILA BAY

Commodore Dewey, after coolly drawing up his squadron in battle order, turned to the captain of the flagship and said, "You may fire when ready, Gridley," and the battle was on. The American ships escaped with slight damage, but ten of the Spanish vessels were destroyed.

was the form of command, and the firing showed how expert were the American gunners. Dewey destroyed the entire Spanish fleet without the loss of a ship or a man. He did not take the city of Manila, for he had too few men; that awaited the coming of the army. Congress voted Dewey the thanks of the nation and later promoted him to the rank of Rear Admiral; after the war he was made Admiral.

The land fighting was in Cuba. The army had great difficulty in reaching the island. The War Department was badly managed. Woolen clothing fit for a winter campaign in the North was sent to men who were to fight in a tropical island. The soldiers were furnished with "embalmed beef" (canned meat preserved with chemicals) which caused sickness; typhoid and malaria broke out in some of the camps where soldiers of the National Guard were in training. Delays, blunders, and confusion occurred at Tampa, Florida, where the army was to embark. The soldiers were crowded on the transports in disorder and were then held on ship board for six days in torrid heat.

But when the little army reached Cuba it showed a good fighting spirit. At El Caney and San Juan Hill the American regulars and Roosevelt's Rough Riders charged and defeated the Spaniards before Santiago. Before the army had a chance for further action the war ended as the result of the second sea fight.

This battle was also near Santiago. A Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera (thĕr vā′rä) had taken refuge in the harbor of Santiago (sän′tē ä′gō). When he left Spain several weeks before, Cervera's destination was uncertain. There was anxiety mounting almost to a panic of fear along the Atlantic coast of the United States lest he bombard the undefended coast cities. Instead, he entered Santiago harbor.

The entrance to the port of Santiago is a narrow, crooked inlet, and the American warships under the command of Admirals Sampson and Schley did not venture to go in. Instead, the Americans decided to "bottle up" the Spaniards or to attack them if they ventured out. Lieutenant Richmond P. Hobson became a "war hero" by his effort to sink an American coaling vessel in the neck of the channel in order to shut Cervera's ships in the harbor, but the Spanish batteries defeated this attempt and Hobson's vessel was sunk in a broad, deep part of the channel, without obstructing the passage. After some hesitation Cervera finally tried to escape by making a wild dash out of the harbor on the morning of July 3. Four hours later the entire Spanish fleet had been shot to pieces. Cervera and 1800 of his men were made prisoners of war, while the Americans lost but one man and not a single ship. The news of this victory caused great rejoicing throughout America and the Fourth of July, 1898, was celebrated with patriotic spirit.

A little later General Nelson A. Miles took possession of Porto Rico, which offered no resistance.

The Treaty of Peace. Beaten at all points, the Spaniards were ready for peace. By the treaty of peace (December 10, 1898), Spain agreed to give up all claim to Cuba, and to cede Porto Rico, Guam (gwäm), in the far Pacific, and the Philippine Islands to the United States. For the Philippines the United States agreed to pay $20,000,000 to Spain.

The United States forces remained in Cuba long enough to bring about peace and order. Major General Leonard Wood administered the government. He arranged for 1200 Cuban school teachers to go to Harvard University for study. He set up local governments, organized a system of public education, and stamped out yellow fever. Havana, which had been a disease-breeding center, became one of the healthiest cities in the world. Before the troops were withdrawn from the island Congress required Cuba to agree to the following conditions, in what is known as the Platt Amendment:

(1) Cuba should make no treaty weakening her independence nor give any privileges to foreign powers without the consent of the United States.

(2) Cuba should not go into debt beyond what her revenues justified.

(3) The United States might interfere in Cuba when necessary to preserve order and Cuban independence.

(4) Cuba should grant to the United States two coaling stations on the Cuban coast.

These conditions gave the United States a kind of protectorate over Cuba. After they had been accepted, the control of the island was turned over to the inhabitants. Cuba has prospered since the war and has remained on good terms with the United States. In 1906 an uprising or rebellion occurred which the Cuban army was unable to quell, and a United States force went into the island and restored quiet. Concerning our conduct toward Cuba one writer says:

> Uncle Sam found Cuba unhealthy, he left her healthy. He found her without a system of charities and hospitals; he left her well provided. He found her without schools; he left her with a good school system. He found her without fair popular elections, he left her with fair election laws. . . A good system of sanitary supervision was set up. An immense amount of road and bridge building had been done. Clearly, the trust was administered for the benefit of the ward.[1]

The Philippines. In the Philippines the United States found a rebellion on its hands. The Filipinos objected to being turned over to another country. Like the Cubans they had been in rebellion against Spain when the war began, and they wanted an independent government of their own.

General Merritt commanding American troops captured Manila on August 13, 1898. When the attack to dislodge the Spaniards began, the Filipinos under their leader,

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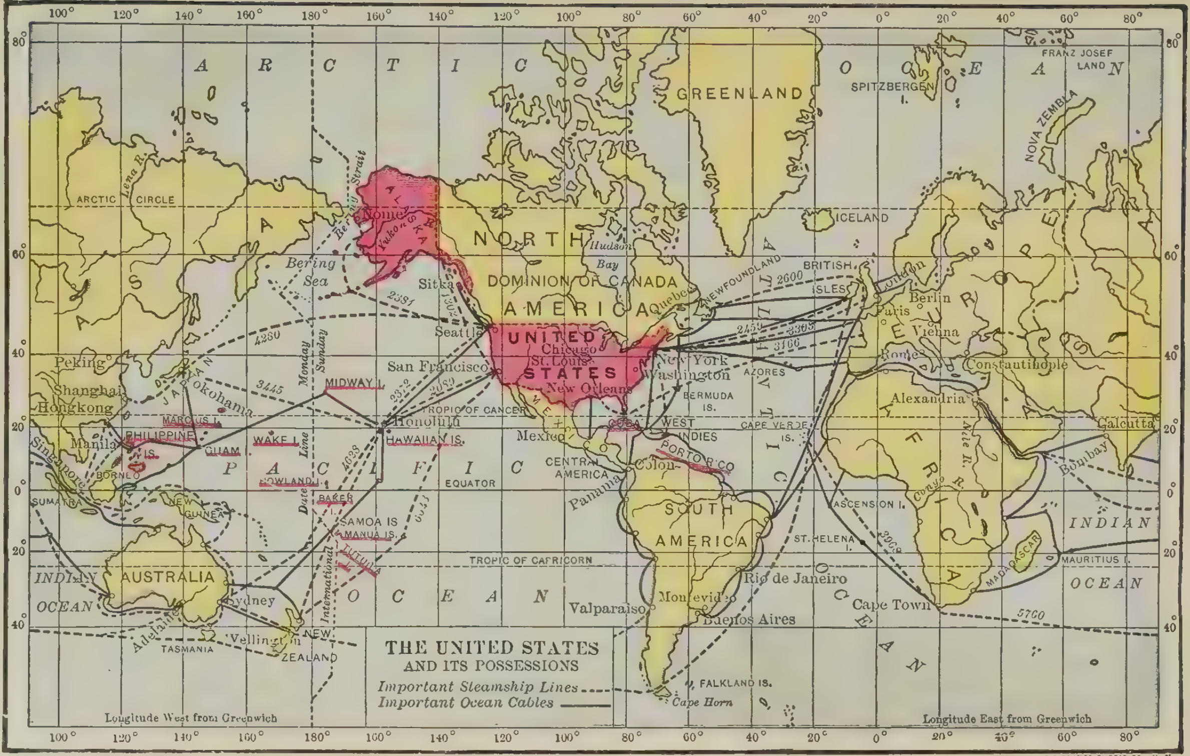
[1] John Kendrick Bangs in Mark Sullivan's *Our Times*, I, 574.



THE UNITED STATES
AND ITS POSSESSIONS

Important Steamship Lines
Important Ocean Cables
Longitude West from Greenwich
Longitude East from Greenwich
100° 120° 140° 160° 180° 160° 140° 120° 100° 80° 60° 40° 20° 0° 20° 40° 60° 80°
80° 60° 40° 20° 0° 20° 40°
ARCTIC OCEAN
ARCTIC CIRCLE
TROPIC OF CANCER
EQUATOR
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
ASIA
Lena R.
Peking
Shanghai
Hongkong
JAPAN
Yokohama
Manila
PHILIPPINE IS.
Singapore
BORNEO
SUMATRA
NEW GUINEA
AUSTRALIA
Sydney
Adelaide
TASMANIA
Wellington
NEW ZEALAND
INDIAN OCEAN
MARCUS I.
WAKE I.
GUAM
MIDWAY I.
HOWLAND I.
BAKER I.
SAMOA IS.
MANUA IS.
TUTUILA
International Date Line
Monday
Sunday
Bering Sea
Bering Strait
ALASKA
Nome
Yukon R.
Sitka
Seattle
San Francisco
Honolulu
HAWAIIAN IS.
PACIFIC OCEAN
4280
3445
2381
1302
2089
2332
4638
NORTH AMERICA
Hudson Bay
DOMINION OF CANADA
Quebec
UNITED STATES
Chicago
St. Louis
New Orleans
New York
Washington
MEXICO
Mexico
CENTRAL AMERICA
Panama
Colon
CUBA
WEST INDIES
PORTO RICO
BERMUDA IS.
SOUTH AMERICA
Rio de Janeiro
Montevideo
Buenos Aires
Valparaiso
FALKLAND IS.
Cape Horn
GREENLAND
ICELAND
NEWFOUNDLAND
ATLANTIC OCEAN
2600
2459
3303
3166
AZORES
CAPE VERDE IS.
ASCENSION I.
ST. HELENA I.
3909
BRITISH ISLES
London
Paris
Berlin
Vienna
Rome
Constantinople
EUROPE
SPITZBERGEN I.
FRANZ JOSEF LAND
NOVA ZEMBLA
AFRICA
Alexandria
Nile R.
Congo R.
Cape Town
MADAGASCAR
MAURITIUS I.
5700
INDIAN OCEAN
Calcutta
Bombay

L.L.POATES ENGR'G CO., N. Y.

Aguinaldo (ä′gē näl′dō), fought with the Americans, but when they heard that the United States did not intend to grant them independence, they rose in insurrection. Guerrilla warfare continued for two or three years, but after General Funston captured Aguinaldo, the uprising was put down and peace and order were restored.

Life in the Philippines

Life in the Philippines is tropical in character. Note the abundant vegetation and the temporary character of the houses.

Civil Government for the Philippines. These islands, of which there are more than seven thousand, were discovered by Magellan in 1521. Their present population is nearly 12,000,000. Following the Spanish War, military rule was established for a time in the islands, but after peace was restored, preparations were made to give the Philippines a civil government. Hundreds of teachers were sent over from America to open public schools and to teach the people how to read and write. Better roads were built, better farming methods were introduced, and as fast as possible civil government was established. Although the Filipinos have not been made citizens of the United States, they have most of the rights and privileges of such citizenship without its obligations.

A commission under the leadership of William H. Taft (later Secretary of War, President of the United States, and Chief Justice of the United States) set up a form of government in the Islands (1902). In 1907, as provided by Congress, the Filipinos were permitted to elect a legislature with limited powers, and in 1916 Congress abolished the commission under which the islands had been governed since 1902 and substituted a legislature chosen by the inhabitants — a Senate of 24 members and a House of Representatives of 91 members, all elected by popular vote, except two Senators appointed by the Governor-General. The Governor-General, appointed by the President, remains at the head of the government of the Islands.

In the act of 1916 Congress declared America's intention to grant independence to the Philippines as soon as "stable self-government" could be established, but fixed no date. In 1926 President Coolidge sent a deputy to investigate the conditions in the Islands, but he reported against granting independence at that time.

America and World Politics. The Spanish War brought the United States definitely into world politics. For eighty years Americans had been concerned chiefly with internal affairs — the tariff, internal improvements, slavery, civil war, reconstruction, promotion of business. Now we had distant colonies, and had become the controlling power in the Caribbean Sea. Many Americans saw at once that the Panama Canal would have to be built.

Hawaii Annexed. During the Spanish War, we had annexed Hawaii, 2000 miles from the California coast, and had thereby gained a valuable naval base in the

Pacific. We had been interested in the islands for many years. Hawaii was the "sugar bowl" of the Pacific coast, and friendly relations had long been maintained. In 1893 a revolt occurred in Hawaii, the Queen was overthrown, and a provisional government was set up which negotiated a treaty of annexation with the United States. In the last week of his administration Harrison submitted this treaty to the Senate, but when Cleveland became President he withdrew the treaty and sent an agent to Hawaii to investigate. This agent of the government ordered the American flag to be lowered from the Government buildings in Honolulu and the American Marines to leave the city. An effort was made to restore the Queen, but the provisional government retained its power and in 1898 Congress annexed the islands by a joint resolution agreed to by Hawaii.

American ships crossing the Pacific had long found Hawaii a good stopping place. American missionaries had been the first foreigners to educate and help the people. American business and American money had done much to improve the islands, and many Americans had made their homes there. The people of the islands were friendly. In the Spanish War they were on our side, supplying our fleet with provisions and coal. Annexation therefore came about with mutual consent. It was seen that possession of the islands might be in the future a great advantage to the United States. In 1900 Hawaii was made a territory and American citizenship was conferred on the Hawaiians.

China and the "Open Door." Through the annexation of the Philippines, the United States was brought into contact with the rising power of Japan and into closer relations with eastern Asia, a storm center of world politics. American trade interests in China were increased, and the United States put forward the demand for the

" open door " in China, meaning that the trading ports of China should be open to all nations on equal terms. At this time European nations were obtaining " concessions," or special rights to ports and territory in China and were seeking monopolies in trade. Gradually the whole coast of China had come under the control of foreign countries. Each country closed the port it controlled to the rest of the world. America desired no " concessions " and wished China to be free from control by foreign powers, asking only the " open door." John Hay, the American Secretary of State, announced this friendly policy toward China and for a time put a stop to the seizure of power there by foreign countries.

The Boxer Rebellion in China. The foregoing events made the United States a world power, and we soon had occasion to take part in distant affairs. In 1900 the Chinese Boxers, a secret society opposed to all foreign interference in Chinese affairs, rose in rebellion against the Chinese Government and began to murder foreigners, or to drive them out. The Boxers killed the German ambassador and many other foreigners in Peking. In this crisis the United States sent soldiers who joined with the troops of other powers (Japan, Germany, England, Russia, France) and helped to put down the insurrection in order to protect their citizens in China.

After this affair the Chinese were forced to pay large sums for damages. Every country demanded payment, far exceeding the amount of the actual damages. When it was found that the damages awarded to the United States were excessive, we kept only what we were fairly entitled to and returned the balance to China with the understanding that the money be used as an endowment for the education of Chinese students in the United States. This increased Chinese friendship toward

America and enabled hundreds of capable young Chinese to study in American universities, to learn something of the American people and republican government. In the course of years all this was doubtless an important influence in bringing about the revolution in China, which was led by young Chinese who had been educated in America. This uprising resulted in the overthrow of the Emperor and the establishment of a republican form of government in China.

Imperialism. Following the Spanish War, as we have seen, islands over the sea came into the possession of the United States. Some of these islands were 6000 miles away across the broad Pacific. We had acquired new territories many times before, but in every instance the treaties had made provision that the inhabitants, transferred with the new lands, become citizens of the United States, and that in time the new territories be admitted to the Union as " equal republican States."

But no such provision was included in the treaty that ended the war with Spain. The newly acquired islands were to be " possessions " or " dependencies " and not a part of the United States, and their inhabitants were to be *subjects,* not *citizens,* of America. The treaty by which the islands were acquired promised no rights to their people; they were to be under the absolute control of Congress. The Constitution, according to a decision of the Supreme Court, did not apply to the islands; and their people could not appeal to its protection and guarantees. An act of Congress would be necessary to extend the Constitution over them and meanwhile Congress could govern them as it pleased.

This was called *imperialism;* that is, holding and governing *subjects* without constitutional rights. Many Americans protested against this policy. They declared that the Constitution made no provision for governing dependencies; that the principles of the Declaration of Independence were opposed to the government of people without their consent. Senator George F. Hoar of Massachusetts, one of the leading Republicans, asked in the United States Senate: "Can you lawfully buy with money, or get by brute force of arms, the right to hold in subjugation an unwilling people, and to impose upon them such a constitution as you, and not they, think best for them?"

Election of 1900. The question of imperialism became the main issue in the campaign of 1900. Bryan, who opposed imperialism and the holding of the islands, was again nominated by the Democrats. The Republicans renominated President McKinley. They endorsed what had been done in acquiring the islands and promised just government in the Philippines in the interest of the inhabitants.

Gold in the Klondike. The gold standard was now definitely adopted by Congress (1900). Gold had been discovered in the Klondike (in Alaska) and more money had come into circulation. Good times were returning to the country. Farm products were rising in price. Cattle were selling at $4.00 per 100 pounds on the hoof on Western farms. Business was prospering, and the voters refused to get excited about imperialism and the fate of the dark-skinned Filipinos 6000 miles away. Americans believed that Congress would govern the islands fairly, advance their interests, and give the inhabitants such rights as we asked for ourselves. Labor was more fully employed and workingmen were urged to vote for "four years more of the full dinner pail."

Such conditions brought about the re-election of President McKinley by a decisive vote, and Theodore Roosevelt, then Governor of New York, was chosen Vice President.

CLASS PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. Find the meaning of the word " isolation " as given in the dictionary. Has the United States ever been isolated? Explain.

2. Mention ways in which our country might gain if we were totally isolated from other countries; ways in which it would lose.

3. Tell about contacts with Spain that America had had before 1898. Mention three things we owe to Spain.

4. Describe Spanish rule in Cuba. Was the condition of affairs in the island any business of the United States? Explain.

5. What were the main causes of the Spanish War? How might the war have been avoided?

6. Tell the story of the Spanish War. Be prepared to tell what happened at the following places and to point out their location on the wall map: Havana, Manila Bay, Santiago, Porto Rico, Guam, the Philippines, Hawaii.

7. State the terms of the treaty that ended the war. Why did we pay Spain $20,000,000 for the Philippines?

8. Describe events in Cuba after the war. What was the Platt Amendment? Why did the United States insist upon its acceptance by the Cubans? Do you think the requirements are fair to Cuba? Are they of benefit to her? Explain.

9. Why did the Filipinos revolt against the Americans? Tell how the islands are governed today. Why do you think the Filipinos want independence? Why do we not grant it?

10. Why did the United States annex Hawaii? Why did President Cleveland oppose annexation? How was annexation finally brought about? Do you think annexation has been a good thing for both Hawaii and the United States? Give reasons for your opinion.

11. What is meant by the " open door " as applied to China? Tell why the United States favored such a policy. How does our action illustrate the title of the chapter?

12. Compare the position the United States occupied in the world in 1898 with the position it occupied in 1902, mentioning the chief events that caused the change.

THINGS TO DO

1. Make as complete a list of the ways that the United States has been connected with or affected by Europe since 1789. Here are two examples:

   a. Most of the American people are descended from immigrants who have come to the United States since 1789.

   b. Events in Europe caused President Monroe to issue the Monroe Doctrine.

Exchange lists in class, talk over differences, and put a class list on the blackboard.

2. Have a debate on one of these questions:

   a. Resolved, That Porto Rico should be admitted as a State.

   b. Resolved, That the Filipinos should be given their independence not later than 1940.

   c. Resolved, That the Platt Amendment should be abolished.

3. On an outline map of the world show: (1) Manila Bay, Santiago; (2) Guam, Hawaii, the Philippines, Porto Rico; (3) the route taken in 1898 by the U. S. S. *Oregon*.

4. Draw or suggest cartoons for one of the following:

   a. Spanish rule in Cuba, as seen by the Hearst newspapers.

   b. The Americans, as viewed by a patriotic Filipino.

   c. Roosevelt as Colonel of the Rough Riders, as seen by one of his men.

   d. Uncle Sam, as looked upon by a Cuban insurrectionist in 1898.

5. Make a bar graph, showing the total area annexed by the United States in 1898, as compared with previous annexations.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "The War with Spain," *The Book of the United States,* 275–280.

2. "Hobson and the Merrimac," *America First,* 414–417.

3. "Dewey at Manila Bay," *ibid.,* 417–422.

4. "Conquering the Yellow Fever," *ibid.,* 423–427.

5. "William McKinley," *Our Presidents,* 236–250.

6. "Troubles in Cuba," *Source Book of American History,* 373–376.

7. "A Cuban Indictment of Spanish Rule," *ibid.,* 376–379.

8. "The Rough Riders at the Front," by Theodore Roosevelt, *ibid.,* 380–382.

9. "The Conditions of the Philippines," *ibid.,* 382–385.

10. "A Review of the Spanish War," by William McKinley, *ibid.,* 385–390.

11. "President McKinley's War Message," by William McKinley, *In Our Times,* 239–240.

12. "The Battle of Manila Bay," by Captain C. V. Gridley, *ibid.,* 241–243.

13. "Breaking the Siege of Peking," by General A. A. Daggett, *ibid.,* 247–251.

14. "A Government for Cuba," *ibid.,* 264–267.

15. "Porto Rico," *ibid.,* 268–272.

16. "A Westerner on Foreign Relations," by William J. Bryan, *ibid.,* 282–284.

17. "The Story of Hawaii," *The World Book Encyclopedia,* 5 · 3076–3085.

18. "The War with Spain," *This Country of Ours,* 588–590.

19. "Hawaii, an Island Paradise," *The Book of Knowledge,* 15: 5447–5451.

20. "American Territory Across the Seas," *ibid.,* 10: 3583–3596.

21. "McKinley — War President and Martyr," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia,* 5: 2103–2105.

22. "The Stirring Days of the Spanish-American War," *ibid.,* 8: 3306–3307.

Alan Rosenberg

N. Y.

CHAPTER XXXV

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

A State of War in Europe. At the opening of the twentieth century, Europe was prepared for war. The nations were armed to the teeth. There were national hatreds, fears, and jealousies. There were racial dislikes, commercial rivalries, conflicting ambitions. France wanted the return of Alsace-Lorraine which Germany had taken from her in 1871. Germany wanted her "place in the sun," that is, she wanted colonies outside of Europe, and a navy as big as England's to defend them. Secret treaties and rival alliances were formed. Provinces of small nations such as Serbia were seized by stronger powers, and the large nations of Europe seemed divided into hostile camps. Only a spark was needed to cause a deadly explosion.

Origin of the World War. The spark was lighted in Serbia. On June 28, 1914, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, was assassinated while on a visit to Bosnia, a southern province of the empire, which had been taken from Serbia. The young man who killed the Archduke was a member of a Serbian secret society which had as one of its aims the separation of Bosnia from Austria-Hungary and its restoration to Serbia.

It was generally supposed that Austria would make certain demands on Serbia because a Serb had murdered the Archduke, but four weeks passed before anything was done. Then, on July 23, Austria sent a harsh note to Serbia, charging the Serbian Government with responsibility for the murder of Francis Ferdinand and his wife, and making most humiliating demands upon the country. Serbia was given forty-eight hours in which to comply with the demands.

In its reply Serbia agreed to all the requirements except one, that Austrian officers should sit in Serbian courts to see that justice was done. This demand meant the surrender of Serbian independence and Serbia refused; she said, however, that if her reply was not satisfactory she was willing to submit the whole matter to the Hague Tribunal or to a conference of European powers.

Austria held the reply to be unsatisfactory. She declared that she would submit the question to no tribunal but her own and at once proceeded to invade Serbia to reduce that country to subjection. Germany, an ally of Austria, stood by, consenting to this act of war.

When Austria invaded Serbia, Russia began to mobilize her troops, or gather her soldiers together, to protect the little Slav state. The Russians and the Serbians are both members of the Slav race and Russia had always been looked upon as the "big brother" and protector of the smaller Slavic states in southeastern Europe. Germany immediately sent a message to Russia demanding that Russia stop military preparations within twelve hours. At the same time Germany asked France whether she would remain neutral in case of war between Russia and Germany. She gave France eighteen hours in which to reply. Russia ignored the German demand and France replied that she would act as her interests demanded. Germany at once attacked both countries.

The Neutrality of Belgium: Great Britain Enters the War. The German plan was to invade France, crush the French army, capture Paris, and render France helpless before Russia could bring her vast armies into the field. Since strong fortifications guarded the boundary between France and Germany, the German commanders decided to invade France through Belgium. That was the easiest way. But the neutrality of Belgium had been guaranteed years before by a treaty signed by the great powers of Europe, including Germany. Germany asked Belgium to allow German troops to cross Belgian territory on their way to France; if Belgium consented, Germany said that her army would safeguard Belgian territory; if Belgium refused, Germany would treat her as an enemy. Belgium replied that her neutrality had been guaranteed by a solemn treaty signed by the great powers of Europe and that she would resist any invasion of her territory.

When England learned that German armies were marching into Belgium she demanded assurances from Germany that Belgian neutrality would be respected. The German chancellor replied that military necessity required the German armies to cross Belgium, and he used to the British ambassador in Berlin a sentence that is still remembered — that Britain ought not to enter the war for the sake of a "scrap of paper." The contempt thus expressed for a solemn treaty helped to bring public opinion in Great Britain behind her Government when she declared war on Germany (August 4, 1914).

A large part of Europe was now ablaze with war and other nations were to enter the conflict. The struggle became indeed a "World War." Before the conflict ended the following countries were at war with Germany: Belgium, Brazil, China, Costa Rica, Cuba, France, Great

Britain, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Montenegro, Nicaragua, Panama, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Serbia, Siam, and the United States. Czechoslovakia and Poland joined these Allies in so far as they were able to do so, and Bolivia, Peru, Uruguay, and Ecuador broke off diplomatic relations.

American Neutrality. When the war began, the American people had no thought of taking part in the conflict. They expected, as a matter of course, that America would keep out. Our policy since the time of Washington had been to avoid European entanglements. Accordingly President Wilson issued a proclamation of neutrality, warning his countrymen against the danger of taking sides and asking them to be "neutral in thought and deed," with a "spirit of impartiality, fairness, and friendliness to all concerned."

The Blockade. The war, however, soon involved American property and American lives. Hardly had the conflict started than Great Britain's navy, in company with other allied fleets, placed a blockade around Germany and Austria, to prevent those countries from getting supplies from the outside world. German ships were swept off the ocean, and the German navy, about two-thirds as strong as the British, remained in hiding during practically the entire war. Only once did her battle fleet venture out of the Baltic, when it was soon turned back by a detachment of the British navy in the battle of Jutland (1916). In this battle Britain's margin in weight of naval metal was twice as great as Germany's.

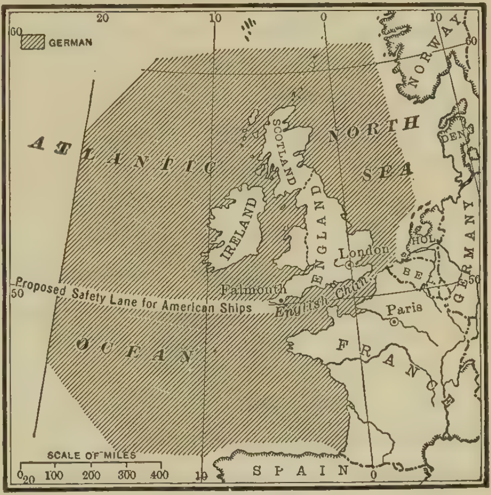
In carrying out her naval warfare Great Britain claimed the right to force all neutral ships bound for Holland, Norway, Sweden, or Denmark to stop for inspection to let English naval officers see that such ships were not carrying contraband goods, such as munitions and materials used for war. Britain was determined that such goods should not reach Germany either directly or through neutral ports. This policy recalled the causes of the War of 1812 and gave the United States much concern because it interfered with our rights as a neutral nation.

But we soon were even more concerned by greater wrongs committed by Germany. Great Britain had declared that all food was contraband if shipped to Germany, or if it might reach Germany, since food for her soldiers was as necessary for continuing the war as were munitions.

To Germany the British decision seemed like dooming an entire nation to destruction through starvation. In retaliation, Germany declared the waters about the British Isles a "war zone" and declared that all enemy merchant vessels would be sunk regardless of the lives of passengers and crew. Passengers from neutral countries were warned to stay off British passenger ships, and neutral vessels were told to stay out of the "war zone."

The Submarine Warfare. The recently invented submarines, or "U boats," were the only sea weapons Germany could use to carry out her intentions against Great Britain. The British navy could block the German ports as far as the surface of the sea was concerned, but the submarines could steal out under the water and sink British merchant ships and sometimes torpedo a war vessel. Germany now proposed to use the submarine to starve out England, to destroy British shipping, to sink her merchantmen and the ships of neutrals that were carrying food and goods to England. If Germany could sink enough ships and cut off supplies to the British Isles, Great Britain would have to sue for peace.

The German plan was a desperate one, and had never before been used in sea warfare. But war itself is a monstrous cruelty which no nation can humanize or refine. Previously it had been the rule in international law that warships should not destroy unresisting merchantmen of the enemy without providing for the safety of the passengers and crew. This the submarine cannot do. It is impossible for the officers of a submarine to visit a merchantman at sea and examine her papers and cargo. It is also impossible for them to make a prize of her, and if they sink her, the crew and all on board are usually left to the mercy of the sea. Yet, regardless of international law and the lives of innocent passengers, the German submarines proceeded to carry out the plan.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THE SUBMARINE WAR ZONE

On February 1, 1917, Germany began her unrestricted submarine warfare in the waters around the British Isles and off the coast of France.

On May 7, 1915, a German submarine sank without warning the great British passenger ship, the *Lusitania*, off the coast of Ireland. About 1200 people were drowned, many of them women and children. Of those drowned 114 were American citizens.

American Protest. The sinking of the *Lusitania* aroused much feeling against Germany in the United

States. Many Americans demanded that all relations with Germany should be broken off at once. On the other hand, many German sympathizers criticized President Wilson for being too lenient toward England when that country interfered with our commerce. President Wilson was patient with both sides, desiring above all else to keep the country out of war. Toward Germany he now asserted that submarines could not be used against merchantmen without a "violation of the sacred principles of justice and humanity." He protested against such warfare as illegal and inhuman, and demanded reparation and the prevention of such occurrences. Finally, after many notes had been exchanged, he succeeded in exacting a promise from the German Government that ships would not be sunk without due regard to the safety of the passengers and crew.

But the promise was not kept. A year after the *Lusitania* was sent to the bottom, a German submarine sank the passenger steamer *Sussex* without warning and with great loss of life. Two Americans were among the injured.

The President at once served notice upon Germany that he would break off diplomatic relations unless Germany abandoned its unlawful submarine warfare. Germany promised to do so, in case the United States should induce Great Britain to give up certain features of her blockade. The American reply was to the effect that Great Britain's acts had nothing to do with Germany's violations of American rights.

Developments were anxiously awaited. They came on January 31, 1917, when the German ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, notified President Wilson that on the following day "unrestricted submarine warfare would be begun on a large area around the British Isles." Three days later President Wilson severed diplomatic relations with Germany, dismissed Count von Bernstorff, and recalled Ambassador Gerard from Berlin. Slowly but surely the United States was being drawn into the gigantic conflict.

American Public Opinion. The great majority of Americans had come to believe that Germany was responsible for the war; that she had started the conflict for purposes of national ambition; that she cared nothing for international law or the rights of humanity; that she was fighting for the control of Europe; and that she had no intention of keeping her promises.

To add fuel to the flame, the "Zimmerman note" was published shortly after diplomatic relations were broken off. Dr. Zimmerman, of the German Government, in a note to the German minister to Mexico, proposed that in case the United States declared war against Germany an alliance should be made between Germany and Mexico and, if possible, Japan's aid should also be obtained. An invasion of the United States should then be made and the Mexican cessions which America had wrested from Mexico by the Mexican War (Arizona and New Mexico) should be restored to that country.

This scheme, together with other events, convinced the United States that Germany was plotting against this country and would show no regard for American rights. For some time German agents and spies had encouraged labor troubles and strikes in American factories. Munition factories had been blown up, bombs placed in ships sailing to England and France, American ships sunk, and American lives destroyed. Explosions, riots, and other discords in America were traced to German sources at a time when Germany and the United States were supposed to be on friendly terms.

America Enters the War. American patience was at an end. A special session of Congress was convened at which President Wilson read a message in which he recommended that Congress recognize a state of war as existing between Germany and the United States, because the course of Germany was nothing less than war. She had assailed our flag, disturbed our peace and order, sunk our ships, and drowned our citizens without thought of help or mercy. She had so disregarded our rights that friendly relations could no longer be maintained. Four days later, April 6, 1917, Congress adopted the recommendation of the President, and American troops were soon on their way to France.

ARRIVAL OF FIRST AMERICAN TROOPS IN FRANCE

The first great task was to prepare the nation for war. Congress quickly passed a Selective Service or "Draft" Act, requiring all men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one, inclusive, to register for military service. Approximately 10,000,000 men registered under the Act on June 5, 1917. A later act lowered the age limit to eighteen and raised the upper limit to forty-five. On September 12, 1918, about 13,000,000 men registered under this act. Here was the raw material for the largest army ever raised by any nation.

The navy was already on a war footing. A considerable part of it was sent at once to European waters to help the Allied navies in their fight against the submarines.

But it takes time to train and equip an army. To this end, huge camps, some of them capable of holding 50,000 to 75,000 men, were built in many parts of the United States. Officers' Training Camps also prepared thousands of officers to drill and lead the troops.

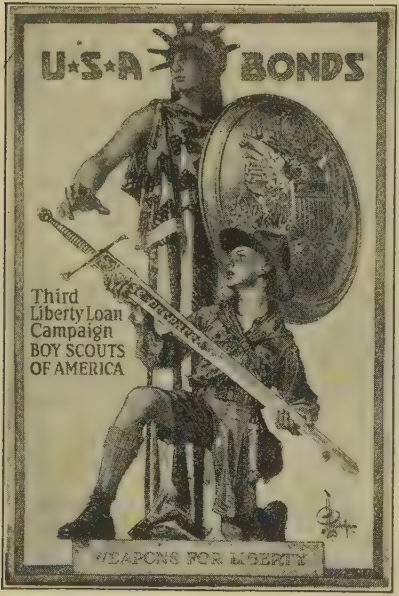
A United States Submarine

The submarine is an American invention.

The great factories of the country abandoned their usual business and took up the making of munitions and other supplies of war — guns, ammunition, uniforms, shoes, foodstuffs, airplanes.

Gigantic shipyards were established along both oceans and after some delay and blundering ships were turned out with astonishing speed. While the submarine was doing its deadly work, there was a crying need for shipping. The swift destroyers of the Allied and American navies, however, did worthy service in sinking the submarine or frightening it away from its former fields of activity.

The Cost of the War. All this of course was a very expensive business. Experts have estimated that our part in the war, brief as it was, cost the United States $41,000,000,000, not including loans to our Allies. This enormous sum would mean an outlay of $400 for every man, woman, and child in the United States.


U★S★A BONDS
Third Liberty Loan Campaign BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA
WEAPONS FOR LIBERTY

A Liberty Loan Poster

Artists were active in preparing appealing posters for the various Liberty Loan "Drives." This is one of the most effective and was extensively used.

To meet these expenditures Congress acted promptly. It passed taxing measures of magnitude and made provision for borrowing vast sums of money. Liberty Loan Bonds were put upon the market and the people were asked to subscribe for $14,000,000,000 worth before the close of the war in November, 1918. The nation responded loyally by subscribing for $18,000,000,000 worth of bonds.

Government Operation of Railroads. In order to act with efficiency, the Government took over the management of the railroads of the country. Practically all of them were placed under the Secretary of the Treasury, William G. McAdoo. Passenger service was reduced and simplified, and in freight transportation preference was given to war supplies. It was arranged that the roads were to be given back to their owners within twenty-one months after the declaration of peace. The Government raised wages and rates, but was operating the railroads at a loss when the war closed.

Food and Fuel. Armies cannot fight well unless they are well fed. The war withdrew millions of men from the industries of peace, and the food supply the world over was greatly diminished. The United States was called upon to help feed many of the European nations. The Government asked the farmers to increase the food supply and the people in cities and towns to plant small gardens and not to waste food. Potato patches were planted on waste strips of land along railway lines and in other ways there was a loyal response. In this emergency the United States established the Food Administration, with Herbert C. Hoover at its head. Mr. Hoover had already done an able piece of work in directing the distribution of food among the starving millions of Europe. The Food Administration lessened "profiteering" by fixing the prices of certain commodities and by specifying the conditions under which they could be purchased. Special regulations were made for wheat, flour, sugar, and meat. As a result of these efforts, the United States was able to send large cargoes of food to the nations of Europe.

Saving fuel was also necessary. As coal was needed for war, the people had to use less of it. The President appointed Dr. Harry A. Garfield, President of Williams College, to be United States Fuel Administrator, with general control of the entire situation. There were also State and local fuel administrators. These officers fixed the prices of coal, directed its distribution, and determined the amount which might be sold to any one person. "Heatless" days, "lightless" nights, and "gasless" Sundays were inaugurated in an effort to conserve the supply of coal and gasoline.

Loans to the Allies. Besides sending food and coal, we also loaned to the Allies nearly $10,000,000,000, largely in the form of credits to be expended in this country for the purchase of supplies. Thus our men, money, and food were all important items in bringing the conflict to a successful conclusion.

Voluntary Organizations. The American army was better cared for than the armies of Europe. Hardship and suffering occurred here and there, due to individual blundering and the wholesale manner in which things were necessarily done, but on the whole the men were well cared for. In this work voluntary or semi-official organizations had an important part. The Red Cross looked after wounded soldiers and the suffering civil population as well. The Junior Red Cross, composed of school children, also did a noble work in purchasing and preparing supplies.

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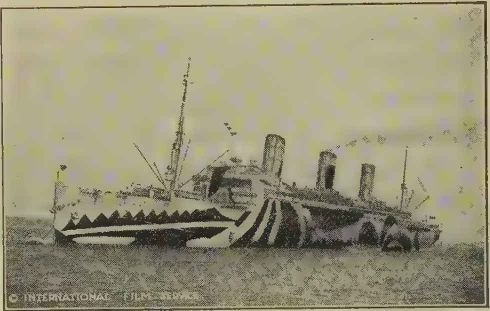
Red Cross Workers

Red Cross nurses were looked upon as "angels of mercy." In the World War, Red Cross workers preparing supplies for the nurses were to be found in every city and hamlet and at every crossroads in the United States.

The Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the Young Men's Hebrew Association, and the Salvation Army ministered to the needs of the men while on and off duty. The Young Women's Christian Association opened hostess houses at the various camps in the United States where the men could find rest and recreation and meet their relatives and friends. The American Library Association put good books into the soldier's hands, and the War Camp Community Service furnished him entertainment while outside the camp.

The people of the United States by voluntary gifts raised hundreds of millions of dollars for these different agencies.

American Troops in Europe. Early in the morning of June 14, 1917, 15,000 American soldiers sailed from New York for France. On the following Fourth of July a battalion of American infantry marched through the city of Paris and a wreath was laid upon the tomb of Lafayette. Except for General Pershing and his staff, who had gone to France a short time before, these were the first American fighting men to set foot on the soil of Europe.



A Camouflaged Transport

Ships sailing between the United States and Europe were painted in fantastic designs to confuse the enemy gunners. When in motion the ship presents a very difficult target.

From this time on American troops went to France in a steady stream and in spite of the German submarine. None were lost at sea. By the beginning of 1918, 250,000 American soldiers were in Europe and many times that number were in the camps making ready to go. In the fall of 1918 more than 2,000,000 American "doughboys" were in Europe, and additional troops were crossing the Atlantic at the rate of 300,000 a month. The "convoy system" of escorting ships by destroyers and warships worked well and the Allied destroyers, with their depth bombs, guarded the transports against the German submarines. The safe transport of more than 2,000,000 troops across the sea, with their munitions, was a remarkable achievement; it was made possible only by the protection given by the American and British navies.

Women and the War. The women and girls of England, France, and the United States helped also to win the war. They "kept the home fires burning" while the men fought the battles. The "Women's Land Army" of England did practically every kind of labor that a man could do, thus releasing thousands of men for the army. Clad in uniforms, with trousers taking the place of skirts, they worked in the fields and in the factories, in addition to nursing in the hospitals and driving ambulances and automobiles.

As the Selective Service Draft Act made inroads upon the labor forces of the United States, American women took the places of the men in offices, banks, elevators, street cars, and factories. In addition, tens of thousands of them went to Washington to become stenographers and typists in the Government departments. If the war had continued, the Women's Land Army of England would have been duplicated on a much larger scale in the United States.

Espionage Act and Pacifists. Before America entered the war, any citizen had the right to oppose such action. But after the Government had declared war, was a citizen justified in doing anything that would obstruct the Government in prosecuting the war? To meet such a situation Congress passed the Espionage Act shortly after our entrance into the struggle, imposing penalties for denouncing the war, for refusing military service, for encouraging disloyalty, for obstructing the recruiting service, and for other conduct tending to defeat the United States by interfering with its military and naval forces.

There were a few pacifists, conscientious people, who were opposed to war under all circumstances. The

Socialists denounced the conflict as a "capitalist war," and their leader, Eugene V. Debs, was imprisoned for speaking against it. Nearly 2000 "conscientious objectors" were imprisoned for opposing the war or refusing military service. These were not ordinary criminals, but were known as "political prisoners" because they opposed the *policy* of war. Provision was made in the Espionage Act for conscientious objectors belonging to "any religious sect whose creed or principles forbade its members to participate in war." They were allowed to render service in non-military ways, and the Quakers distinguished themselves in noble war service by nursing the sick and wounded, feeding the hungry, and bringing relief to the suffering.

Efforts Toward Peace: Wilson's Fourteen Points. In an address to Congress on January 8, 1918, President Wilson stated the attitude of the United States in the war and set forth what he would like to see accomplished. In this address he announced his famous "Fourteen Points" as the war aims of the United States:

(1) "Open diplomacy"—no more secret treaties to be made.

(2) Freedom of the seas, in war as well as in peace. Peaceful trade not to be interfered with by warring powers.

(3) Striking down of trade barriers between nations.

(4) Reduction of armaments.

(5) Fair adjustment of the claims of the rival nations to possession of disputed colonies.

(6) Territory occupied by the Germans during the war (in Russia, Belgium, France, and the Balkan states) to be given up to their own peoples, each nation to be free to develop "institutions of its own choosing."

(7) Restoration of Belgium with the payment of war damages.

(8) Righting the wrong done in Alsace-Lorraine when those provinces were taken from France by Germany in 1871.

(9) Readjusting the boundaries of Italy on national lines to bring Italian people under Italian rule.

(10) Restoration of Serbia, which had been conquered and possessed by Austria.

(11) Security for peoples under Turkish rule to develop along their own lines.

(12) Freedom of all nations to navigate the Dardanelles.

(13) The establishment of Poland as an independent state.

(14) A League of Nations to promote world peace and to secure the rights and "self-determination" of all nations, the small as well as the great.

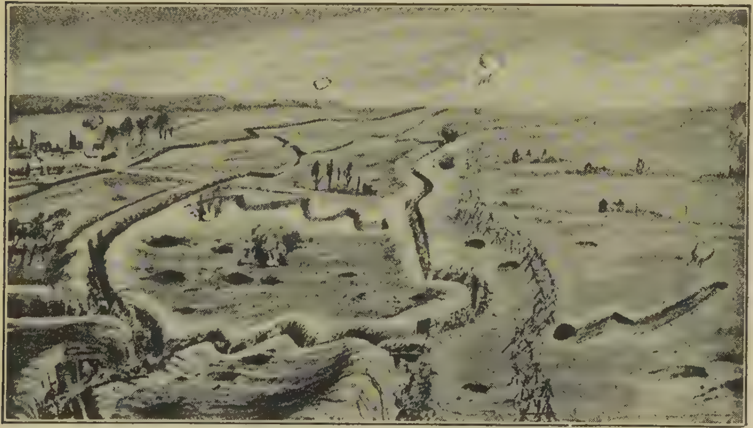
American Troops and the War. At first the American troops remained back of the lines for intensive training in trench fighting. Then they went to the front as small units under their American officers, but were formed into brigades with the more experienced troops of France and Great Britain. The entire American army was under the direct command of General John J. Pershing, co-operating with the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied forces, Marshal Foch (fōsh).

A good deal of curiosity existed as to how the untried American troops would behave under fire. There was not long to wait. From their first engagement to the

General John J. Pershing

General Pershing was born in Missouri in 1860 and was graduated from West Point Military Academy in 1886. He saw service in the West against the Indians and also in the Spanish-American War of 1898. He served in the Philippines for four years and was in command of the United States troops sent into Mexico in pursuit of General Villa in March, 1916. In 1917 he went to France as head of the American Expeditionary Forces in the World War.

last, the American soldiers and marines carried the fight to the enemy. Their energy knew no bounds. The marines fought with such ferocity that the Germans called them "the Devil Dogs." One of their most notable engagements was in Belleau (bĕ′lō′) Wood, which France has since renamed "The Wood of the United States Marines."



TRENCHES ON THE WESTERN FRONT

Trench warfare was one of the new features of the World War. Notice the zigzag character of the trenches, the exploding shells, the shell craters, and the barbed wire entanglement in front of the outermost trench. The stretch of ground between the front line of trenches of the opposing armies was called "No Man's Land."

Much of the American fighting was done around Chateau-Thierry (shä tō′ tyȧ′rē̇), St. Mihiel (săn mē̇′yĕl), Metz (mĕts), and in the forests of Argonne (ȧr gȯn′). In the spring of 1918 the Germans began a series of "desperation" drives, bent upon capturing the "channel ports"—Calais (kăl′ā), Dunkirk (dŭn′kûrk), and Boulogne (bo͞o lōn′)—and upon reaching Paris. At first they met with success, but in July were stopped by the Americans and the French, and their advance was turned into a retreat.

This was the beginning of the end. At the notable defense of Verdun (vĕr dŭn′) in 1916 the French had said, "They shall not pass." The British, French, and Americans now said, "They shall not stop," and the Allied forces, having taken the offensive, never dropped it. Under the command of General Foch they struck blow after blow in rapid succession along the entire front, and the enemy was apparently bewildered.

Finally the Germans, their armies beaten in the field and their spirit weakened, asked for an armistice, a temporary pause in the fighting, to make terms of peace. In October, 1918, Germany expressed her willingness to make peace on the basis of President Wilson's "Fourteen Points." The armistice terms were announced by General Foch and were promptly accepted by the Germans. On the eleventh day of the eleventh month at eleven o'clock in the forenoon the guns ceased firing and the most terrible war of all history came to a close.

The Terms of the Armistice. The armistice terms meant a complete surrender by Germany. Her allies — Bulgaria, Turkey, and Austria-Hungary — had already been beaten and had given up the fight; revolution was about to break out in Germany, and her armies had been beaten in the field. The Germans, therefore, were compelled to accept whatever terms the Allies saw fit to grant.

Under the terms of the armistice large numbers of guns and immense amounts of ammunition were turned over by the Germans and Austrians to the Allies; airplanes were surrendered; locomotives and cars which had been taken out of Belgium and France were given up; and a large part of the carefully preserved German navy was taken from its hiding place behind the Kiel Canal and handed over to Allied naval officers. The German troops immediately evacuated Allied territory and the

Allied armies took possession of important posts within the German Empire. The purpose of the armistice terms was to make it impossible for the Germans to resume hostilities, a purpose that was fully accomplished.

The Peace Conference. Arrangements were immediately made for a peace conference to be held in Paris early in 1919. President Wilson, after addressing Congress early in December, 1918, sailed for France. The conference opened January 18, and after the necessary preliminaries, the delegates settled down to the important and difficult task of drawing up the terms of peace. So conflicting were the claims of the different nations, however, that almost six months passed before the treaty, embodying a covenant of a League of Nations, was ready.

The treaty with Germany was signed in the historic palace at Versailles (vĕr sä′y), near Paris, on June 28, 1919. Americans had been told that the conflict in which they had so loyally engaged was "a war to end war." President Wilson, at the Peace Conference, insisted that some agreement among the nations must be made by which such a war might be prevented in the future. He insisted upon and obtained in the treaty a provision for a League of Nations for this purpose. Alsace-Lorraine (ăl săs′ lȯ rān′) was given back to France; Finland was made independent of Russia; Poland was made independent and was given territory that had long since been taken from her by Germany and Russia; Italy's territories were enlarged; the Austro-Hungarian Empire was broken up and some of its provinces were assigned to Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, whose independence was recognized; Great Britain received additional colonies and "mandates," or control, over certain lands in Asia and Africa. The responsibility for the war was placed upon Germany and her allies. Germany had to surrender her colonies and her navy, reduce her army to 100,000 men, and pay large sums for the damages she had inflicted. Germany's province of Shantung (shän′to͝ong′) in China was surrendered to Japan. The treaty contained hard terms and in time it may need to be revised.

America received nothing from the war except huge debts, losses, and taxes. She expected nothing. Although nearly all the nations of the world soon joined the League of Nations, the United States refused to do so, being the only strong nation that has declined membership, except Russia, which has so far not been invited to join. Personal and party opposition to the League of Nations arose in America and the Peace Treaty providing for the League was rejected by the United States Senate. Separate treaties with Germany and Austria were made and ratified in 1921.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. How did the World War begin? Tell why the conflict is called the *World War*. Point out on a map of the world the countries that did *not* take part in the conflict.

2. Why did Germany want to attack France by going through Belgium? Explain Germany's reasons with the help of a map.

3. Why is it important that "public opinion" be behind a government during a war? What brought public opinion back of the British Government in the World War? Find out the attitude of Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and India toward the war.

4. Compare Wilson's attitude toward the World War with Washington's attitude toward the French Revolutionary wars in 1793 (see page 250). Were the reasons of the two men similar?

5. Why was it hard for the United States to remain neutral? Did the United States remain neutral during the French Revolutionary wars? Explain.

6. What is a blockade? Consult the Index and find out about other blockades in our history. Tell how a blockade helps a country to win a war.

7. How and why did Germany use the submarine? Did she make a mistake in so doing? Explain.

8. How did both Great Britain and Germany violate American rights? Compare with the actions of Great Britain and France in the early part of the nineteenth century (see pages 271–273). Which country injured the American people more — Great Britain or Germany? Explain.

9. Why did the United States enter the World War?

10. Explain the following and tell what each had to do with the World War: "a scrap of paper"; "Zimmerman note"; Selective Service Draft Act; convoy system; "Fourteen Points"; Liberty Bonds.

11. Mention ways in which American men, women, and children helped to win the war. Ask your father and mother what they did during the war or what your other relatives did.

12. Tell so far as you are able what the war cost. Why is war so expensive? Can you tell what was gained by the war? Explain.

13. "In union there is strength." Mention events or policies during the war that illustrate the quotation.

14. Describe the part played by American troops in the World War.

15. How did the United States raise money to carry on the war?

16. Turn to President Wilson's "Fourteen Points" (page 629) and talk over their meaning. Find, if possible, which of the "points" were adopted in the treaty of peace and which were ignored.

17. Tell what you think was the most important result of the World War (1) to the United States; (2) to European countries; and (3) to the world as a whole.

THINGS TO DO

1. Volunteers offer to make a special study of the reasons that caused each of the countries named on page 616 to enter the World War. No pupil take more than one country. Each pupil report to the class, presenting the reasons of the country which he represents as if he were a citizen of that country.

2. On an outline map of the world, show in black the countries that entered the World War, and in shaded areas those that severed diplomatic relations with Germany but did not go to war with her.

3. Invite several members of the American Legion in your community to tell the class about their experiences during the World War.

4. Have an exhibit of articles connected with the World War. Secure if possible enlistment posters, Red Cross placards, War Savings Stamps, uniforms, military equipment, Liberty Bond advertisements, and the like; arrange the material appropriately and invite members of the school and of the community to come to see the exhibit. Tell visitors about the different articles as they examine them.

5. Bring letters written from the military camps or from the front during the war and read them to the class.

6. Make a list of things each of the great nations gained or lost by the war.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "A World Tragedy," *Our Presidents*, 278–286.
2. " The World War," *The Book of the United States*, 290–303.
3. " The Sinking of the *Lusitania*," *America First*, 428–433.
4. " The Last Race of Private Treptow," *ibid.*, 433–437.
5. " Frank Luke, Jr.—Aviator," *ibid.*, 437–442.
6. " The Exploits of Sergeant York," *ibid.*, 442–447.
7. " The Cost of the World War," *Readings in Community Life*, 233–234.

8. "America Welcomed as an Ally," by David Lloyd George, *In Our Times*, 351–353.

9. "We Are in the War," by Theodore Roosevelt, *ibid.*, 353–354.

10. "Universal Service in America," *ibid.*, 359–363.

11. "Life in the Cantonment," *ibid.*, 365–370.

12. "The Fourteen Points of World Peace," by Woodrow Wilson, *ibid.*, 389–393.

13. "Aid to the Belgians," by Brand Whitlock, *ibid.*, 407–409.

14. "In Flanders Fields," by John McCrae, *ibid.*, 413.

15. "Transport 106," *ibid.*, 414–418.

16. "Catching a Submarine," *ibid.*, 418–424.

17. "The Americans Come," *ibid.*, 424–425.

18. "The Treaty of Versailles," *ibid.*, 452–459.

19. "The Great War, 1914–1918," *America the Great Adventure*, 356–365.

20. "Wilson and the Great War," *This Country of Ours*, 606–611.

21. "The Commander-in-Chief of the Allies in the World War," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia*, 3 : 1315.

22. "The Greatest War in History," *ibid.*, 9 : 3789–3812.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE PEACE MOVEMENT

Elihu Burritt. Nearly a century ago Elihu Burritt, the "learned blacksmith," entered on a crusade for universal peace and human brotherhood. Burritt had had no chance to go to college; but by reading and study he had mastered many languages. He lectured in America and Europe, creating a sentiment for peace. In 1848 he organized the *Brussels Congress of Friends of Peace.* In the history of the peace movement his name deserves to be remembered. He was a pioneer in a great cause.

Demand for World Peace. Since the World War a demand has arisen in all countries that another calamity of the kind shall never happen again. Differences will arise between nations, some of them serious, but no reason exists why these disputes should be settled by war. Disputes between individuals are not settled by duels, although such was the practice years ago; now they are settled in court. No one has a right to be the sole judge of his own case and to settle a controversy with his neighbor in his own way by force of arms. It should be so with nations.

Old Ways of Avoiding War. Let us notice some of the old ways of keeping the peace among nations and see how the methods have worked in American history.

1. **Diplomacy.** The State Department is our Peace Department. Through its ambassadors and agents and

treaties, this Department seeks to remove difficulties with other nations as they arise, to bring about understanding, and to cultivate friendly relations with all countries. Many quarrels have been settled, or prevented, by forbearance and wise diplomacy.

Sometimes a single treaty makes for lasting peace. In 1798–1800 France and America were on the verge of war. Diplomacy and a treaty settled the quarrel, and for over one hundred and thirty years the two republics have lived on friendly terms with each other. In 1846 we were about to go to war with Great Britain over the Oregon boundary. The Oregon treaty of 1846 settled that dispute in fairness to both sides. Nations make treaties not only to end wars but also to avoid wars.

2. **Mediation.** If two nations in a dispute cannot reach an agreement, mediation may be used. This involves the friendly aid of a third country that is trusted by both nations in the difficulty. The good offices of a mutual friend may lead to a peaceful settlement satisfactory to both parties. President Roosevelt mediated between Russia and Japan in 1905 and brought about peace between the warring powers. It is always better to try mediation before a war begins.

3. **Conciliation.** In the process of conciliation a commission is appointed by the mutual consent of the countries involved in difficulty to investigate the facts leading to the trouble and to suggest a solution. The recommendations of the commission are not binding on either nation, but they are likely to be effective. The nation refusing to accept the solution would appear in an unfavorable light.

4. **Arbitration.** This method goes farther than any of the preceding ones. By it a court is formed for the hearing of the dispute. Before this court the evidence and claims of both sides may be brought. The countries

in dispute agree in advance that the award of the court shall be accepted as binding. If the nation which loses the case should break its pledge to abide by the decision, it would be regarded as contemptible by other nations.

America has always been in favor of arbitration. She has urged this way to peace upon other nations. We agreed to arbitrate the *Alabama* claims against Great Britain in 1871 (see page 470) and the differences over the Newfoundland fisheries in 1877. In the first instance, we collected claims amounting to $15,500,000; in the second, we paid $5,500,000. The arbitration awards were probably fair in both cases, although some of the English thought the *Alabama* award was excessive and unjust. But, as Prime Minister Gladstone said, the cost was but "a drop in the bucket" compared with the expense of a war, and the hatred which war causes.

In 1892 a treaty of arbitration was made between Britain and the United States to settle a dispute over the capture of seals in Alaskan waters. For a time it seemed that the seal herds would be entirely destroyed, and American authorities had seized a number of British seal-hunting vessels. An American court in Alaska claimed that the Bering sea was a "closed sea," and therefore a part of the territory of Alaska. In this instance the arbitrators decided against America and we had to pay $473,000 damages for the British ships seized. Later an agreement was made between the two countries for the protection of the seals.

Again, the Venezuela boundary dispute between America and Britain was settled by arbitration in 1896 and 1897. Once more the decision on the whole went against the United States, but the nation was satisfied and war was honorably avoided.

In 1908 a long standing dispute about the Newfoundland fisheries was also settled by an arbitration treaty between Great Britain and America. American fishermen were allowed rights on the Newfoundland coast and a commission was established to settle future controversies between Canada and the United States. A number of disputes have since been peaceably settled by this Joint Commission, which is composed of three Canadians and three Americans.

America has made a number of general arbitration treaties with other nations. She made one with France in 1908, which was to run for twenty years, and which was renewed in 1928. In general, such treaties agree that, when differences arise between the United States and another power, the differences shall be submitted to an impartial tribunal. Such an arrangement tends to remove ill feeling and to promote good will and, although all wars may not be prevented in this way, every successful arbitration tends to reduce the probability of conflict.

The Hague Court. This tribunal is an attempt to provide a regular and permanent means of arbitration. The *Hague Court* is not really a court, but is only a list, or panel, of judges from which arbitrators may be chosen if two nations agree to submit a political dispute to arbitration. Each nation adhering to the Hague Court names four persons well informed in international law and of the highest moral reputation for the panel of judges. From the total list so appointed each party to a dispute selects two judges, but may choose only one judge from among the four persons it named for the panel of judges. After the four arbitrators are thus selected, they choose a fifth. If three of the four arbitrators cannot agree upon the fifth, a third power selects him.

The Permanent Court of International Justice. This tribunal is a regular court of law, with a definite body of judges giving their time to the work and receiving a suitable compensation. The World Court, as the tribunal is commonly called, does not deal with political but with legal questions, such as the meaning or interpretation of a treaty, questions of international law, and the kind of payment that should be made for a violation of an international obligation. The World Court has now been agreed to by more than sixty nations.

To this court the nations that have joined in recognizing it agree to submit their differences on all subjects that are "justiciable"; that is, on all such as can be settled on principles of law, justice, and equity. The purpose is to substitute law for war.

The United States is not a member of the World Court. The Senate agreed to membership in 1926, with certain reservations, but these reservations were not all accepted by all the other nations. Our joining the court was allowed to drop until 1929, when Elihu Root drew up a plan for American membership to which the other nations agreed. Secretary of State Stimson announced that this arrangement was acceptable to the United States, but the Senate has not yet given its approval to the plan, and the United States therefore does not belong to the Court.

The League of Nations. If a nation should refuse to recognize its obligations and begin a war, could it not be restrained by some combination of nations that wished to keep the peace? This idea led to the *League of Nations,* proposed by President Wilson at the close of the World War. The chief purpose of the League was to organize some international machinery to preserve world peace—"to promote internal peace and security; to induce nations not to resort to war; to establish open, honorable, and just relations among nations; to induce them to accept the understandings of international law, and to maintain regard for the obligations of treaties."

During the ten years in which the League has been in existence, it has become so important and influential, and America has such important connections with it, that its organization and work need to be briefly explained.

The League now (1930) has fifty-four member nations. The non-member nations are Russia, Turkey, Mexico, the United States, and a few minor powers like Afghanistan, Egypt, and Hejaz.

The organs of the League are: (1) The Assembly, (2) The Council, (3) The Secretariat.

The *Assembly* represents the member nations. It meets annually at Geneva, Switzerland, on the first Monday in September. Each nation may have three representatives in the Assembly but only one vote; the nations are therefore equal in power, the little with the big. Any "fully self-governing state, dominion, or colony" may be a member, a term which includes such states as Cuba, Canada, and Ireland. The Assembly elects the non-permanent members of the Council; it may discuss any matter touching the peace of the world.

The *Council* is made up of fourteen member nations, five permanent members (Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Japan) and nine members elected annually by the Assembly. In 1930 the nine non-permanent members, who are elected by the Assembly for terms of three years, were Cuba, Finland, Canada, Spain, Venezuela, Persia, Peru, Poland, and Yugoslavia. Three members retire each year.

The Council meets three times a year and special meetings may be called for emergencies. The Council acts as a kind of Executive Committee of the Assembly to handle immediate questions, while the Assembly is like an international forum for free public discussion. The Council may take no action without unanimous consent.

The Secretariat. This is the permanent working part of the League. It is steadily active, doing a vast amount of secretarial work, looking after the records and correspondence, collecting information, and registering the business which is to come before the Assembly and the Council.

The League Way for Settling Disputes. The members of the League agree to submit any dispute that may arise either (1) to the World Court, (2) to arbitration, or (3) to the League Council. The dispute may be submitted only by agreement of the parties in dispute, but once a dispute is so referred all members agree to accept the decision and not to go to war with a member accepting the decision. The members agree that in no case will they resort to war until three months after the decision by the arbitrators or the Council.

The Council may take up a dispute of its own accord. Any question likely to endanger the peace of the world may be brought to the attention of the Council by any member state. In 1927 China called the attention of the Council to the sending of troops to Shanghai by the British. Parties to a dispute have a right to a seat on the Council while their dispute is being considered, whether they are members of the Council or not. After investigation the Council publishes its recommendation. If this is agreed to by all the members of the Council (except the parties to the dispute), all members agree not to go to war against any member complying with the decision.

If any member of the League goes to war in violation of its pledge, it shall be considered as having made war on all the members of the League. It is then subject to the following restraints:

1. *The Public Opinion of the World.* This is really stronger than any government. It will be aroused

against the offending nation, and no nation is likely to defy it or stand against it. Every nation seeks world approval; and no nation can be comfortable under universal condemnation.

2. *The Economic Boycott.* Supplies may be cut off and trade restrictions imposed. This is an effective weapon in bringing a war-making nation to peace. No nation can carry on war very long unless it can trade with other nations and get food and supplies.

3. *The Blockade.* The war-making nation may have its ports closed to all foreign trade, a form of war that may make fighting with soldiers and guns unnecessary.

4. *Military Pressure—The Use of War Measures.* This is the last resort, and the use of the other weapons of the League is likely to make war unnecessary.

The Peace Treaty, providing for the League of Nations, had to be submitted to the Senate for ratification. Here a conflict arose. Wilson had not appointed any member of the Senate to the Peace Commission. Henry Cabot Lodge, the chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, disagreed with Wilson; so the Senate, after a heated debate, attached certain amendments or reservations to the League covenant which President Wilson refused to accept. Thus a deadlock developed between the President and the Senate, and the Peace Treaty with its provisions for the League of Nations was never ratified. Hence the United States did not enter the League, partly from party politics, partly from a desire to preserve complete national independence, and partly from a fear of being entangled in European affairs and alliances.

While the treaty was being discussed in the Senate, President Wilson started on a speech-making tour of the country to arouse public opinion in favor of the treaty. In Kansas he suffered a nervous breakdown.

He was taken back to Washington with an illness from which he never recovered. He filled out his term, although disabled from performing the duties of his office. He died in February, 1924.

Woodrow Wilson

Woodrow Wilson, 28th President of the United States, was born at Staunton, Virginia, December 28, 1856; he was graduated from Princeton University in 1879; was Professor of History and Political Economy in Bryn Mawr College from 1885 to 1888, and in Wesleyan University from 1888 to 1890. From 1890 to 1902 he was a professor in Princeton University, and from 1902 to 1910 he was President of Princeton. He was elected Governor of New Jersey in 1910. On retiring from the presidency he continued to live in Washington, D. C., until his death in February, 1924.

The Geneva Protocol: "Aggressive War." The League Covenant does not outlaw war, but places reliance mainly on delay, investigation, publicity, and public opinion. If arbitration is refused or if the Council cannot agree unanimously, war may be recognized as legitimate. This provision has been regarded as one of the objections to the League.

In 1924 the *Geneva Protocol* (a draft of a treaty), agreed to by the chief European nations, took a further step in an attempt to outlaw *aggressive* war. An aggressor was defined as a nation which refused to submit a dispute to peaceful settlement and took up arms to enforce its claims. Under the Geneva Protocol each state agreed to submit every dispute to arbitration, to accept the decision, and to unite in war against a disgraceful aggressor. Great Britain withdrew its support of the Protocol and the arrangement failed of adoption. This disappointed public opinion and four years later the Government in England was turned out of power, partly on this account.

The Locarno (lō cär′nō) **Conference.** In October, 1925, a famous conference of European nations was held at Locarno, Switzerland. It met to consider affairs in Europe where security is the key to peace, where the nations must be made to feel safe before they can be induced to lay down their arms. A "Treaty of Mutual Guarantee" was made by which Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain, and Italy guarantee the present boundaries between Germany and Belgium and between Germany and France. They agreed that German territory for about thirty miles east of the Rhine should have no military forces; and that no forts, arsenals, soldiers, military stores, and means of war are to exist on this frontier. Germany, Belgium, and France mutually agreed not to resort to war with one another, except in defense against a violation of the agreement, or for a cause authorized by the League. If a violation of the agreement occurs, Great Britain and Italy agreed to use arms against the violator. Separate arbitration treaties were signed by Germany and France.

In the past every war has been "defensive" from the point of view of those beginning it. Locarno defined the aggressor as that nation which, having agreed to settle differences by arbitration and justice, proceeds to attack another nation without fulfilling its agreement.

The Locarno agreement was hailed as a happy omen for the peace of Europe. The nations had made a beginning toward peace. For the first time in a thousand years, France and Germany pledged themselves not to attack one another. Briand (brē än′), the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, welcomed Germany to membership in the League in an eloquent address before the Assembly of the League of Nations (1926). He expressed the hope that the world would substitute the process of peace for bloody conflicts.

> Peace for Germany and for France! That means that we have done with the long series of terrible and bloody conflicts which have stained the pages of history; done with the black veils of mourning for sufferings that can never be appeased; done with war; done with brutal and bloody methods of settling our disputes. True, differences between us still exist, but henceforth it will be for the judge to declare the law. Just as individual citizens take their difficulties to be settled by a magistrate, so shall we bring ours to be settled by pacific procedure. Away with rifles, machine guns, cannon! Clear the way for conciliation, arbitration, peace!

Outlawing War: the Paris Peace Pact. On April 6, 1927, on the tenth anniversary of America's entrance into the World War, Briand, ten times Prime Minister of France, and then her Minister of Foreign Affairs, made a declaration to the people of the United States that France was ready to enter into a treaty with us that would for all time outlaw war between the two nations.

In responding to France, Kellogg, the American Secretary of State, proposed that a treaty renouncing war should apply not only as between France and America, but that such a treaty should be extended to all the nations of the world. Secretary Kellogg said that America was ready to give up war, and he proposed a "multilateral treaty" for the other nations to consider:

> *The high contracting parties agree that the settlement of all disputes and conflicts which may arise among them, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, shall never be settled except by peaceful means.*

This is the language of the treaty for renouncing war. More than fifty nations of the world have now signed it.

At a gathering in the White House in July, 1929, President Hoover, in the presence of Secretary Kellogg and ex-President Coolidge, solemnly proclaimed the Peace Pact outlawing war to be the law of America and of the world. The Peace Pact does not mean that conflicts and disputes will cease to arise among nations, but that when they do arise they shall be settled by the machinery and agencies of peace.

EWING GALLOWAY

THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE BRIDGE

Commemorating more than one hundred years of peace between the United States and Canada.

Disarmament. Are the nations sincere and do they mean what they say when they promise in solemn treaty to abandon war and to settle all disputes by peaceful means? If so, they can begin to lay down their arms. A splendid example of security by disarmament is found in the Rush-Bagot Treaty of 1818 between Great Britain and America — the treaty by which the Great

Lakes were dedicated to international friendship, disarmament, and lasting peace.

In 1818 Sir Charles Bagot for Great Britain and Richard Rush for America made a treaty which excluded warships from the Great Lakes and thus secured lasting peace between two great nations. Thus more than one hundred and twelve years ago Great Britain and the United States provided that on a frontier stretching between the two nations for more than 3000 miles not a fort nor a soldier, not a gun nor a war vessel, was to be stationed. There has been no need of any for the treaty has never been violated. The "International Peace Bridge," spanning the Niagara River at Buffalo, was officially opened and dedicated in August, 1927, in commemoration of more than a hundred years of peace thus secured between the United States and Canada.

The Washington Disarmament Conference. It was with reduced armaments in view that President Harding called a conference of several of the powers engaged in the late war — Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, China, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Portugal — to meet at Washington on Armistice Day, November 11, 1921. Charles E. Hughes, the American Secretary of State, in opening the conference astonished the delegates and the country by proposing a drastic cut in the chief navies of the world. He proposed that the United States immediately scrap thirty war vessels, half of them new ships; that Great Britain destroy nineteen battleships, and Japan seventeen. He also proposed a "naval holiday" for ten years — the building of no new battleships in that time. He further proposed that the relative strength of the chief navies in "capital ships" (battleships) be as 5 for Great Britain, 5 for the United States, 3 for Japan, and 1.6 for France and Italy. These proposals were agreed to and put into a treaty.

A "Four Power Treaty" was also agreed to at the Conference, by which Great Britain, France, Japan, and the United States agreed to respect one another's rights and possessions in the islands of the Pacific; if danger of war threatened, these nations were to meet in conference and decide on the best course of action. There had been a military alliance between Great Britain and Japan and this was now dissolved, much to the relief of the United States.

By the "Nine Power" treaty China agreed to give fair treatment to all on her railways, and the other powers promised to respect the sovereignty of China and to recognize the principle of the "open door"—equal trade privileges in China for all. The door was now "nailed open." The Washington Conference did much to advance world peace, though its reduction in naval forces applied only to battleships. In cruisers, submarines, airplane carriers, and other craft for naval warfare, the nations were still left open to competition.

The London Disarmament Conference. The next important step in promoting international peace grew out of a visit to President Hoover (October, 1929) made by Ramsay MacDonald, the leader of the British Labor Party and the Prime Minister of Great Britain. MacDonald was a friend of peace. He had stood for peace in the midst of war and he and other members of his Cabinet had gone to jail for their convictions during the World War. In Hoover he met a Quaker engineer, who had done much to relieve the suffering of war and to feed starving peoples. The two statesmen in quiet retirement on the banks of the Rapidan talked over the problems in which the two nations were interested. They both wanted reduction of naval armament.

Influenced by the failure of a conference held in 1927 at Geneva, Congress had authorized, early in 1929, the construction of fifteen new and powerful war cruisers, with the purpose of building up America's sea power until it equalled that of Great Britain. MacDonald's visit and his public addresses made an excellent impression upon the American people, and he was hailed as a messenger of peace and good will between the two English-speaking peoples.

WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

AMERICAN DELEGATES WITH RAMSAY MACDONALD AT THE LONDON DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE

Seated, from left to right: Charles Francis Adams (Secretary of the Navy), Charles G. Dawes (Ambassador to Great Britain), Ramsay MacDonald (Prime Minister of Great Britain), Henry L. Stimson (Secretary of State). Standing, from left to right: Dwight W. Morrow (Ambassador to Mexico), Senator David A. Reed, Senator Joseph T. Robinson, Hugh Gibson (Ambassador to Belgium).

As an outcome of MacDonald's visit and the mutual understanding that developed, an international conference of the naval powers was called to meet in London, January 21, 1930. In his Armistice Day address in

1929 President Hoover said: "We will reduce our naval strength in proportion to any other. It only remains for the others to say how low they will go; it cannot be too low for us."

The London conference adjourned without making much progress toward disarmament. America, Great Britain, and Japan agreed to scrap a few battleships and to build no more vessels of the kind before 1936. It was agreed that America may build up her navy to a "parity" with that of Great Britain, at a cost of nearly a *billion dollars* in war cruisers in ten years. It is left for America to determine whether she will spend this vast amount of money on war cruisers. Another conference promised by 1936 may make this unnecessary. It was also agreed that submarine warfare is to be "humanized." The conference may be said to mark a small step toward world peace, but the nations have not yet made any great progress toward disarmament. Another conference met at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1932, but also accomplished little towards promoting peace.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. Tell what Elihu Burritt did to promote world peace.

2. How did the World War influence the growth of peace sentiment? Mention results of the war that contributed definitely toward the preservation of peace in the world.

3. Explain the four chief methods that had been used to prevent wars before 1914. Which seems to you most important?

4. Tell what the Hague Tribunal and the World Court do. Point out the main differences between them.

5. How did the League of Nations come into existence? For what purposes was it formed?

6. Explain the three methods the League may use to settle international disputes. What can the League do if one of its members goes to war in violation of promises it has given?

7. What is an *aggressive* war and who is the *aggressor* as defined in the Geneva Protocol? Has the definition any binding effect on nations today? Find a passage in the chapter that seems to answer the last question.

8. What was the Locarno Conference? How do the agreements made there help the cause of peace? Explain.

9. What is the purpose of the Paris Peace Pact? How did it come to be formed? Tell what it provides. How does it relate to the title of the chapter?

10. Explain the meaning of disarmament. Name the chief steps that have been taken since 1900 to bring about a reduction or limitation in armament. What is the difference between a "reduction" and a "limitation" of armament? Tell why nations hesitate to disarm now that the Peace Pact is in force.

11. What do you think is the greatest single step that could be taken today to advance world peace? Give reasons.

THINGS TO DO

1. Make a chart showing four foreign wars of the United States, their causes, and the steps that were taken to prevent a conflict. Copy the following form and fill in the blanks.

Foreign Wars	Main Causes	Steps Taken to Prevent the Conflict

2. List international conflicts that have been prevented by (1) diplomacy, (2) mediation, (3) conciliation, (4) arbitration. Copy the form given below and fill in the blanks.

Methods Used to Prevent Conflict	Countries in Dispute	Causes of Controversy
(1) Diplomacy		
(2) Mediation		
(3) Conciliation		
(4) Arbitration		

3. Bring to class newspaper items that tell about international disputes or international agreements.

4. Bring to class pictures or cartoons that show aspects of the peace movement.

5. Find articles in the magazines or items in the newspapers that tell about the activities of the Hague Tribunal, the League of Nations, or the World Court. Bring such materials to class and give a report upon them.

6. Make a list of the chief steps in the peace movement since 1800. Put a star (*) opposite the three steps that you consider the most important.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "Clara Barton, Founder of the American Red Cross," *Heroes of Progress,* 140–146.

2. "The World War and the Peace Movement," *The Book of the United States,* 307–314.

3. "Settling International Disputes by Arbitration," *Readings in Community Life,* 236–240.

4. "The League of Nations," *ibid.,* 241–243.

5. "The Paris Peace Pact," *ibid.,* 243–246.

6. "A Vision of the Future," *ibid.,* 247–248.

7. "The Meaning of the Red Cross," *ibid.*, 274.
8. "Need for a League of Nations," by Woodrow Wilson, *In Our Times*, 386–387.
9. "Promoting Peace," *America the Great Adventure*, 367–368.

LOOKING BACKWARD

A. A SUMMARY OF EVENTS

Summarize the discussion of The Coming of World Power. (1) Note the headings I, II, and III which are given below, then read the list of statements which follow. Decide which statements belong under each heading. (2) Copy the major headings I, II, and III in your notebooks and write in correct order under each heading the appropriate statements.

The United States a World Power

I. The United States acquired foreign territories and dependencies.
   1.
   2.
   3.
   4.

II. The United States is drawn into foreign wars.
   1.
   2.
   3.
   4.

III. The United States takes a hand in world problems of peace.
   1.
   2.
   3.
   4.
   5.
   6.
   7.

List of Statements

1. After the United States had possession of the Philippines, she demanded the " open door " in China in order that all countries might have equal trade privileges in that country.

2. The United States purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867.

3. German submarines sank the *Lusitania* and many American citizens lost their lives.

4. President Wilson set forth the war aims of the United States in his " Fourteen Points."

5. Hawaii was annexed to the United States in 1898.

6. The United States tried to protect the interests of American citizens who lived in Cuba under Spanish rule.

7. At the close of the Spanish-American war, the United States became the protector of Cuba.

8. German agents burned factories, caused explosions, riots, and discord in the United States.

9. Secretary Kellogg proposed that a treaty renouncing war be entered into by all the nations of the world.

10. At the close of the Spanish-American War Spain ceded Porto Rico and the Philippines to the United States.

11. Germany announced a policy of unrestricted submarine warfare to be carried on around the British Isles.

12. President Wilson attended the Peace Conference in Paris in 1918 and secured the inclusion of the League of Nations as a part of the Peace Treaty.

13. Prime Minister MacDonald of Great Britain visited the United States to discuss naval disarmament with President Hoover.

14. Representatives of the United States, headed by Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State, attended a naval conference in London.

15. President Harding called a conference of the leading nations allied in the World War to discuss reduction of armaments.

B. HISTORICAL TERMS

The terms given below are used in The Coming of World Power, the division of the book which you have just read.

insurgents
filibusters
armistice
tribunal
the Allies
submarine
Hague Court
alliance
outlawing of war
evacuation
defensive war

Copy the following sentences and fill the blanks with the correct word or words from the list given above.

1. The list of judges from which an impartial court is selected to settle disputes between two nations is called the ________________.

2. The agreement between nations which makes the act of going to war against another nation a crime is called the ________________.

3. The nations that united in the World War to fight against Germany and her associates were called ________________.

4. A formal agreement between nations to act together is called an ________________.

5. A temporary pause in fighting during a war to which both sides agree is called an ________________.

6. ________________ means the act of withdrawing troops.

7. Any court of justice may be called a ________________.

8. A boat that operates beneath the surface of the sea is called a ________________.

9. Persons who take part in an uprising against an existing government are called ________________.

10. War for the purpose of protecting the property and the rights of a nation is ________________.

11. Persons who make unlawful military expeditions into a foreign country are called ________________.

C. "WHO'S WHO"

Make a list of important characters in the story, The Coming of World Power. Write your list in a alphabetical order and after each name write a statement telling the part that the person played in the history.

PART NINE
THE NEW DEMOCRACY

THE NEW DEMOCRACY

Shortly after the Spanish-American war Theodore Roosevelt became President of the United States. He was young and energetic, and was eager to reform the abuses which had crept into the conduct of business. He waged vigorous warfare against the practices of many of the large corporations, declaring that great wealth must obey the law as strictly as is required of the humblest citizen.

The prosperity of the country during Roosevelt's administration resulted in marked improvements in the living conditions of the workers. Roosevelt became the leader in saving the nation's forests and protecting its other natural resources. He considered the digging of the Panama Canal his greatest achievement.

Under the next strong President, Woodrow Wilson, the reforms begun by Roosevelt were carried forward. The income tax transferred a burden of taxation from those least able to bear it to the shoulders of people of means. Banks were made more responsive to Government control, and the Federal Reserve System lessened, if it did not end, the danger of financial panics.

But unfortunately the end of the World War brought hard times. Many of the returned soldiers could not find work, and the prices of all products fell. The President was also confronted by troublesome problems among the small nations of the Caribbean, and had to interfere several times to maintain peace.

Many of the nation's leaders had long felt that government was not sufficiently responsive to the will of the people. They also believed that citizens should take more interest in political questions. Methods were therefore devised whereby the people themselves could suggest or reject laws. In addition the right to vote was given to women. Thus the people and their government were brought closer together and a " new democracy " came into being.

The Capitol at Washington, D. C.

PART NINE
THE NEW DEMOCRACY

CHAPTER XXXVII

ROOSEVELT AND THE PROGRESSIVES

Death of McKinley: The Coming of Roosevelt. President McKinley had served barely six months of his second term when he was shot by an assassin while attending the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo. He died eight days later, September 14, 1901, and Theodore Roosevelt became President of the United States.

When Roosevelt took the oath of office as President he promised, as Vice Presidents in such situations usually do, to carry out the policy of his predecessor. But the nation soon saw that a new kind of leader had come into the White House. Roosevelt was a man of great force and energy, bubbling over with eagerness and enthusiasm to use the opportunities before him for the service of the country.

43 yrs. old

Roosevelt was only forty-three years old — the youngest man in our history to hold the office of President. His critics called him rash and impulsive, needing the wisdom that comes with years and experience. He had not wished to be Vice President, for he looked upon that office as a political graveyard where there was little chance to do anything. He had many of the masterful qualities of Jackson, and as there had been a period of history marked by Jackson's influence, there came a period in which Roosevelt was the leading force.

Roosevelt's View of the Presidency. Roosevelt had convictions on public policies. He did not intend to "wait on Congress." He proposed to use all the powers of his office to bring about the things which he thought ought to be done. In deciding what he had the power to do, he thought it unnecessary to find a "grant of power" in the Constitution permitting him to act, but claimed that if his action or policy was not forbidden by the Constitution he had the right to go ahead. This was a shock to many people who thought such a construction of the Constitution would give the President too much power. But since the policies which Roosevelt wished to carry out were favored by most of the people, the country was ready to accept his view of presidential powers.

Roosevelt was also a good politician. He knew how to play the game of politics, how to manage men or defeat them. He had an unusual understanding of all classes and conditions of men among his countrymen. He knew how to make news and appeal to the public through his messages and the newspapers. Whenever opposed

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Theodore Roosevelt was born in New York City, October 27, 1858. He was graduated at Harvard University; while a young man became active in politics; was elected to the New York legislature; was appointed by President Harrison as Civil Service Commissioner and by President McKinley as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. During the Spanish War he became Colonel of the "Rough Riders." After the war, in 1898, he was elected Governor of New York. In 1900 he was elected Vice President. By the death of McKinley Roosevelt became President, and was an important force in politics until his death in 1919.

in Congress, Roosevelt obtained, or forced, the co-operation of that body by sending Congress repeated messages, which were really appeals to the country to back him up. As a result, people all over the country sent word to their Congressmen, urging them to "stand by the President" and follow his lead. He had said, "Speak softly but carry a big stick"; that is, never pick a quarrel, but be ready to fight and fight hard if you must. He now used the "big stick" on Congress, public sentiment being the "big stick."

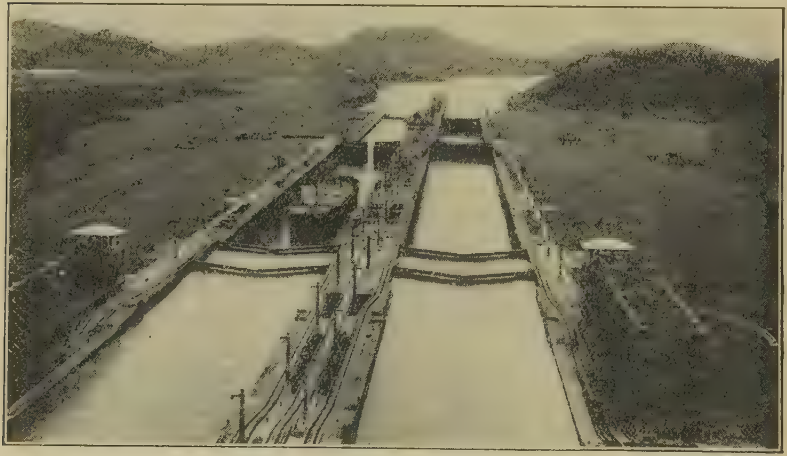
By such methods Roosevelt controlled the policies of the country for the next eight years. Let us notice his outstanding policies or achievements.

1. **The Coal Strike.** Roosevelt settled the coal strike in 1902. Society cannot well exist unless certain basic industries, like mining and transportation, keep going. If coal mining ceases and the railroads stop running, the factories will have to close their doors because of lack of fuel and shipping facilities. Every one depends on such industries, and there is always uneasiness when the coal miners and the operators cannot agree lest a strike occur and our factories and homes be left without fuel.

The coal strike of 1902 lasted throughout the spring, summer, and fall. The price of hard coal (anthracite) went as high as $30 a ton. Winter was coming on, industries were closing, people were suffering. The managers were trying to *starve the coal miners out.* The strike had now become a matter of national concern. The president of the Miners Union was John Mitchell, an honest and able labor leader.

Roosevelt called the operators and representatives of the miners to meet him in a conference at the White House. The spokesman for the operators thought the trouble could all be ended if the Government would only send troops and keep the miners in order. Mitchell, the leader of the mine workers, proposed arbitration and pledged the workmen to accept its results, but the operators refused this offer.

Then Roosevelt, backed by public opinion, demanded a settlement. He let it be known that the people must have coal and that if the operators would not agree to reasonable terms the Government would take charge of the mines and put the miners to work. When Roosevelt's intentions became known, the coal owners came to terms. The people endorsed Roosevelt's course and his action increased his popularity.



Miraflores Locks, Panama Canal

2. **The Panama Canal.** Roosevelt brought about the building of the Panama Canal. This was one of the most notable achievements in the history of the world. You will remember that the great seamen in the age of discovery, men like Columbus, Magellan, Hudson, and Cabot, were always seeking a passage to the "South Sea," or the Pacific Ocean. The quest was in vain, for no satisfactory passage was ever found. Now, under Roosevelt, a passage was made; that is, a passage or canal was dug

across the narrow Isthmus of Panama, large enough to permit the largest ships in the world to pass from ocean to ocean. Today nearly 6000 vessels go through the canal every year, and the sea voyage from New York to California, or from New York to Asia, is shortened by thousands of miles.

The need of the canal was strikingly shown during the Spanish War (1898) when the American battleship *Oregon* was compelled to make a voyage of 14,000 miles from San Francisco around Cape Horn in order to join the American fleet in the West Indies. The incident convinced the people of the United States that the canal should be dug to promote our national interests by making sea communication more rapid between our Atlantic and Pacific coasts.

In the first place the United States had to secure the consent of Great Britain to build the canal. In 1850 we had made a treaty with that country, known as the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, by which it was agreed that neither country should have control over an isthmian canal or build fortifications along it, but that it should remain open equally to all nations. At that time British sea power was much greater than America's. As Great Britain had islands and interests in the West Indies, we were afraid the English would seek to build and control the canal. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty warded off that danger. In 1869 the Suez Canal was opened. Then England had a shorter sea route to the East, and she cared less about the western route. After the Civil War and following the Geneva arbitration (see page 470) a friendlier feeling arose between Great Britain and the United States. Great Britain was willing for America to build the canal. A new treaty was therefore made, the Hay-Pauncefote (pôns′fo͝ot) Treaty, in 1901, by which Great Britain consented that the United States might build and control the Panama Canal. England thus recognized American supremacy in this region.

A second difficulty arose from early efforts to build an isthmian canal. In 1881 Ferdinand de Lesseps, a Frenchman who had built the Suez Canal, organized a French company to construct a canal at Panama. After spending millions of dollars and losing thousands of lives by disease, the French gave up in despair. But the French company still had property rights in the undertaking. After long negotiations the United States bought out the rights of the French company for $40,000,000, as that was thought to be cheaper than to build an entirely new canal.

ABANDONED FRENCH DREDGE AT PANAMA CANAL

Note the stagnant water in the foreground. When the Americans took over the work, the swamps and marshes were drained or sprayed with oil. The houses for the men were doubly screened so as to be mosquito-proof.

Many difficulties had to be overcome before the canal could be built. The greatest difficulty of all, perhaps, arose from the ownership of the Isthmus. Panama belonged to Colombia, one of the countries of South America. A treaty was negotiated with that country granting the United States permanent control for canal purposes of a strip of land six miles wide extending across the Isthmus. Ten million dollars were to be paid to Colombia, and an annual rental of $250,000 for the lease of the land. This treaty was ratified by the United States, but was rejected by Colombia, chiefly because the Colombian authorities wanted more money. Roosevelt was determined that the "South American politicians should not hold up Uncle Sam." He said that he did not propose to have any further dealings with "the foolish corruptionists" in Colombia; but added that we could "not permit them to block this great work."

Then something happened in Panama. The people of the Isthmus wanted the canal built. It would mean prosperity to them as millions would be spent on the enterprise. Aroused by the rejection of the treaty by the Colombian Senate, therefore, the people of Panama revolted and set up a little republic of their own. President Roosevelt promptly recognized the independence of Panama, and sent naval forces to the Isthmus to prevent Colombia from interfering. Many Americans thought his action was high-handed and unfair to Colombia.

Panama next concluded a treaty with the United States granting this country the right to control the Canal Zone and to build and operate a canal. When this treaty was ratified in 1904, President Roosevelt appointed the first Canal Commission.

Yellow Fever in the Canal Zone. Another serious obstacle was still to be overcome. Workmen could not easily live in the vicinity of Panama. Yellow fever, malaria, and other diseases caused their deaths at an alarming rate. This was the principal cause of the failure of the French to dig the canal. A medical commission under the leadership of Dr. W. C. Gorgas, a colonel in the United States Army, almost worked miracles in the Canal Zone, and "the Isthmus was made one of the most healthful regions in the tropics." Malaria was checked and yellow fever was stamped out by the destruction of the mosquito which carried the deadly germ. The triumph of sanitation under Colonel Gorgas made possible the triumph of engineering that followed.

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GEN. WILLIAM C. GORGAS

Chief medical officer at Havana under General Wood, following the Spanish War; son of a Confederate soldier; colonel in the Medical Corps of the United States Army; chief sanitary officer of the Panama Canal Zone — he made of the Isthmus a place in which workmen could live. A great representative of preventive medicine, a great servant of humanity.

After slow progress in the work for several years, President Roosevelt appointed Colonel G. W. Goethals (gō′-thălz), an army engineer, to direct the forces in digging the canal, and soon the dirt began to fly. Engines and dredges, steam shovels and locomotives, with thousands of workmen of many races pushed the work forward. Great locks had to be built; hills had to be removed and land slides prevented; but in spite of all such difficulties the work was carried to a successful conclusion at a cost of about $400,000,000. In 1913 the canal, 50 miles from end to end, was opened to ships, and the dream of centuries was realized by a water route connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific. To celebrate the opening of the canal a great Industrial Exposition was held in San Francisco in the summer of 1915.

Colombia continued to complain over the loss of Panama and in 1921 the United States paid her $25,000,000 to settle her claims and to bring about a better feeling toward America.

3. Conservation of National Resources: Irrigation. Another worthy policy with which Roosevelt became identified was that of *conservation;* that is, saving the natural resources of the nation. His work in this connection is looked upon by many people as Roosevelt's greatest service to his country.

There were vast desert areas in the West. If water could be brought to them, they could be turned into fruitful farms and gardens. Big dams might be built to store water from the rivers and mountain streams. By big and little ditches this water could be spread out over the dry land. This has been done. Great reservoirs, dams, aqueducts, and canals have been built, and millions of acres of sandy wastes that supported only sage brush and cactus, lizards, coyotes, and jack rabbits, have been turned into fertile fields and gardens. As a result rich and valuable crops of fruits, potatoes, sugar beets, and alfalfa have been produced.

National Forests: Gifford Pinchot (pĭn′shō). Moreover, the mountain sides were being robbed of their valuable forests. America had been wasteful of her resources. Fires were destroying great forests of splendid trees, and the spring rains were washing tons of rich soil down to the sea. Gifford Pinchot, head of the Bureau of Forestry under Roosevelt, sought to educate the public on the need of irrigation for dry lands and on the importance of saving the natural resources of the nation — minerals, forests, water power, and oil.

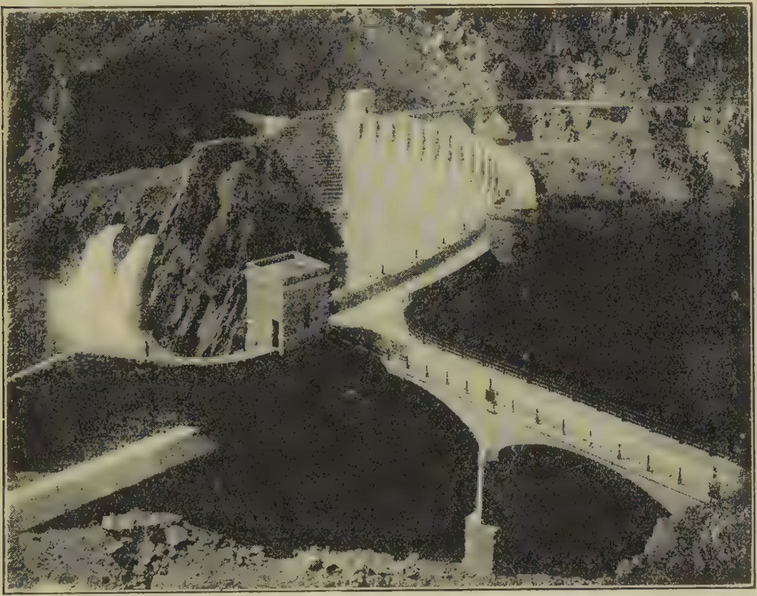
President Roosevelt supported Pinchot with all the weight of his influence. Senator Newlands, of Nevada, who knew the West, urged the cause in the Senate.

Many public-spirited citizens gave their aid and the result was the passage of the "Reclamation Act" in 1902. The irrigation of desert lands was the purpose of the act. It provided for a "revolving fund"; the money paid by those who bought the public lands and by the users of water was to go into a fund to build more dams and supply more water. These new projects in turn would produce more land buyers and water users, and their money too would go into new plants for irrigation. Thus the fund would keep revolving and growing.

The Roosevelt Dam: Forest Rangers. The Roosevelt Dam was completed in 1911, and within twenty years nearly 2,000,000 acres of waste lands were reclaimed for cultivation. In 1907 President Roosevelt issued a proclamation reserving over 40,000,000 acres of national forest lands. A body of men called forest rangers were stationed in the forest reserves to protect the forests from fire and from timber thieves. The rangers are stationed on high peaks from which they can detect the smoke of a fire at great distances; since telephones connect the stations, word can be sent quickly to any point of danger. In this way destructive fires are held in check. Wasteful cutting is not allowed, and where timber has been destroyed the land is replanted.

4. **The Portsmouth Peace Conference.** Roosevelt brought about the Peace Conference at Portsmouth, N. H., which ended the war between Russia and Japan (1905). Roosevelt knew that both warring powers wanted peace, but were not willing to ask for it. He was ready to use his friendly offices to bring them together. He also arranged a conference of European powers which prevented for a time a war between Germany and France. For these services to the world and the cause of peace, Roosevelt was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, consisting of a medal and diploma, and a sum of over $36,000. He

gave the money to a committee to be used in promoting the cause of industrial peace in America in the struggle between capital and labor.



THE ROOSEVELT DAM

In the Arizona plateau stands the famous Roosevelt Dam, built at a cost of over $4,000,000. It is one of the highest dams in the world, being 280 feet high. "It can store so much flood water that the rains of 1930 will water the crops of 1932 on hundreds of thousands of acres of land many miles down stream. Its creation is one of the wonderful stories of western development. The road to the site was built through a waterless desert for twenty miles. Then for forty miles the road was blasted through rock walls of canyons at a cost of millions. Hundreds of thousands of barrels of cement needed for the work were made by a plant built for the purpose. A hydro-electric plant was built to furnish power to quarry, lift, and haul the cement and the materials for the dam. A nineteen-mile cement-lined canal brought water to the plant. For months 3000 people worked on the enterprise. They left a real dam, a structure of solid concrete that can stand as long as the mountains stand." J. Russell Smith, *North America.*

5. **Pure Food Laws.** Along with the plans for saving the natural resources and enriching waste lands came laws for safeguarding the food and medicine of the people.

Manufacturers of food products — meats, soups, lard, canned and bottled goods — often used chemical material to preserve these foods. People began to demand pure food laws to prevent the use of harmful preservatives in the food, and to have the labels on the goods tell the truth. Patent-medicine makers sold poisonous drugs as medicine under false labels. In these "medicines" they used opium, morphine, cocaine, laudanum, and alcohol.

In 1906 Upton Sinclair's novel, *The Jungle,* described the fearful conditions in the meat-packing establishments in Chicago. When President Roosevelt read this book, he was stirred to action. He recommended two laws that were passed. One provided for Government inspection of meats sold in interstate commerce to make sure that these meats were obtained from healthy animals and that they were slaughtered under clean and healthy conditions. The other act forbade the manufacture or sale of adulterated, poisonous, or harmful foods, drugs, and medicines. The ingredients must be mentioned on the labels. In 1911 the law was made stronger by forbidding false statements to be made about the wonderful cures that could be had from these medicines. "Quack" patent medicines and "quack" doctors were nearly driven out of business. One of the valiant public servants in the fight for pure foods was Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, a chemist in the Department of Agriculture.

The Election of 1904. Roosevelt's policies, for the most part, were popular with the country. He naturally desired to be re-elected in 1904 and be President "in his own right," but up to this time no Vice President who had inherited the presidency had ever been elected to succeed himself. Roosevelt became the exception.

Although Roosevelt always claimed to be a "good party man," the party managers and the machine politicians did not like him. They thought that he was too radical, and that he stood for too many reforms. They disliked his independence, and they were afraid they could not "manage" him.

Accordingly the party bosses and organization leaders looked about for a candidate to oppose Roosevelt with a view to defeating him for renomination. Their best hope was the old party captain, Marcus A. Hanna, then a Senator from Ohio, who had twice carried the party to victory under McKinley. But in February, 1904, Hanna died and the plans of the anti-Roosevelt politicians were dropped.

The result was that Roosevelt was nominated by the Republicans in 1904 without opposition and was elected by the largest popular majority any President had ever received up to that time. The Democrats nominated Judge Alton B. Parker of New York. He belonged to the conservative, anti-silver, and anti-Bryan wing of the party. Thus the country witnessed the strange spectacle of a conservative successor to Bryan running

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HARVEY W. WILEY

Wiley was born near Madison, Indiana, in 1844; graduated from Hanover College, Indiana, at the age of 22; graduated at Indiana Medical College (Indianapolis) four years later, and at Harvard in 1873 (B.S.). The next year, when Purdue University, La Fayette, Indiana, was opened, Dr. Wiley became its first professor of chemistry and later he was State Chemist of Indiana. He did much to educate the public in demanding pure food laws. Dr. Wiley died in 1930 at the age of 87.

against a radical successor to McKinley. This time the radical won, because a great many Bryan Democrats voted for Roosevelt since they liked his democratic ways and his "progressive" policies. Roosevelt carried every State in the Union outside of the "Solid South," which since the days of reconstruction had always gone Democratic no matter who was the candidate. On this occasion Missouri broke away from the South and voted for Roosevelt, the first time the State had voted for a Republican President since 1868.

Roosevelt Policies. Roosevelt's second administration was identified with certain policies which came to be called "Roosevelt policies," although they were favored by the Bryan Democrats as well as by the Roosevelt Republicans. The most important of these follow:

(1) *Government regulation and control of public service corporations,* especially the railways, which must be made to serve all equally. Backed by Western farmers and farm journals, the Hepburn Railway Rate Law was pushed through Congress (1906). This act increased the Interstate Commerce Commission from five members to seven. It prohibited "rebates" and gave to the Commission (see page 532) the power to fix rates and to regulate railway accounts. It was also given authority to regulate express companies, sleeping car companies, and pipe lines. The conservatives did not like this "meddling with business"; they claimed that "a man should be allowed to manage his own affairs in his own way." Roosevelt was willing that the railroads have a "square deal," but he wanted them to treat all patrons alike and to serve the public welfare.

(2) *The development of waterways.* A system of inland waterways, dredging of the rivers, and connecting the rivers by a series of canals for shipping slow freight was advocated.

(3) *The conservation movement*—saving to the public, *under national authority,* the natural resources of the country: water power for irrigation, the forests, the mines, and ungranted homesteads—was continued.

Roosevelt also showed his sympathy with the common man. He favored the income tax. He preached "civic righteousness" throughout the country. He announced that he was for a "square deal" to all classes. He was friendly to labor unions. He spoke for workmen's compensation laws to provide payment to laborers injured at their tasks. He sought to make the big corporations obey the law, denouncing "lawless wealth" on the one hand and "dangerous labor leaders" on the other. Upon his recommendation Congress created a Department of Commerce in 1903.

Election of 1908. By the election of 1908 Roosevelt had placed the Republican Party in a position of great strength with the country. Many of the policies which Bryan had previously favored had been adopted by Roosevelt. Free silver was the chief exception.

President Roosevelt refused to be a candidate for reelection. Many of his supporters wished him to stand for a second "elective term," but he had announced that he would not be a candidate for a "third term" because he considered that he had already had two terms. He was ready to step aside, and threw his support to William Howard Taft, his Secretary of War. His support was decisive in bringing about Taft's nomination and election. As Jefferson had chosen Madison for his successor and Jackson had chosen Van Buren, so Roosevelt brought Taft to the presidency. He assured the country that Taft could be trusted to carry out the "Roosevelt policies." The Democrats for the third time nominated William J. Bryan, their "peerless leader." The issues between the old parties, the tariff and the trusts, aroused little popular interest. The Republicans promised to revise the tariff if they were returned to power. Taft was elected by a decisive vote.

Taft and a Divided Party. Taft became President on March 4, 1909. Roosevelt, meanwhile, left Washington and started on a big game hunt in Africa. Taft soon had a divided party on his hands. He called a special session of Congress to revise the tariff and on August 5, 1909, the Payne-Aldrich Act was passed. People generally had understood that the promise of the Republicans for a revised tariff had meant a revision downward, but this act was a revision upward. Taft did not try to lead Congress, but merely waited for the act to be passed. He believed that the President should not interfere with the work of Congress; that he should leave Congress alone to do its work in its own way; that he might accept or reject what was submitted to him, but that Congress should be independent of the Executive. He thus gave up presidential leadership and Congress took the reins.

WILLIAM H. TAFT

Taft was born in Cincinnati in 1857 and was graduated from Yale in 1878. He was appointed United States District Judge in 1892. He was the first Civil Governor of the Philippine Islands and later Secretary of War. After retiring from the presidency he became a professor of law in Yale University and President of The League to Enforce Peace. President Harding appointed him Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court in 1921. He died in 1930.

The result was a tariff act that was very favorable to the "interests" and the big manufacturers. The act was unpopular in the West, and many Republican Congressmen refused to support the measure. The

President not only signed the bill, but a month later at Winona, Minnesota, called it "the best tariff law that had ever been enacted in the history of the country."

The Payne-Aldrich Act contributed to the break in the Republican Party. Congress contained a group known as "Insurgents," later called "Progressives," such as Senator La Follette of Wisconsin, Senator Dolliver of Iowa, and Senator Beveridge of Indiana. Some of these men had urged a downward revision of the tariff for years. Speaker Cannon of the House of Representatives said that the party should "stand pat" for protection on the old lines. The conservatives who supported the new tariff were therefore called "stand-patters."

President Taft tried to "keep in the middle of the road," that is, to act fairly toward both factions and, if possible, to reconcile them. With this in view he recommended a number of measures — that tariff rates be submitted to an expert Tariff Commission, that there should be equality of privileges in trade with Canada, and that international difficulties should be adjusted by arbitration treaties. His suggestions were not carried out, and other difficulties arose.

According to Roosevelt, Taft had agreed to retain in his Cabinet James R. Garfield, Roosevelt's Secretary of the Interior. This department has charge of conservation. Instead of appointing Garfield, however, Taft selected R. A. Ballinger, of the State of Washington, who had been an attorney of certain big corporations interested in acquiring Western lands. Gifford Pinchot, head of the Forest Service, the friend of Roosevelt and an Insurgent sympathizer, accused Ballinger of allowing the public domain to be raided by granting to a rich corporation valuable coal lands in Alaska. The Pinchot-Ballinger controversy soon became a political issue. Taft stood by his Secretary and dismissed Pinchot from office.

The Progressives and ardent friends of conservation then declared that Taft had lined up with the stand-patters and that he had no intention of carrying out Roosevelt's policies.

Thousands of the rank and file of the Republican Party, influenced by the progressive leaders in Congress, had come to believe that the only changes made by the Payne-Aldrich Act were in the interest of great manufacturers and corporations; that "Sugar Senators," "Lumber Senators," "Steel Senators," and "Railroad Senators," were in control of Congress, and were making laws in favor of the "interests"; and that the President, "a good-natured man surrounded by men who knew what they wanted," was yielding to their leadership. As the election of 1912 drew near, the Progressives denounced Taft's administration and began to organize to defeat his renomination.

The Election of 1912. And now developed another strange situation in politics. The radical Roosevelt forces, calling themselves "Progressive Republicans," who had brought about Taft's nomination in 1908, now bitterly opposed him and persuaded Roosevelt to be their candidate. The conservatives, called "stand-patters," who had disliked Roosevelt and had fought Taft's nomination in 1908, now rallied to the President's support. Thus the Republican Party was divided in 1912, and as a result, Woodrow Wilson, the Democratic candidate, was elected.

Wilson as Governor of New Jersey had shown himself in sympathy with progressive policies and against the control of the party by the "interests." His nomination, therefore, caused the progressive Democrats to stay with their party.

The combined popular vote for Roosevelt and Taft was over 1,000,000 more than the vote for Wilson. Including the vote for Debs, the Socialist candidate (897,000), and for Chapin, the Prohibitionist candidate (258,000), the popular majority against Wilson was about 2,400,000. Thus the division in the Republican Party made Wilson's election possible, just as the division in the Democratic Party in 1860 had made Lincoln's election possible.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. Explain the main reasons for the re-election of McKinley in 1900.

2. Sketch the career of Roosevelt, telling the main steps by which he rose to the presidency. Write six adjectives which describe the kind of man Roosevelt was.

3. Mention the main achievements of Roosevelt's administration. Which do you regard as the greatest? Why?

4. Explain the reasons the United States wanted to build the Panama Canal. Name the obstacles that lay in the way. Tell how we obtained the right to go ahead with the enterprise.

5. What is meant by *conservation?* Point out the connection between the events described in Chapter XXIX and the work of conservation related in this chapter.

6. Mention the different kinds of conservation begun in Roosevelt's administration. Which was the most important? Tell how the conservation problem became a cause of trouble between Roosevelt and Taft.

7. Explain the main policies for which Roosevelt stood in his second term. Tell why Bryan felt that Roosevelt had "stolen his thunder." Was such the case? Explain.

8. Why was the Interstate Commerce Commission created? (Review pages 530–532.) What weaknesses in the Commission were remedied during Roosevelt's administration?

9. Why did the Republican Party managers and "the interests" dislike Roosevelt? What is meant by "the interests"? Explain the strange changes that took place in politics between 1908 and 1912.

10. Compare the different conceptions of the President's duties and powers held by Roosevelt and Taft. Mention actions of the two men that show the way each looked at the office. Tell how you think each man would have acted on the questions and problems that arose from time to time had he been in the other man's place.

11. What were the causes for the quarrel between Taft and Roosevelt in 1912? Was the quarrel a mere personal matter or was it caused by something deeper? Explain, with reasons for your opinions.

12. Had you been a voter in 1912, how would you have cast your ballot? Why?

THINGS TO DO

1. Look up the life of Theodore Roosevelt in one of the reference works in your school or public library and make a list of the political records he broke. Compare lists and one pupil volunteer to prepare a poster for your bulletin board with this as the title, "T. R., the Record-Breaker."

2. One of the boys volunteer to make a small clay model of the Panama Canal for the historical collection in the school.

3. Choose committees to present to the class (1) scenes from the life of Roosevelt, and (2) scenes from the career of Taft.

4. Three pupils volunteer to present the views of a "stand-pat" Republican, a Bryan Democrat, and a Republican "Insurgent." Suppose that the three men are standing on a street corner of a small town, talking over the questions of the day.

5. Three pupils act out the conference that settled the great coal strike of 1902, one pupil taking the part of Roosevelt, the

second the part of Mitchell, and the third representing the coal operators.

6. One of the boys volunteer to make a small model of the Roosevelt Dam or the Shoshone Dam for the school museum.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "A Fight for Health," in *Readings in Community Life,* 249–251.
2. " Roosevelt and the Thieves," *ibid.,* 316–321.
3. " Our National Parks," *ibid.,* 342–345.
4. " Theodore Roosevelt," *Our Presidents,* 251–262.
5. " Roosevelt and the New Century," *The Book of the United States,* 282–288.
6. " Roosevelt's First Inaugural Address," by Theodore Roosevelt, *In Our Times,* 175–179.
7. "A Modern Statesman," *America the Great Adventure,* 341–355.
8. " The Youngest President," *This Country of Ours,* 593–598.
9. " The Forest and Its Guardians," *The Book of Knowledge,* 8: 2803–2810.
10. " Theodore Roosevelt," *ibid.,* 19: 7196–7198.
11. "America's Most Strenuous President," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia,* 7: 3059–3063.
12. " The Story of Conservation," *The World Book Encyclopedia,* 3: 1622–1623.
13. " Forestry in the United States," *ibid.,* 4: 2540–2541.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

WILSON AND THE NEW FREEDOM

Wilson and the Presidency. On March 4, 1913, Woodrow Wilson became President of the United States. He represented the "scholar in politics." His experience in the political field had not been extensive — only a few years as Governor of New Jersey. But he had been a student of politics all his life. He had written a book on *Congressional Government* and another on *The State*. He had spoken for "the New Freedom," urging that the people exercise more control and activity in government, and that they be set free from restrictions by monopolies and special interests. As Governor of New Jersey he had successfully grappled with the special interests and had opposed the party bosses.

Wilson had supported most of the progressive measures which had become identified with the names of Roosevelt and Bryan. He held Roosevelt's view of the presidency rather than Taft's; that is, he believed that the President should take the lead in determining public policies. He believed that Congress and the President should act together under presidential leadership; that they would not be able to accomplish much if they tried to be entirely independent and separate from one another.

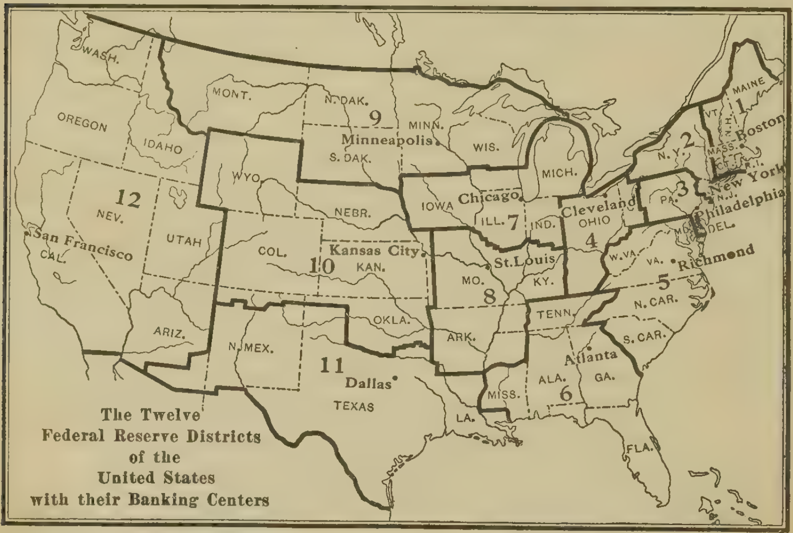
For the first time in forty years the Democrats had a leader with a united party behind him. They had a large majority in the House, but only a slender one in the

Senate; consequently, they needed to act together. Wilson, who was " a forward-looking man," wished his party members in Congress to follow his leadership in supporting progressive measures, and for the most part his wish was realized.

Tariff Reform: The President's Address to Congress. The tariff was first taken up. President Wilson called an extra session of Congress, and urged that the tariff be promptly revised downward. He revived an old custom of addressing Congress in person. Washington and John Adams had done this, the members of Senate and House marching in procession to the hall of the House of Representatives, where the President, mounting the Speaker's platform, read his message to the members. It was a stately occasion. Jefferson thought it was too *royal,* like a speech from the throne. He was a democrat and wanted " democratic simplicity," and he discontinued this custom partly for the reason mentioned and partly because he was not a good speaker, but was a good writer. Accordingly Jefferson sent a written message to Congress, instead of addressing that body in person, and his custom was followed by all succeeding Presidents until Wilson's administration. Wilson thought that he could impress his ideas on Congress with greater effect by delivering his message in person.

Congress responded to his recommendation on the tariff by passing the Underwood Act six months later. This measure took the place of the Payne-Aldrich Act and provided much lower rates. One of the important features of the Underwood Act was a provision for an income tax. The tax was *graduated* by placing a small rate of tax on small incomes and a higher rate on larger incomes. Incomes up to a certain amount were exempt, or no tax at all was imposed; an unmarried person having an income of only $1000 or a married person with only $2500 did not have to pay an income tax. These amounts have since been increased to $1500 for unmarried persons and $3500 for married persons.

✓ **The Federal Reserve Act: Preventing Money Panics.** For more than a half a century, as we have seen (pages 569–586), the money question had been a subject of bitter controversy. The struggle was chiefly between the creditors and the debtors, or the lenders and the borrowers.


The Twelve
Federal Reserve Districts
of the
United States
with their Banking Centers
WASH.
OREGON
IDAHO
MONT.
N. DAK.
9
MINN.
Minneapolis
S. DAK.
WIS.
MICH.
WYO.
12
NEV.
UTAH
San Francisco
CAL.
COL.
NEBR.
IOWA
Chicago
ILL.
7
IND.
Cleveland
OHIO
4
Kansas City
10
KAN.
MO.
St. Louis
KY.
8
W. VA.
VA.
Richmond
5
N. CAR.
TENN.
ARIZ.
N. MEX.
OKLA.
ARK.
11
Dallas
TEXAS
S. CAR.
Atlanta
GA.
ALA.
MISS.
6
LA.
FLA.
MAINE
1
VT.
N.H.
Boston
MASS.
2
N.Y.
CT.
R.I.
New York
PA.
3
N.J.
Philadelphia
DEL.
MD.

The Federal Reserve banking centers were distributed over the United States in proportion to the banking business of the various localities. In this way the financial needs of the different parts of the country are met more fully than under the old system.

Men of all parties had come to believe that the banking system and the money system of the country needed reform. This feeling led to the passage of the Federal Reserve Act (December 23, 1913). Under this measure twelve cities have been chosen for the location of *Federal Reserve Banks*. The local banks within convenient distance of these banks become members (stockholders) of their respective Federal Reserve Banks. Each Federal Reserve Bank provides a kind of federation of banks, and does a banking business only with the member banks, not with individuals. The *Federal Reserve Board,* which controls the whole system of Regional Banks, consists of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Comptroller of the Currency, and five members appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. When the Federal Board thinks best it may authorize the Regional Banks to issue " Federal Reserve Notes " to be used as money; the notes are then sent to the local member banks to be issued, or lent, to customers across the bank counter. These notes are good money. They are receivable by all banks, and for taxes, customs, duties, and other public dues; they are also redeemable in gold on demand at the Treasury of the United States or at any of the Federal Reserve Banks.

National bank notes of any local national bank are secured by Government bonds which the bank owns and which are deposited in the United States Treasury. Federal Reserve notes are secured by all the assets, or property, of the bank, such as promissory notes given to the bank by merchants, manufacturers, and farmers. The Government's guarantee makes both kinds of notes as good as gold. But the national bank notes were increased or diminished as the interests of the banks demanded. As population grew and trade increased, more currency was needed but no way existed by which the currency in the country could be increased unless more gold was discovered, or unless the banks bought more Government bonds to entitle them to issue more notes. That was often unprofitable to the banks as the bonds drew a low rate of interest and the banks could lend their money at a much higher rate.

The consequence was that the currency was *rigid,* neither increasing nor diminishing with the demands of trade. The Federal Reserve System is designed to correct this evil and to provide an *elastic* or *flexible* currency — a currency that will stretch out or draw in as business needs require, giving the country more currency at one time and less at others in answer to demands.

The Federal Reserve notes help to provide this "emergency currency." They are furnished by a Government agency through local banks in all parts of the country, and the notes when loaned out to borrowers with good credit will enable the country to avoid panics.

A money panic comes from lack of credit and loss of confidence; or when the demand for money is greater than the supply. People are then seized with fear lest the money they have loaned, or deposited in a bank, cannot be had when it is wanted. A "run on the bank" is started, people draw out their deposits, and hide their money away. The banks are then unable to make loans and have to call in those they have made. As a result, people who have to meet their obligations and pay their debts in money suffer foreclosures of mortgages and property sales under the hammer of the auctioneer. This compels them to sacrifice their property often at less than its real value. The result is loss or ruin to thousands of people who could have paid their debts without the loss of their property or business, if time (a loan or credit) had been allowed to them. When emergency currency is available, as in the Federal Reserve System, the wheels of industry are kept in motion and men who can give security are able to get an extension of time or credit and are not forced to close up their businesses or sell their property.

One of the main purposes of the Federal Reserve System is to prevent panics. People used to think that a money panic with all its loss and ruin was to be expected at certain intervals, say every twenty years. There was a disastrous panic in 1819, another in 1837, another in 1857, another in 1873, the worst of all in 1893, and one in 1907. These panics caused the loss of homes and untold misery. All of them could perhaps have been prevented if the Government had exercised proper control over the supply of money. The Federal Reserve System, which is under Government control, can supply emergency currency; by distributing this currency (Federal Reserve notes) through the Regional Banks, good money in sufficient quantities can be provided wherever it is most needed.

The Deflation of 1920–21. Hard times or good times may depend on the policy of the Federal Reserve Board in controlling the money supply. Contraction of the currency and a sudden fall in prices will cause hard times. During the World War billions of Government bonds were issued. These were used as security for borrowing money. Federal Reserve notes were in circulation, more gold was produced, money was plentiful and " easy " to borrow. The currency of the country was greatly increased, up to $58 per capita, more than the Populists had ever demanded. Prices rose very high. Wheat sold for $2.20 a bushel and Iowa land brought from $200 to $400 an acre. The times were prosperous.

The Federal Reserve Board thought there was too much speculation and began to reduce the currency. In two years (1920–21) a thousand millions of dollars were withdrawn from circulation; the member banks could not get more Reserve notes to lend and were required to pay back those they had received. Therefore the local banks could not lend money so easily and in many cases they had to call in money they had loaned. Farmers and business men could not get a renewal of their promissory notes held by the banks. The result was a great slump in prices. Western lands went down to half their former value, and the prices of farm products fell. Many farmers could not pay their obligations at the banks, their lands had to be sold at ruinous prices to pay their mortgages, and many rural banks in the West had to close their doors. The farmers were especially hard hit; they claimed that if a policy of "deflation" were needed it should have been more gradual and should have been extended over more time.

The Federal Farm Land Bank. The farmer needs long-time credit when he has to borrow money. At the local bank he has to pay (or renew his note) within ninety days or six months. If the bank will not renew the note, the farmer may have to sell his property at a sacrifice. He needs to be able to borrow for three or five years at a time on a farm mortgage. As a rule banks do not lend on farm mortgages, because such mortgages may be hard to sell and the bank's funds should be in a form that can easily be turned into cash. If its funds were tied up in mortgages, the bank might not be able to pay its depositors.

To remedy this situation, Congress passed the Federal Farm Land Bank Act in 1916. This system of Farm Banks is like the Federal Reserve System. The country is divided into twelve districts, each having a Federal Farm Land Bank. A Federal Farm Loan Board is in control. Farm Loan Associations, organized in each district, are made up of farmers who desire to borrow money on the security of farm mortgages. The Farm Land Bank, on these mortgages as security, issues Land Bank bonds which it sells to the public. With the money received for the bonds it buys more farm mortgages. Thus loanable money is made available to the farmers and at a low rate of interest. The Federal Land Bank System offers credit to the farmers as the Federal Reserve System does to manufacturers and merchants.

The Federal Trade Commission Act and the Clayton Anti-Trust Act, 1914. Urged by President Wilson, Congress passed the *Clayton Anti-Trust Act* and the *Federal Trade Commission Act,* to prevent abuses by the trusts and unfair trade practices by corporations. The Federal Trade Commission has been helpful in enabling business men and the Government to get on well together, the Government helping to guide business by giving information and letting business enterprises know what they may do and what they may not do under the law.

Wilson and Mexico. Before President Wilson came into office, a revolution broke out in Mexico (1911) which drove the President, General Diaz (dē′äs), out of the country. Diaz had ruled Mexico for forty years like an absolute monarch. He had not shown much consideration for the welfare of the common people. His successor, Madero (mä thā′rō), had hardly entered the presidency before he was assassinated. General Huerta (wĕr′tä), an ambitious military leader, then became dictator. In these successive disorders and revolutions many American citizens in Mexico lost their lives, and many more lost their property. Mines, oil wells, plantations, and other investments and business enterprises, many of which were owned by Americans, were seized or destroyed.

Events in Mexico finally caused Wilson to send an expedition to Vera Cruz to safeguard American interests in the city. He tried to induce Huerta to arrange for a peaceful election in Mexico to choose a President, and not to be a candidate himself. When Huerta refused, Wilson warned Americans to leave Mexico and adopted a policy of "watchful waiting." He refused to recognize Huerta as a lawful ruler.

This policy finally drove Huerta from power. Carranza (cȧ rän′sȧ) succeeded him as President of Mexico, in 1914, but was not able to preserve order or prevent wrongs against Americans. One of the Mexican outlaws named Villa (vēl′yȧ), with a band of followers, crossed the American border and killed a number of Americans at Columbus, New Mexico. President Wilson immediately sent troops to the Mexican border and ordered General Pershing to pursue Villa and punish him. General Pershing led his soldiers for a hundred miles into Mexico, but was unable to capture Villa.

Wilson did not wish to go to war with Mexico, but he had committed acts, such as the invasion of Mexico and the bombardment of Vera Cruz, which were much like acts of war and which aroused suspicion and distrust against the United States in Mexico and among the Latin-American powers. Conditions remained much the same in Mexico for several years. Finally, Carranza was murdered (1920) and Obregon (ō′brė gōn) became the President of Mexico. Three years later the United States recognized the Obregon government.

The Caribbean: Haiti and Santo Domingo. Disorder had broken out also in Santo Domingo (sän′tō dȯ mĭn′gō) and Haiti (hā′tĭ). These two countries occupy one island, Haiti the western part, Santo Domingo the eastern part. The island lies between Cuba, an American protectorate, and Porto Rico, an American possession. It also lies on the direct route from Europe to the Panama Canal. Naturally the United States would not like to have the island fall into the hands of any European power. Both Haiti and Santo Domingo were nominally independent, but there were almost constant disturbances within the two countries.

In 1905 the finances of Santo Domingo were in bad shape. Either she could not, or would not, pay her debts to European claimants, and for a while it seemed that European Governments might intervene and perhaps seize the island. In this emergency the United States made a treaty with the Dominican Republic, by which the United States agreed to take charge of the revenues of the island republic and help it to get its debts paid. This action was satisfactory to the European nations and prevented them from trying to collect their debts by force.

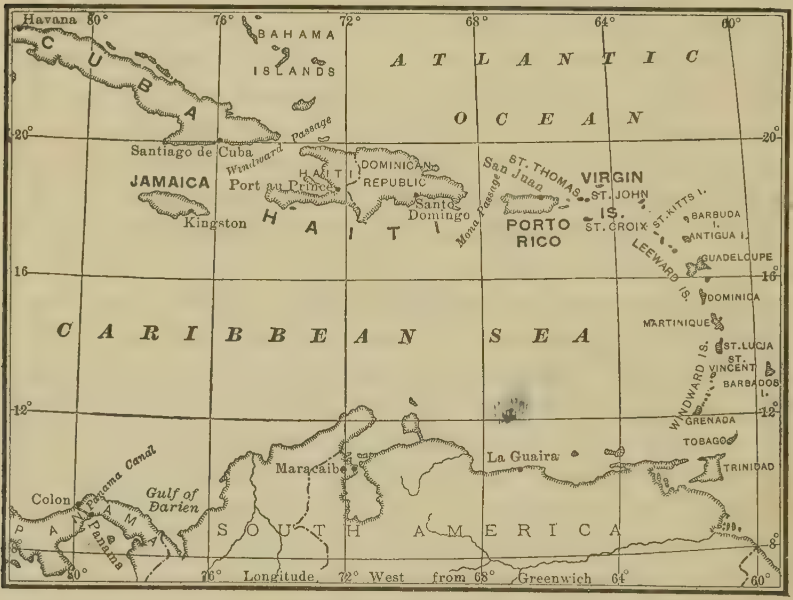
Several years later came a new revolution (the island had twenty revolutions in thirty years). Such was the situation when President Wilson came into office. He ordered American marines into the island to restore order and to supervise the elections. The outcome was that Santo Domingo became practically a protectorate of the United States.

Similar action occurred in Haiti. In 1915 a revolution occurred in the island. After American marines restored order, Haiti made a treaty with America by which the United States was to control the police forces of that country and manage its finances. Haiti, too, thus became a protectorate of America and our marines are still in the island (1930). Such developments make it clear that the United States has become the dominant power in the Caribbean Sea.

President Hoover and Haiti. President Hoover did not wish to impose the authority of the United States upon these island republics. He desired them to be orderly and self-governing. As dissatisfaction with American control and disorder continued in Haiti, he appointed a commission to investigate with the result that a fair election of a Haitian legislature was provided to elect a new President. The Americans promised to withdraw their marines and leave the Haitians to govern themselves as soon as possible, certainly by 1936.

Purchase of the Danish West Indies. On January 17, 1917, the Danish West Indies (now called the *Virgin*

Islands) came into the possession of the United States by purchase from Denmark for $25,000,000. The islands contained 33,000 people, nine-tenths of whom were Negroes engaged in the production of sugar. The inhabitants were allowed to retain their Danish citizenship, or to become citizens of the United States as they chose. For military and naval reasons, the islands are important. They serve as a coaling station for naval vessels and help to protect the entrance to the Panama Canal.


Havana
80°
76°
72°
68°
64°
60°
CUBA
BAHAMA ISLANDS
ATLANTIC OCEAN
20°
Santiago de Cuba
Windward Passage
HAITI
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
JAMAICA
Port au Prince
Kingston
Santo Domingo
Mona Passage
San Juan
ST. THOMAS
VIRGIN IS.
ST. JOHN
ST. CROIX
PORTO RICO
ST. KITTS I.
BARBUDA I.
ANTIGUA I.
LEEWARD IS.
GUADELOUPE
16°
DOMINICA
MARTINIQUE
CARIBBEAN SEA
ST. LUCIA
ST. VINCENT
BARBADOS I.
WINDWARD IS.
12°
GRENADA
TOBAGO
TRINIDAD
La Guaira
Maracaibo
Panama Canal
Colon
Gulf of Darien
PANAMA
Panama
SOUTH AMERICA
8°
Longitude West from Greenwich

The Virgin Islands

Notice the strategic location of the three islands (St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix), recently purchased by the United States from Denmark. In case of war on the American continents the possession of the Panama Canal would be exceedingly important. These islands are important outposts for its defense.

The Election of 1916. The administration of President Wilson was generally approved by the country, and he was very popular with his party, which nominated him for re-election in 1916. As his opponent, the Republicans nominated Charles Evans Hughes of New York. Hughes had gained favor with the country by his investigations of the scandals of the big insurance companies. These companies had used the money of their policyholders for party contributions and to corrupt the New York State legislature — a situation that Hughes helped to bring to an end. Shortly afterwards, he was elected Governor of New York and administered that office in the interest of the people. When he was nominated for President, he was serving as a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, having been appointed to the position by President Taft. Hughes resigned from the Supreme Court to accept the nomination.

In this campaign the Progressives called on ex-President Roosevelt again to be their leader, as in 1912. He declined the nomination, however, and announced that he would support Hughes. He called upon all Republican Progressives to help reunite the party in an effort to defeat President Wilson. The Progressive Party then practically disappeared, most of its members following Roosevelt in support of Hughes, but many of them, especially in the West, voted for President Wilson.

Wilson was re-elected in one of the closest elections in forty years (since 1876). The result turned on the vote of California, whose Progressive leader was Governor Hiram Johnson, at that time a candidate for United States Senate on both the Republican and Progressive tickets. The Progressives came to the conclusion that Hughes was in sympathy with the "stand-pat" wing of the party and was not at all interested in the Progressives of the State; as a result Hughes lost the State to Wilson by a small majority while Johnson was elected to the Senate by 300,000 majority. Wilson also carried Kansas and other Western Progressive States.

President Wilson's Efforts for Peace. Wilson was inaugurated for a second term on March 5, 1917. "He kept us out of war" was a slogan used by the Democratic Party in supporting Wilson for re-election. He had served only about a month of his second term when he led his country into war. He was a man of peace and had done what he could to bring about peace in Europe and to keep his country out of the World War. But his peace efforts were in vain. Germany revived her submarine policy of sinking merchant ships. This, as we have seen (pages 611–616), led to the loss of American lives and finally brought the United States into the great conflict.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. What did President Wilson mean by the "new" freedom? What was the "old" freedom? Explain.

2. What had Wilson done before his election to the presidency that, in your opinion, would help him fill the office? Compare his previous experiences with the experience of two of his predecessors.

3. Compare Wilson's attitude towards the duties and powers of the President with the views held by Roosevelt and Taft. Mention incidents during his term of office that show how he carried out his ideas.

4. Why is a graduated income tax fairer than most taxes on property? What classes of people objected to such a tax? Why? Describe the main features of the income tax of 1913.

5. Prepare a talk on the Federal Reserve Act. Include the following points: (1) reasons for the law; (2) chief provisions; (3) benefits to the country.

6. Name the problems described in Chapter XXX that were solved, at least in part, during Wilson's administration. Tell

what was done to solve each of them. What, if anything, remained unsolved?

7. Describe conditions in Mexico when Wilson became President. What was his attitude towards Mexico? Why? Mention classes of people that wanted Wilson to intervene in Mexico and give their reasons.

8. Was intervention in Mexico in Wilson's term as justifiable as was intervention in Cuba in 1898?

9. What was Wilson's policy of "watchful waiting"? Was it a success? Give reasons for your opinion.

10. Tell about the election of 1916. How do you account for the attitude of Roosevelt? Explain the political situation in California.

11. Compare the achievements as President of Wilson and Cleveland (review Chapter XXXII). Which man accomplished more? Why?

THINGS TO DO

1. For a volunteer: Secure a copy of President Wilson's first inaugural address and read aloud the parts that relate to the "new" freedom.

2. Two boys volunteer to draw a large map showing the Federal Reserve districts for the map collection in your room.

3. Ask an officer at one of the banks in your community to tell you how his bank benefits from the Federal Reserve Banking System. Report what he says to the class.

4. For a volunteer: Secure a copy of a statement of a Federal Reserve Bank and tell the class what it means. Secure whatever help you need from a bank officer or from some one who is in business.

5. Bring to class a Federal Reserve note. Read what is printed on the note and be prepared to explain what the statements mean or to ask questions about them.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "William Howard Taft," *Our Presidents,* 263–266.
2. "The Bull Moose," *ibid.,* 267–270.
3. "Woodrow Wilson," *ibid.,* 271–277.
4. "An Eight-Hour Day for Railroad Men," by Woodrow Wilson, *In Our Times,* 323–325.
5. "Achievements in Peace," *This Country of Ours,* 600–605.
6. "Woodrow Wilson," *The Book of Knowledge,* 19: 7198–7200.
7. "America's President in the World War," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia,* 9: 3744–3749.
8. "Federal Reserve Banks," *The World Book Encyclopedia,* 1: 608–609.
9. "Federal Trade Commission," *ibid.,* 4: 2390.
10. "The Twenty-Eighth President," *ibid.,* 12: 7778–7788.

CHAPTER XXXIX

ADVANCES IN POPULAR GOVERNMENT

Stages of Democratic Advance. The United States has steadily grown more democratic since the beginning of our national history. The era of Jefferson, of Jackson, and of Lincoln each made its advance toward a more popular control of the Government. Jefferson probably did more than any one else to make the United States a democracy. Fully 90% of the people were farmers in those days, and Jefferson led the farming masses against the banking and commercial classes. After Jefferson's triumph the States gradually extended the franchise to men without property. Jackson represented the "plain people"; he was backed by the western democracy of farmers. Lincoln emancipated the slaves, and they were soon made citizens and voters. The doctrine of the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal" in regard to their legal and political rights was now to apply to all men alike, "regardless of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

Again, a generation later, in 1896 and following, another advance took place. The growth of the People's Party and its demands, the democratic principles and policies advocated by Bryan and Roosevelt promoted this movement. The people seemed determined that America should not be ruled by a *plutocracy,* that is, by a combination of great wealth.

To achieve, or retain, government of, by, and for the people requires a constant struggle. A review of some of the achievements for popular government during the last fifty years will show how true this statement is.

The Australian Ballot. For years party bosses and rich men who wanted special favors from the Government had corrupted the ballot and bought elections. The "floater"—a man who waited around on election day for his vote to be bought—had become an important factor in politics. In the States where the parties were evenly matched, "floaters" sometimes held the "balance of power," and the party managers who could raise the largest "slush funds" for buying votes generally carried such States.

This situation made necessary a change in the method of voting, if the people were actually to rule. Up to this time (1888–1890) political parties, or candidates, printed their own ballots, or tickets. Since the Democratic ballot might be white and the Republican ballot red, it was easy to distinguish them from one another. The party workers distributed these ballots on the streets or at the voting places, and it was easy to buy and sell votes under the plan, for there was no secrecy about voting. After paying the "floater," the buyer gave him the right ballot and went with him to the voting place to see that he handed the ballot to the election officer. The buyer could thus make sure that the voter "stayed bought."

But in 1888 Kentucky and Massachusetts began a ballot reform; several other States followed the next year. These States introduced what is called the "Australian ballot," because it was first used in that country. Under this system of voting the names of all the candidates of all the parties are printed on an "official" ballot furnished by the State. No one is allowed to have one of these ballots outside of the election room. When the voter goes in to vote, he is given a ballot by an election officer. He then enters a booth by himself, and secretly marks the ballot for the candidates for whom he wishes to vote. He next folds the ballot, comes out of the booth, hands his ballot to the election officer, and sees it deposited in the ballot box. If any one has bribed him to vote a certain way or frightened him by threats, it is not easy to determine that he has voted as he said he would. Since 1888 nearly all the States have adopted the Australian ballot. The use of this ballot has done much to purify elections.

The Direct Primary. For more than sixty years following Jackson's time, nominations for public office were made by party conventions. There were city conventions, county conventions, State and national conventions. A convention was a gathering of delegates chosen at a local meeting by party workers or by such of the voters as had time and interest enough to attend. Party bosses and workers generally controlled the choice of delegates. Counties sent delegates to a State convention; States and congressional districts sent delegates to a national convention. Persons who gave their time to politics — the "professional politicians" and the office holders — usually controlled the conventions. Only a few citizens gave much thought or attention to politics until an election campaign was on, and by that time the candidates had already been selected. The party bosses handled the conventions and rich candidates sometimes bought enough delegates to secure nominations to office.

The foregoing situation created a demand that the primary system be substituted for the convention plan. Under the direct primary system every voter of the party has an opportunity to vote for the candidate he prefers. This gives more power to the rank and file of the party.

Candidates announce themselves for various offices, their names are placed upon official tickets, and members of the various parties cast their ballots upon the day appointed for the primary election, just as in a regular election. As a rule the candidates receiving the highest number of votes for each office become the nominees of the party. The primaries of all parties are held on the same day and all have the same legal safeguard against fraud as the regular election. In some States, if no candidates for Governor or United States Senator receives a majority (more than half of all the votes cast), but only a plurality (or the greater number) a second primary is held to let the voters choose between the two candidates receiving the largest number of votes.

The direct primary is merely another election and adds to public expenses. Many people claim that the bosses and regular party workers manage the primaries as completely as they managed the conventions and that only rich men can afford to run for a State Governorship or a United States Senatorship, since men without wealth cannot afford two contests, the one in the primary and the one for the regular election. But large sums of money need not be spent in the primaries or in the elections. While rich candidates occasionally spend large sums, many persons have been nominated in the primaries and elected without great expenditures. Campaign expenses must be filed by the candidates and some men chosen for the Senate have been deprived of their seats because of having spent too much. A wide difference of opinion exists concerning the merits and defects of the primary system.

In 1912 thirteen States had some form of *presidential primaries.* The voters in these States had opportunity to express their preference among the presidential candidates. In 1913 William J. Bryan expressed the opinion that the Democratic Party would never hold another national convention but that the people in the primaries would decide upon candidates and policies; President Wilson urged legislation upon Congress to bring that situation about by law. But Bryan's prophecy has not come to pass, and presidential primaries have not been used much since 1912, partly because in the presidential years there have been no real contests within the parties.

Initiative and Referendum. Along with the direct primary came the initiative and the referendum. These are political devices for adding to the power of the people. They were first used in South Dakota in 1898, and soon after were provided for in the constitution of Oregon. The two measures generally go together. They are intended as a check, or remedy, for the shortcomings of legislatures. They came from the feeling that legislators were not true to the pledges they made in order to secure election; that legislators, instead of being "representative," were "misrepresentative"; that they were too often controlled by powerful lobbies, corporations, and corrupt methods; that they frequently passed laws which the people did not want and refused to pass laws which the people did want.

The *initiative* is a process for obtaining legislation which the people desire, in spite of the legislature. The *referendum* is a process of preventing legislation which the people do not desire. By the initiative, if a certain per cent of the voters petition to have a measure or policy submitted to the voters for approval, the legislature must provide for a popular vote upon it. If the measure carries in the election then the legislature must pass the act. By the referendum (meaning *it must be referred*) on a similar petition, a measure which the legislature has passed may not become a law until it has been submitted to the people and approved by them.

In this way the people can prevent legislation they do not want.

These measures bring *direct government* to the people, or enable them to make laws directly. In Oregon sixty-four laws were passed in this way in four general elections. This system of legislation has not been used much in recent years, perhaps because legislatures have behaved better. The initiative and referendum have been compared to the policeman's club or the gun behind the door — to be used only in an emergency.

Amendments to the Constitution. The growing power of the people brought about several amendments to the national Constitution since 1910. This document had not been changed for over a hundred years, except during the Civil War period when eleven of the States were out of their usual relation to the Union. It was then that the three "war amendments" were adopted But fifty years later, with increased power in the hands of the people, several amendments which had been urged for years passed Congress and were ratified by the States in quick succession.

The first of these (the 16th Amendment) allows Congress to levy an income tax, a tax upon the income or profit of an individual or corporation, without apportioning the tax among the States according to population. This amendment became part of the Constitution in 1913.

An income tax act was passed during the Civil War and the Supreme Court allowed it to stand. Another was passed in 1894, but the next year (1895) the Supreme Court (by a vote of five to four) declared the law unconstitutional. The decision was very unpopular and a movement was at once begun to obtain an amendment to the Constitution authorizing such a tax, but nearly twenty years were required to bring it about, so great was the opposition of the wealthy class.

Popular Election of Senators. Another amendment of this period (the 17th) provides for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, not by the legislatures of the States as heretofore. For years the Senate was criticized as a " rich man's club," many of whose members represented special interests and corporations rather than the people. The Senators held back the Income Tax Amendment again and again. Many people thought that the election of the Senators by popular vote would make the Senate more responsive to the people and more ready to carry out the popular will. The Populists and the Socialists long declared for this change and in later years Republican and Democratic platforms also endorsed the amendment.

Suffrage for Women. Another amendment (the 19th) provides for woman suffrage. It declares that " the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied nor abridged on account of sex." Thus the women, too, came to be included in " equal rights for all." Heretofore they had been citizens, but not voters. The amendment allowing them to vote throughout the United States became a part of the Constitution in 1920. Women in all the States voted for President that year.

Women sought the suffrage just after the Civil War when the vote was conferred upon the freedmen. Many people thought that the women of the land were as competent to vote as the Negroes just out of slavery. But the idea of women voting and taking part in politics met only with the contempt and ridicule of most men, and of many women, too. This famous amendment was drawn up in 1875 by Susan B. Anthony, a pioneer of the woman suffrage movement in America. It was introduced into the United States Senate three years later, and was presented to one Congress after another, until, in 1919, it was passed by Congress and ratified by the States.

A hundred years ago, during the early years of the abolition and labor movements, Robert Owen, Frances Wright, Abby Kelly, William Lloyd Garrison, Lucretia Mott, and other advanced reformers, advocated woman suffrage for America. Organized work began with the *Woman's Rights Convention* at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. In those early days the right to vote was not the only right women needed to contend for. In some States a woman had no right to make a contract, to own property, or to have the guardianship of her own children. When a man and a woman married, they became one and "the man was the one." If the wife inherited property from her father, the inheritance belonged to the husband who could do as he pleased with it, without any consent from her. Robert Dale Owen, son of Robert Owen, brought about a change in the laws of Indiana (1847–1850) for which women have built monuments to his memory. Other States gradually changed their laws, giving women more privileges.

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Susan B. Anthony

In 1869 the National Woman Suffrage Association was organized under the leadership of Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Stanton, Lucy Stone, and Julia Ward Howe, and later the work was led by Anna Howard Shaw, Carrie Chapman Catt, and Jane Addams.

Deciding who should vote had always belonged to the States — each State reached its own decision. But it has been decided that the nation may limit the "rights of the States" in such fundamental matters. Originally it was the "right" of a State to permit slavery, or to deny citizenship and civil rights to some of its people; that is, the right to hold, inherit, or bequeath property, to make contracts, or to appeal to the courts for justice. These seem to be fundamental rights of the citizen. The "right" of the State to deny them was taken away by the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments, while the Fifteenth and Nineteenth Amendments have further abridged "States' rights" by forbidding any State to impose undemocratic discriminations in the suffrage.

Julia Ward Howe, 1819–1910
Author of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."

UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

Carrie Chapman Catt
A great leader of American women.

Formerly a woman's citizenship in America depended upon her husband. She was a citizen of her husband's country. His naturalization naturalized her. If he lost his citizenship, she lost hers. If an American woman married an alien, she lost her citizenship. Now under the Cable Act (September 22, 1922) an American woman, if she marries an alien, retains her citizenship unless she formally renounces it. If an American woman has lost her citizenship by marrying an alien, before the passage of the Cable Act, she can recover it by going through a simplified naturalization process, with only one year's residence in the United States instead of five. But she must go through certain forms, obtain a certificate of arrival in America, and apply for her "second papers."[1]

JANE ADDAMS
Great advocate of peace and social justice.

During this period of growing democracy, a number of measures which the people had long desired were established.

Postal Savings Banks. In 1911 there came into operation at designated postoffices the postal savings bank. Here the Government receives and takes care of the

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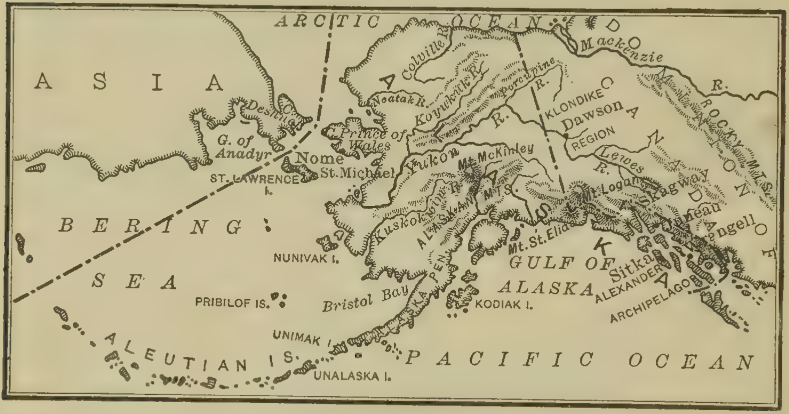
[1] Mrs. Ruth Bryan Owen, daughter of William J. Bryan, married an English Army officer in 1919 before the Cable Act. After the death of her husband she returned to America and was elected to Congress from Florida. The right to her seat was contested because she had not taken the necessary legal steps to regain her lost citizenship, but the House of Representatives recognized her as a citizen and allowed her to retain her seat.

MAIL CLERKS BUSY WITH THE PARCELS POST

SENDING PARCELS BY AIR MAIL

savings of those who wish this service. The savings are then deposited in the banks under good security and can be borrowed and used to promote new enterprises. At the close of 1928 over $152,000,000 had been deposited in the postal savings banks.

Parcel Post. In 1913 a system of parcel post was established. The Government, through the postoffice, carries parcels for the people, the charges varying according to the distance as fixed by a zone system. The parcel post has proved very useful and popular. Free rural delivery of the mail has also been extended to the country districts from time to time.


ARCTIC OCEAN
ASIA
Colville R.
Mackenzie R.
Noatak R.
Koyukuk R.
Porcupine R.
KLONDIKE
Dawson
REGION
CANADA
ROCKY MTS.
DOMINION OF
G. of Anadyr
Prince of Wales
Nome
St. Michael
Yukon R.
Mt. McKinley
ST. LAWRENCE I.
ALASKA MTS.
Lewes R.
Mt. Logan
Skagway
Juneau
Wrangell
BERING SEA
Kuskokwim R.
Mt. St. Elias
NUNIVAK I.
ALASKA PEN.
GULF OF ALASKA
Sitka
ALEXANDER ARCHIPELAGO
PRIBILOF IS.
Bristol Bay
KODIAK I.
UNIMAK I.
ALEUTIAN IS.
UNALASKA I.
PACIFIC OCEAN

ALASKA

The United States purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867 for $7,200,000. The region contains 570,000 square miles. Most people of that time thought that it consisted of rocks and icebergs and was of no value; but its fish and seals, and later its gold from the Klondike, have yielded many times the sum paid for the territory.

Two New States. During this period local self-government, the system America has always lived by, was extended to two Western States, New Mexico and Arizona. For more than fifty years after their acquisition from Mexico, statehood had been denied to them. Now both territories were made into States, New Mexico in 1911 and Arizona in 1912. Arizona was the last of the territories in what is called "Continental United States." Alaska is on the continent, but it is separated from the other States. Any new States in the future will have to be created out of Alaska or the island possessions.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. Name and explain the chief stages of progress in democracy since 1789. What is democracy? How can one tell whether it exists?

2. What is the Australian ballot? Explain its advantages as compared with the system of voting in use before its adoption. How has it advanced democracy?

3. How does the direct primary operate? What evils did it tend to remove? Mention evils it may have caused. Is it used in your State? Inquire at home.

4. Explain the initiative and the referendum. What do the two words mean? (Consult the dictionary.) How have they helped to make the Government more responsive to the desires of the people? Are they in use in your State? If so, what do people seem to think of them? Ask neighbors and friends.

5. Turn to the Constitution and read the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Nineteenth Amendments. Tell what each means. Does each help to make the United States more democratic? Explain. Which amendment do you think did most to advance democracy? Why?

6. Explain the following, and tell how each relates to democracy: "floaters"; "plutocracy"; "slush fund"; popular election of senators; income tax; woman suffrage.

7. What is the postal savings bank? The parcel post? Rural free delivery? How does each benefit the community? Which renders the greater service? Give reasons.

8. What advances in democracy do you think are still needed? Give reasons.

THINGS TO DO

1. Make a list, with dates, of all the advances in democracy included in this chapter. Compare lists and fill in gaps in your list.

2. Put a star (*) opposite each of the three advances in democracy (shown in the list made in response to No. 1) that you regard as most important. Choose a committee to tabulate the votes of the class and place the result on the blackboard.

3. Bring sample Australian ballots to class; explain their main features; post them on the bulletin board for a while; then add them to your school museum. Look up the "party column" ballot and the "office column" ballot. Which is better? Explain "scratching" and "voting straight."

4. Choose a committee to secure information at your post-office (1) about the parcel post and (2) about the postal savings bank. Suggest points you would like the committee to investigate. Here are examples: What rates are charged for parcels going to the different zones? What rules must be observed in the size of packages? What sums may be deposited in the postal savings bank? What interest does the Government pay on deposits?

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "How the X Mark Was Born," in *Readings in Community Life,* 603–606.
2. "How to Become a Statesman," *ibid.,* 589–592.
3. "Non-Voters and Compulsory Voting," *ibid.,* 608–610.
4. "The Inside of an Election," by James J. Davis, *In Our Times,* 229–233.
5. "Ballot," *The World Book Encyclopedia,* 1: 586.
6. "The Initiative and Referendum," *ibid.,* 6: 3452–3453.
7. "Woman Suffrage Leaders," *The Book of Knowledge,* 14: 5268–5269.

LOOKING BACKWARD

A. THE STORY: THE NEW DEMOCRACY

Copy the paragraphs which follow, filling the blanks with the correct ideas from the story of The New Democracy.

This division of the story of our country tells how many reforms in the government of the nation brought to the nation a new democracy.

The two outstanding leaders in securing such reforms were ______________ and ______________.

Political changes made the nation more democratic by giving the people a greater share in the government. The chief measures which brought such changes were:

1. ____________________________________
2. ____________________________________
3. ____________________________________

Social and economic reforms tended to prevent evil practices in trade, to adjust the burden of taxes more justly, and to increase the wealth of the individual and that of the nation. Chief among the social and economic reforms were:

1. ____________________________________
2. ____________________________________
3. ____________________________________

B. HISTORICAL TERMS

The terms given below are used in the story of The New Democracy.

conservation
reclamation
forest rangers

conservatives
plutocracy
protectorates

minority
majority

Choose the correct word from the list given above for each blank in the following sentences.

1. ______________ is the act of bringing waste lands to a state of cultivation.

2. The party in the ______________ is the party which is the smaller in number.

3. ________________ means saving the natural resources for economic use.

4. The men who protect the forests from fire and thieves are called [illegible].

5. Countries that are possessions of another country are called ________________.

6. Members of a political party who are opposed to changes or reforms are called [illegible].

7. The ________________ means more than half of a given number.

8. A ________________ is a class in a country that controls the government by its wealth.

C. IMPORTANT PERSONS

The following characters appear in the story of The New Democracy:

William McKinley
Theodore Roosevelt
John Mitchell
Colonel Gorgas
Woodrow Wilson
Colonel Goethals
William Howard Taft

1. ________________ was President of the United States during the World War.

2. ________________ was President of the United States during the Spanish-American War.

3. ________________ directed the digging of the Panama Canal.

4. ________________ was president of the United Mine Workers of America.

5. ________________ made the Panama Canal Zone a healthful place.

6. ________________ was the President who worked for conservation of the country's natural resources.

7. ________________ was Secretary of War under President Roosevelt and afterward the President of the United States.

PART TEN

THE NATION OF TODAY

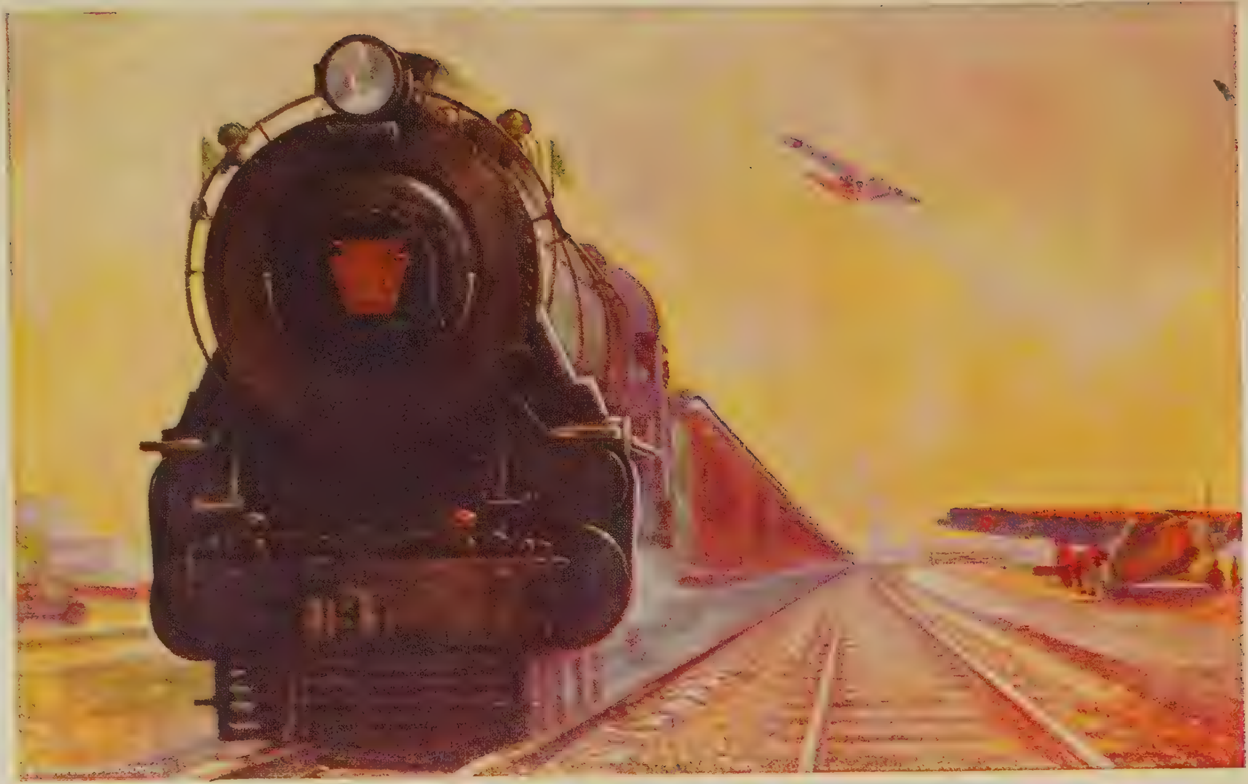
THE NATION OF TODAY

If it were possible for a Revolutionary soldier to revisit the United States today, the scene would be almost as strange to him as life on a different planet. He would find his countrymen using automobiles, telephones, telegraphs, and airplanes; their homes offering the conveniences of running water, electric lights, and furnace heat; their daily newspaper keeping them in touch with the happenings of the whole world. He would conclude that a common laborer of today lives in greater luxury than did the kings of old.

Another advance that he would notice is the establishment of common schools, high schools, and universities, supported by the State for all the children of all the people, girls as well as boys, colored as well as white, foreign as well as native. All of these great changes have been reflected in our literature, for it offers a faithful picture of American life yesterday and today.

The United States, however, has not solved all of its problems. Many vexing questions remain for the present generation and for those that are to come afterward. Among these problems are the following: How can unemployment be avoided and poverty prevented? Should the nation continue to admit immigrants from foreign countries, or should the resources of America be kept for Americans and their descendants? How can friendly relations be established with the Latin-American countries and with the other nations of the world?

The older generations have not been able to solve all of these problems. You are receiving an education in order to be prepared to help in their solution.



Harnessing the Airplane to the Iron Horse

PART TEN
THE NATION OF TODAY

CHAPTER XL

ENRICHING LIFE: AN AGE OF WONDERS

The Hard Ways of Living Seventy Years Ago. At the close of the Civil War (1865) there were few household conveniences and comforts such as we know today. The great majority of the people still lived in the country or in small villages. The hand loom was used for weaving rag carpets and coarse clothing. Men wore blue jeans, and the women wore calico or linsey-woolsey, a mixture of linen and wool of their own carding and spinning. Wood from the forests was the chief fuel in the open fireplace or the wood-burning stoves, which came later. Baking in the Dutch oven or in pans over the hot coals and cooking in pots on the open fireplace were common practices.

Bathrooms were unknown to common people. Water for household use was carried from the spring under the hill at some distance from the house. Soft water was caught in a barrel under a pipe. The more expensive houses had cisterns or deep wells from which the water was forced by a chain pump or was drawn up in "the old oaken bucket." There were no refrigerators and no ice in summer; the cellar was the only cooling place.

For household lighting there was still the tallow candle, whose wick required "snuffers," or the little hand lamp with its wick soaking in whale oil, a poor light which made reading difficult. The kerosene lamps which later were introduced were ill-smelling and required frequent filling. They were followed by gas jets and gas lamps.

Transportation and communication were difficult. It was long before the days of good roads. There were a few "turnpikes" with toll gates at which the traveler had to stop and pay according to the length of his journey and the size of his vehicle. There was no rural delivery by the postoffice. Most farmers lived isolated lives.

Let us now review the changes of the last seventy years. Our attention comes to an age of machinery and an age of wonders.

TRANSPORTATION

Let us notice first the main changes in our means of transportation. We have already noticed the progress of our railroads. (See pages 420–424.)

When the dynamo and electric motor were developed, the street car lines in our cities were electrified and the old horse car disappeared. Trolley lines connecting distant cities were run by electric power and became a common mode of travel. Milk, poultry, and livestock were sent from the farms to the cities and much heavy freight was transported over the trolley lines. Within short distances these lines became competitors of the regular railroads.

The Automobile. Soon the trolley lines felt the competition of the automobile and the motor truck.

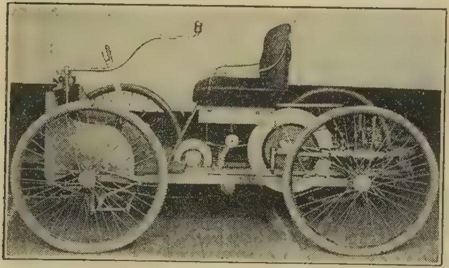
No one can say for certain who invented the first automobile. It is the work of many men and many minds. It is an assembling of parts more than an outright invention. Almost all its parts had been in use before. The first automobiles were made in France in 1891, though America has done more in the production and use of automobiles than any other country.

The *buggy auto,* made by Charles E. Duryea, of Massachusetts, was the first gasoline automobile to run successfully in America, in 1892. In 1894 Elwood Haynes, of Kokomo, Indiana, built a "horseless carriage," which he ran on the highway near his home town at about eight or ten miles an hour.

HENRY FORD

In 1895 an auto race among these early machines took place in Chicago, in which Duryea's car was the winner. Henry Ford was eager to see the race, but he did not have money enough for his railroad fare. At that time Ford was a young mechanic working in a power-house in Detroit. He had always been interested in machinery, in threshers, binders, and mowing machines. Later he devised an automobile which he sold at a low price in great numbers.

Almost five years passed by after the first cars appeared before the manufacture of automobiles became an important industry. Fewer than 4000 cars were made in 1899. Then in ten years (1909) 130,000 cars were made in a single year. In 1919 the number made in a year had risen to 2,000,000. Ten years later automobile-making had become the third among the industries of America in the value of its products. Over 5,500,000 cars were produced in a year, and over 22,000,000 cars were in use in America. Since there were only about 25,000,000 families in America the figures mean that there was nearly one automobile to the family. Not every family has a car, but many families have two or three or more. There is now one car for every seven people in America, while in France there are 93 people to every car. If all the cars in America were lined up, bumper to bumper, the line would reach more than twice around the world.



THE FIRST FORD CAR

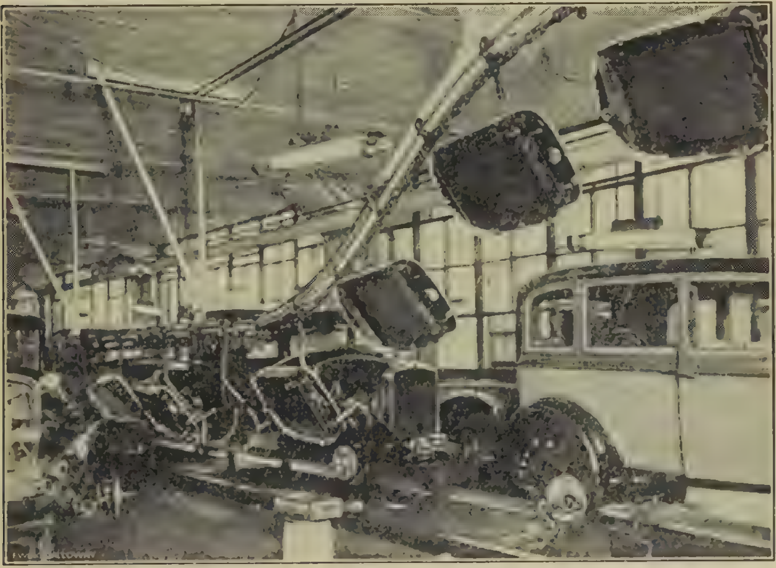
Influence of the Automobile. What effect has the automobile had on American life?

(1) People travel more widely, and more easily. They drive across the continent, to California, to Florida. People in the North go South and those in the South go North. If they could have done that as easily in the days before the Civil War, that conflict might not have happened. People go longer distances to visit, to trade, and to attend church or entertainments.

(2) Better roads have come into use. The whole highway system of hard-surface roads has been the direct result of the automobile. If people are to travel, they must have good roads to travel on. The States and the National Government have voted millions of dollars to build "Lincoln Highways," "Oregon Trails," "Mohawk

Trails," and "Dixie Highways" to and fro across the continent.

(3) On these good roads the motor bus and the motor truck carry passengers and freight. Travelers may go by bus, cheaper than by rail, from New York to Los Angeles; the number of people using bus transportation for short distances is enormous. Trucks carry household goods, livestock, and other freight long distances; in many places auto traffic has put electric trolley lines out of business, and has reduced the income of the railroads.



A CORNER IN A MODERN AUTOMOBILE PLANT

(4) The use of the automobile has made living conditions easier and more pleasant for millions of farmers. They can get about the farm and go to town much more rapidly. The tractor has taken the place of the old-time plow, especially in large-scale farming.

(5) More employment is given to labor. More than a million laborers are engaged in the automobile industry.

One out of every ten persons gainfully employed in America is now deriving a livelihood from the automobile or its allied lines of work.

(6) The automobile has changed the appearance of our cities. Many former residence streets have been given up to automobile salesrooms, garages, and filling stations. Street traffic has become congested. Traffic policemen and a signal system of "stop" and "go" signs have become necessary. One must drive according to "the rule of the road." He cannot drive just where and when and as fast as he pleases.

WRIGHT AIRPLANE AT KITTY HAWK, NORTH CAROLINA

This was the first airplane to make a public test of flying. It made several flights but finally fell at Ft. Meyer near Washington, D. C., killing one man and injuring one of its inventors.

(7) In spite of legal precautions and "safety first" campaigns, automobiles cause the death of thousands of persons every year. It is estimated that more than 30,000 people were killed in America by automobiles in 1929. This is more than were killed in any battle of the Civil

War, and more than were killed in both the Mexican War and the War of 1812 combined.

Advance in Aviation. Man has always wished to fly and conquer the air. He has not attached wings to his body, but he has made a flying machine by which he can go through the air very rapidly and he can "loop the loop," or do tricks in the air, that no bird would attempt.

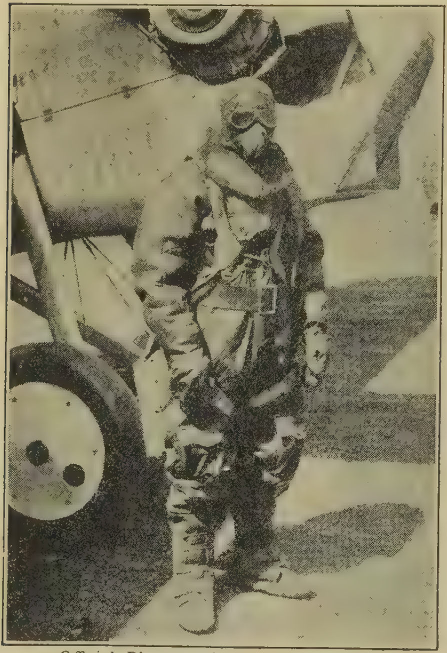
A SPERRY SEARCHLIGHT BEING OPERATED IN CONNECTION WITH AN ANTI-AIRCRAFT BATTERY

The problem of flight was solved by the development of a lightweight "power plant" which the airplane could carry. The pressure of the air against the wings of the planes causes the machine to rise, and the steering apparatus enables the pilot to turn and guide the machine as he pleases.

An American scientist, Samuel P. Langley of the Smithsonian Institution, was the first to indicate by his experiments that man might navigate the air. As early as 1896, one of Langley's machines sustained itself in the air for one minute and twenty seconds, flying more than a mile. Langley died in 1906, before he had succeeded in making flight practical, but his pioneer work pointed the way. Two other Americans, the Wright brothers, brought the flying machine to practical success. The first successful flight of an airplane was made by Orville and Wilbur Wright at Kitty Hawk, N. C., December 17, 1903. The first flight lasted for twelve seconds; two years later a flight was made that lasted half an hour.

Improvements in aviation have steadily continued. Men have flown to both the poles and over the Atlantic and the Pacific. Lieutenant Commander A. C. Read, of the American Navy, was the first aviator to cross the Atlantic (May 16–17, 1919). The first continuous non-stop transatlantic flight was made June 14–15, 1919, by Captain John Alcock and Lieutenant A. W. Brown, of the British Royal Flying Corps.

As late as 1920 we had no air mail, but by 1930 there were 35,000 miles of established airways, and mail airplanes that year flew more than 15,000,000 miles, or as far as sixty-three trips to the moon.



Official Photograph, U. S. Army Air Corps

ARMY FLYER DRESSED FOR HIGH ALTITUDE FLIGHT

The tube from the mouth is attached to an oxygen tank.

Two Heroes of the Air. In May, 1927, Charles A. Lindbergh in the monoplane *The Spirit of St. Louis* made a successful transatlantic flight from New York direct to Paris in thirty-three hours. His feat was the more remarkable because he flew alone. What would our ancestors have thought of Lindbergh's flight to Paris? They would have been equally surprised to learn that this flyer could telephone greetings from Paris to his mother in Detroit, and that millions throughout the land

and across the seas could listen to the voice of the President of the United States according honors to this American flyer for his great achievement in the air.

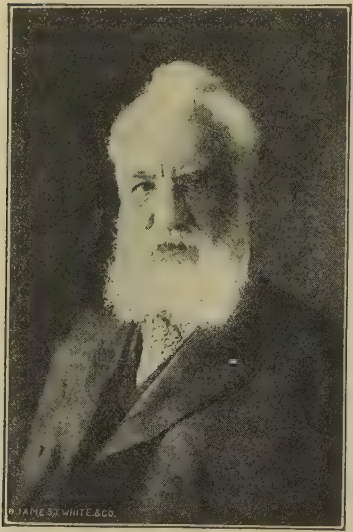
Charles A. Lindbergh and His Plane

This picture was taken at Roosevelt Field, Long Island, before the take-off for Paris. At that time Colonel Lindbergh was a mail flyer and comparatively unknown.

Soon after Lindbergh's transatlantic flight, Commander Richard E. Byrd, who had made the first flight to the North Pole, set off with three companions in the *America* from New York to France. The feats of Lindbergh and Byrd stimulated renewed interest in aviation.

Late in 1929 Commander Byrd flew over the South Pole, accompanied by three companions. From their camp in the Far South the fur-clad flyers took wing amid white clouds and snow. For half the journey they flew only 500 feet high; then they had to climb 10,000 feet between the walls of a glacier.

The expedition was a thrilling adventure, but it was more than that, for the trip was undertaken for scientific reasons. The geologist of the expedition, Dr. Lawrence Gould, of the University of Michigan, who remained at the earth's level, traveled 1200 miles by dog sled. He found that what was supposed to be a continent of land was a wide sea. Dr. Gould climbed Mt. Nansen and at 6000 feet of altitude found a sandstone formation with a layer of coal, showing that in ages past there must have been vegetation in the region.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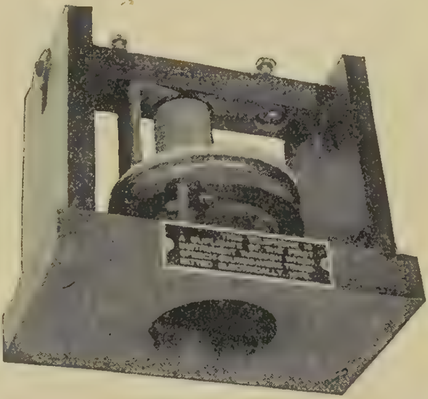
Alexander Graham Bell

COMMUNICATION: THE TELEPHONE

We turn now to see the ways by which men have learned to communicate with one another. The telegraph has already been described. (See page 424.) The telephone is an even greater marvel. This instrument first came into use in 1876, when Alexander Graham Bell received a patent for the invention from the United States.

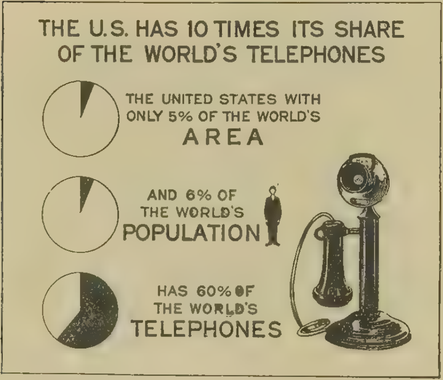
At first people did not grasp the importance of the telephone. In 1876 a Centennial Exposition to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of American independence was held in Philadelphia. People came from all over the world to see the marvelous exhibits. Bell had his telephone on exhibition, but it was in an out-of-the-way place and did not attract much attention. Among the visitors was the Emperor of Brazil, however, and one of the first things that he wanted to see was Bell's telephone, of which he had heard. On several occasions the Emperor talked over the experimental wire that had been set up for the entertainment and enlightenment of visitors. The interest of this foreign ruler in the telephone attracted much attention to the invention. From then on its progress in the country was rapid.



THE FIRST TELEPHONE

Following Bell, many workers and inventors improved the telephone. At first the instrument reached only from one house to another. It became necessary to increase the number of

A CENTRAL TELEPHONE OFFICE IN NEW YORK CITY people who could use the "phone." Provision was made for leading all wires to some central place called "the exchange," or "central." Then any user of the telephone could call "central" and be connected with any other user.



Next came long-distance telephoning. By 1892 Chicago could talk to New York. In 1915, less than forty years after Bell's invention was first used, a network of telephone wires had spread out over the continent and a man in New York could talk to a man in San Francisco. An outstanding event in the realm of the telephone came in 1927 with the opening of the transatlantic telephone service. Then New York could talk to London.

The *wireless* (1894–1896), brought into use by Marconi (mär kō′nĭ), an Italian inventor, made possible the sending of telegrams or telephone messages long distances through the air without connecting wires. By 1925 the human voice could be heard half way round the world.

Then came *television,* by which a man may not only talk to a person at a distance but actually *see* the one to whom he is talking. This was demonstrated in 1927 in New York, when a resident of the city sat at a telephone and not only talked with Herbert Hoover, then Secretary of Commerce at Washington, but *saw* him, too. While waiting for his call to be put through, he also saw the telephone operator at the Washington switchboard making connections.

The Radio. Of all inventions and changes promoting communication among men, the *radio* is the most wonderful It enables a person to be anywhere in America and talk with friends aboard an ocean steamship many miles at sea. The voice of President Hoover accepting, at Palo Alto, California, the presidential nomination of his party (1928) was easily heard by millions of his countrymen seated comfortably in their homes. The words of King George of England at the opening of the London Naval Conference (January 21, 1930) were heard by 100,000,000 listeners throughout the world.

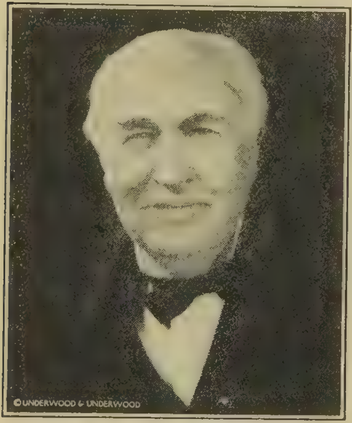
The most outstanding advance of 1929 was the coupling of the radio with the airplane for communicating purposes and for guiding planes in flight. Byrd, while in his plane in the farthest South, was able to talk by radio with *The New York Times,* the newspaper that was financing his expedition. A message was sent to Byrd which called for an answer. *The New York Times* flashed the message 12,000 miles to Byrd's Antarctic base. At the moment Byrd was flying his plane 100 miles away, but while in flight he wrote out his answer and sent it to the base, from which it was sent on to *The New York Times.* The whole incident occupied less than forty-five minutes!

All steamships carrying as many as fifty persons, counting passengers and crew, are required to have a radio equipment. Calls for help may be sent and received at sea, and thus many lives may be saved.

When radio stations began interfering with one another in their wave lengths, Congress passed the Radio Act of 1927. This created a Federal Radio Commission consisting of one member from each of five zones into which the country was divided. The Commission regulates all radio stations, and may revoke any license for cause.

Age of Electricity. It was in 1881 that Washington City was first illuminated by electricity. Now the business sections of our cities have the bright lights that make the streets as light as day. In 1882 the first electric lighting plant was installed in New York City. Electricity quickly drove out *oil* and *gas* for lighting houses and streets.

Edison. The most famous name connected with the world of electricity is that of Thomas A. Edison, known as the "Wizard of Menlo Park." Edison was born in 1847, in Milan, Ohio. He attended the public schools only three months. Like Lincoln, Edison came up out of poor and hard conditions. What teaching he had came chiefly from his mother. He became a great reader, especially of science books, among them the works of Michael Faraday, the English scientist. While a newsboy he became interested in electricity. This interest later led him to become a telegraph operator in various cities. In 1873 he contrived the *duplex telegraph*, a device for sending two messages at the same time on a single wire.



THOMAS A. EDISON

He was born in Ohio in 1847. At the age of 12 he was a newsboy on the Grand Trunk Railway, and later became a telegraph operator. He invented the incandescent lamp, the phonograph, and hundreds of other instruments and appliances — mostly of an electrical character. He died at his home in West Orange, New Jersey, in 1931.

In 1877, after Bell's success with the telephone, Edison invented the *carbon telephone transmitter*, which enabled the conversation to be sent over greater distances. In the same year came the *phonograph*, which Edison's inventive genius first made practicable.

In 1879 Edison gave the world the first practical *incandescent light*, in which a fine wire enclosed in a glass bulb, without oxygen, is heated by an electric current. This gives us the light that we now have everywhere in our homes and in our offices and shops.

In 1893 Edison was the first to show pictures of objects in motion. Three years before this he had invented the *kinetoscope* and the *kinetograph,* machines for projecting pictures and writing upon a screen. A projection lantern and a photo film were used, the film being moved in front of the projecting lens. The film carried a series of photographs of a moving object made at frequent intervals; when moved rapidly the images projected on the screen give the impression of a moving object.

Out of these machines came the "movies" of today which have given amusement and instruction to millions of people throughout the world. Later came the "talkies," so called, in which the actors talk as well as act on the screen. The motion-picture industry has now become one of the largest in the country. Millions of dollars are invested, highly paid actors employed, and expensive films produced; it has been estimated that the attendance at the picture shows in America reaches at least 100,000,000 every week. The industry has an invested capital of nearly $2,000,000,000 and owns over 20,000 theaters. It may become the most powerful instrument in the world for public education as well as for public entertainment.

Electricity: Man's Servant. The use of electricity in housework began about 1900. Since that time the work in the home has been revolutionized. All kinds of electrical devices have been invented for the saving of labor, among them the washing machine, the ironing machine, the dishwasher, the sewing machine, the vacuum sweeper, the toaster, the waffle iron, the chafing dish, the table stove, the fireless cooker, the warming pad, the floor polisher, the refrigerator, and the curling iron. With these servants at her command, the modern housewife escapes many of the burdens of the hard-working housewife of the long ago.

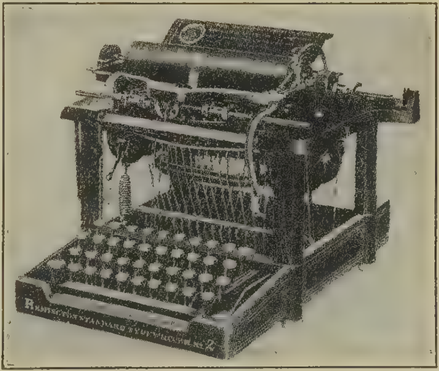
It is well said that "electricity burrows and climbs through the house with its tentacles," rendering many services. Mark Sullivan has said of it: "In any house at the same time it may be producing heat in one room, cold in another, and light in another, while in still another it may bring voices of friends from thousands of miles away over the radio." The days of dipping the tallow candle or trimming the wicks and filling the kerosene lamps with oil are now gone. George Washington, one of the richest men of his day in America, had no such comforts as many humble homes may have today.

BETTERMENT IN FARM LIFE

What have modern inventions and improvements brought to the rural districts? The farm may have not only the telephone and the automobile, but also through the electric power stations may have the advantage of electric lights and labor-saving devices. Electricity may be used to milk the cows, and the *cream separator* will prepare the dairy product for the market.

The *refrigerator car* has been of vast importance in the fruit and meat trade. It is indispensable for the shipment of "perishable freight." By means of it beef, fish, pork, and fresh fruits may be shipped almost any distance and be kept fresh and wholesome. Thus distant markets are opened up for the products of the farm.

Other inventions that have aided the farmer are drills, mowers, hay-tedders, hay-loaders, corn-cutters and corn-planters, ditchers, straw-stackers, stump-pullers, and the *tractor plow*. The plowman need no longer "plod his weary way" between the plow-handles, following the horses furrow after furrow around the field, but he may now sit on his *tractor* driven by a gasoline engine and turn up five or six furrows at a time. The farmer today also has the *combination harvester,* which cuts the grain, threshes it, and pours it into bags all by the continuous operation of the machine, thereby making possible large-scale wheat-raising as on the vast farms of the Northwest.



The First Shift-Key Typewriter, 1878

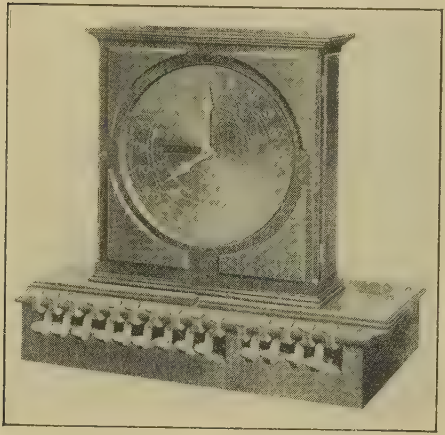
OFFICE EQUIPMENT

Modern inventions have also brought aid to the offices of professional and business men.

The *writing machine* or *typewriter,* invented by Remington in 1873, now does the writing of business letters and documents, of the lectures and addresses of professional and public men. Handwritten letters of public men now seldom appear, for the typewritten letter has displaced them.

The dictating machine enables one to speak through a tube and to have his words recorded on a roll. When placed on a somewhat similar machine, this roll reproduces the message distinctly. With such devices a business man may dictate all his letters to the machine, while his typist is busy at something else. Upon receiving the cylinders, she is able through ear-phones to hear the letters, a phrase or a clause at a time, and to type them as accurately as she would type letters dictated directly to her.

In 1884 William Seward Burroughs first introduced a model of an *adding machine.* With its assistance, the adding of a long column of figures is no longer a hard mental process, but is done mechanically by punching the figures on a keyboard. If you punch right, you may depend upon the machine to add right and to make no mistake. All banks, offices, and business houses where bookkeeping and accounting are needed on any large scale consider adding machines a necessity.

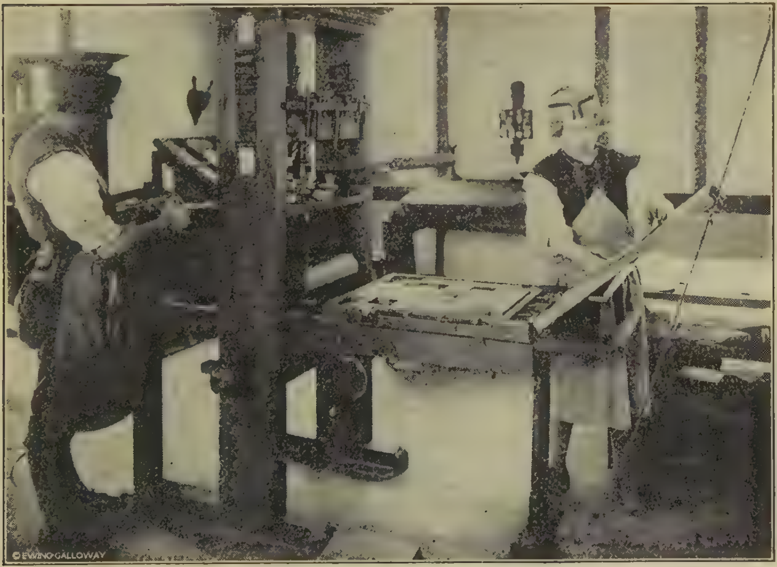

The First Cash Register, 1879

In retail stores, the *cash register* rings up the amount of the purchase, helps to make change, and shows the amount of money paid in and out during the sales of the day. It is also a necessity in all retail shops.

THE MODERN PRINTING PRESS AND THE LINOTYPE

The first Gutenberg press, invented about 1446, was a small wooden hand-press with movable types. It was improved but little in the next three hundred years. In 1847, however, Richard Hoe invented a revolving cylinder or rotary press which turned out 20,000 copies of newspapers in an hour. Improvements since 1865 have enabled the modern printing press to turn out over 300,000 copies an hour. The machinery in one operation prints, cuts, folds, and counts the copies.

To have such quantity production in printing, type must be set rapidly. Setting type by hand was a slow and tedious process. Each piece of type had to be picked up and put in place. Sometimes a "stick" (or column) of set type would fall from the printer's hands and be "pied," that is, scattered or mixed, and the type would then have to be distributed to the various cases, or boxes, and the whole setting-up process would need to be done over again. To "pie" a column of type was an expensive blunder. In 1884 the *linotype* was invented to set the type. This machine is operated by working a keyboard like that of an adding machine or typewriter, only much more extensive. As each key is pressed, the right mold falls into place, then hot metal flows into the forms and holds the "line-o'type" in place. Types are set as fast as a man can work his fingers. The *monotype*, a machine to set letters separately and hold them in a line, came into use in 1888. These improvements have made possible cheaper and more extensive printing.



GUTENBERG EXAMINING THE FIRST PROOF FROM HIS PRESS

This photograph was taken at the Cologne Industrial Exposition in 1928, where the story of printing was dramatized.

ADVANCES IN SCIENCE, MEDICINE, AND SURGERY

Science and invention have worked together in making life better for mankind. The *telescope* brought distant worlds within man's vision. The *microscope* extended man's knowledge of the small forms of life. In recent years these instruments have been greatly improved. The telescope has been enlarged, more powerful lenses have been invented, and far distant stars and suns heretofore unknown have been brought into view and the vastness of the universe revealed. At the Lowell Astronomical Observatory, at Flagstaff, Arizona, a new planet, Pluto, was discovered, in 1930, beyond Neptune, on the outer rim of our planetary system, a discovery that would not have been possible with the old telescopes.

Science has also added to the length of man's life. More thorough knowledge of the laws of hygiene has brought better health and longer life. Modern surgery has made wonderful progress. Today a surgeon by his skillful operations saves lives that would have been lost a generation ago. Doctors and scientists are carefully studying the causes of diseases and their prevention.

In 1890 the average length of life was under forty years. Especially among infants, deaths were due to lack of hospitals, nurses, and medical care, and men did not know how to combat disease. By 1930 the average age at death had risen to fifty-five.

In 1859 Louis Pasteur (pås tûr′), a famous French physician, began the study of diseases resulting in the discovery that many human ailments were caused by germs. The breeding-places for germs are refuse piles, garbage, unclean streets, and polluted streams. Flies carry disease germs to the food of the people in their homes. In summer the doors and windows must be open for cool breezes. Formerly there were no screens to keep out the flies and other insects. Now a good housewife is ashamed to find a fly in the house, and if she sees one she has no rest until she can " swat the fly."

As the result of increased knowledge about disease, public health service is provided. This health service, which provides competent doctors, visiting nurses, and public hospitals, is extended to almost every city and county in the country. There has been a marked improvement in public health. Better medical schools, nurses' training schools, increased number of hospitals, and health boards have brought about *socialized* medicine for removing bad and unhealthy conditions in society. Men are enriching life by living healthier lives. " Prevention is better than cure."

EXPOSITIONS

America has held a number of expositions to show the progress that man has made. The first of these was the Centennial Exposition held at Philadelphia in 1876, to celebrate the centennial of American independence. This furnished a remarkable object lesson in the industrial growth of the United States.

The World's Fair held in Chicago in 1893 celebrated the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America. Reproductions of Columbus's ships were on display. The Fair was a fine exhibit of the products and the costumes of the nations of the world. The Pan-American Exposition was held in Buffalo in 1901 to cultivate good will among our American neighbors. There was a brilliant display of electricity and electrical lighting. In 1904 the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was held in St. Louis, and in 1907 the 300th anniversary of the settlement of Jamestown, Va., was celebrated by an exposition there. In 1915 the Panama-Pacific Exposition was held in San Francisco and in 1926 the 150th anniversary of American independence was celebrated by another exposition in Philadelphia. In 1933 a Century of Progress exposition is planned in Chicago to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the founding of the city.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. What labor-saving devices does your school have that were unknown in the schools of sixty years ago? Tell how such devices make life richer.

2. Why do the workers usually object to the introduction of labor-saving machinery? Does such machinery hurt or help them? Or does it have both effects? Explain.

3. Tell what service each of the following renders to business: typewriter; adding machine; cash register; dictaphone. How was the work performed by each of these devices done before the machine was invented?

4. What was the chief result of the invention of the rotary printing press? the linotype? the monotype? Have these inventions made your life richer than your grandfather's was? Explain.

5. Suggest ways in which the radio may advance popular government.

6. Mention ways in which farm life has been made more pleasant since the days of Lincoln. Name ten inventions made during that period of time which have benefited the farmer; star the three that you think are worth most to him.

7. Describe the development of the automobile. Tell four ways in which it has bettered American life; two ways in which it may have injured American life.

8. Which name do you think is best to describe our day — the Age of Steel, the Age of Oil, the Age of Electricity, the Age of Speed, or the Age of Miracles? Or can you suggest a better

name than any of the foregoing? Give what facts you can to justify the use of the name you prefer.

9. Compare the automobile and the airplane from the point of view of the ways they have enriched life.

10. What safeguards for human health have been devised since the Civil War? From which of these have you benefited?

11. Mention ways in which the mechanical improvements of the last sixty years have made the problem of good government easier; ways in which they have made the problem more difficult.

THINGS TO DO

1. Make a list of the comforts and conveniences in your home that would not have been found in most American homes in 1865.

2. Bring to school radio programs that you find in the newspapers. Choose a committee to examine the programs that are brought in and to report the different kinds of numbers that are broadcast.

3. List the main inventions that have appeared since the Civil War under these heads (1) communication; (2) transportation; (3) office equipment; (4) farm machinery; (5) home conveniences; (6) entertainment. Copy and use the form shown below; the same invention may appear in several columns.

Inventions Since the Civil War

Communication	Transportation	Office Equipment	Farm Machinery	Entertainment

4. List industries in your community that depend to a large extent upon the telephone and the automobile. Mention changes that such industries would need to make in their methods of

carrying on their activities if the telephone and the automobile were suddenly to vanish.

5. Arrange for a class visit to the telephone exchange nearest your school. Prepare a list of questions about the telephone service to ask the person who serves as your guide.

6. List the ten most important inventions made since 1865. As your standard for measuring the value of the different inventions, consider the way each has enriched human life. Choose a committee to tabulate and report the results, ranking the inventions in the order of their importance as shown by the class vote. The committee may prepare a short article to accompany the list and give a copy to the editor of one of the local papers for publication.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "Charles Goodyear, a Man Who Persevered," *Heroes of Progress*, 30–38.
2. "Luther Burbank, Plant Breeder," *ibid.*, 106–114.
3. "Alexander Graham Bell, Inventor of the Telephone," *ibid.*, 115–121.
4. "Peter Cooper, Friend of Boys," *Makers of Our History*, 173–184.
5. "Thomas A. Edison, Electrician," *ibid.*, 353–364.
6. "Alexander Graham Bell, Inventor of the Telephone," *ibid.*, 365–377.
7. "The Story of the Telephone," *America First*, 401–404.
8. "Thomas A. Edison, The Great Inventor," *ibid.*, 405–408.
9. "Samuel Pierpont Langley, Inventor of the First Heavier-Than-Air Flying Machine," *ibid.*, 217–227.
10. "Henry Ford, Inventor and Manufacturer," *ibid.*, 264–273.
11. "Free Tourist Camp, One Mile," *In Our Times*, 53–59.
12. "When Pullman Cars Were New," *ibid.*, 124–125.
13. "The Genius of the Telephone," *ibid.*, 126–129.
14. "How Edison Made Electric Light," *ibid.*, 129–132.
15. "The First Moving Picture," *ibid.*, 134–139.

16. " Rural Free Delivery," *ibid.*, 198–202.

17. "A Modern Wizard," *The Book of Knowledge*, 17 : 6133–6136.

18. " The Most Ingenious of Americans and His Inventions," *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia*, 3 : 1083–1084.

19. " Marvels of the Monotype and Its Type-Caster," *ibid.*, 6 : 2303–2305.

20. " The Story of the Automobile," *The World Book Encyclopedia*, 1 : 534–546.

CHAPTER XLI

EDUCATION AND LITERATURE

Common Schools. By the close of the Civil War education had come to be recognized as the business of the State. Previously the church, the minister, the home, or private individuals in " subscription schools " had often been relied upon to teach the children. But within a few years after the Civil War common schools supported by public taxation had been established in all the States.

High Schools. The high schools came later and more slowly than the common schools. High schools were intended to form the link between the common schools and the university. Indiana was the first State to provide by law for a general system of public high schools. That State in its very beginning looked forward to a complete graduated system of education. Its constitution of 1816 placed upon the legislature the duty of providing by law " a general system of education, ascending in regular gradation from township schools to a State University, wherein tuition shall be free and equally open to all." Fully fifty years passed before Indiana carried out this provision, but now that State and practically all the other States have established such systems of education.

In 1860 there were only about 300 free high schools in the country; half of these were in Massachusetts, New York, and Ohio. The South had none at all. In those days nearly all educational opportunities above the common schools were to be found in academies and seminaries which had their chief support from the tuition charge paid by the pupils. In the East there were some Latin schools and grammar schools designed to prepare boys for college, but such schools could be attended only by the children of the well-to-do. They had no connection with the grades of the common school; there was no graduation into the " Junior " or " Senior " High School; there were no such free high schools.

About ten years later the free public high schools began their work. They then grew rapidly, and within a few years every city and town had established its own high school. In the country districts a " Township High School " frequently was provided at some central point. The high schools were " commissioned," or authorized, to prepare boys and girls for college. Their graduates were admitted to many colleges and universities on the basis of their diplomas or certificates without further examination.

High schools have greatly enlarged their courses of study. They have established libraries, laboratories, and gymnasiums for physical training. The best of them offer not only English, Latin, mathematics, history, and civics, but also economics, modern languages, domestic science, mechanical drawing, manual training, stenography, typewriting, and most of the natural sciences. As time passed, a few cities have extended their high schools into " Junior Colleges " in which the first two years of college work are given.

Colleges and Universities. Colleges and universities existed long before the common school or the high school. It was the educated men from these institutions who went out to advocate and promote a common education for all. At first the Church as well as the State was the founder of higher institutions of learning. The Church institutions for higher learning, except those in the Far West, were established between 1830 and 1860 before the expansion of the common school.

Growth of Universities. In education the era since the Civil War has been marked by the great growth of American universities, especially of State universities in the West. While the population of the country in the decade from 1910 to 1920 increased about 20 per cent, the student population in colleges and universities increased about 65 per cent. Columbia has a student attendance, winter and summer, of about 30,000. The University of Chicago, established in 1892 and richly endowed by John D. Rockefeller, now has an attendance of 12,000. At the University of California nearly 20,000 students are enrolled and at the University of Michigan more than 10,000. Other State universities of the Middle West have equally large numbers.

These universities not only offer general courses but also provide professional schools (Law, Medicine, Engineering, Music, Education, Journalism). In addition they offer extension courses, by which thousands of people who have been denied the privilege of a college education and who cannot go to the campus to study are given the benefits of university study. In such cases the professors go to "extension centers" to give lectures; readings are assigned to the students, who hear the lectures, pursue their studies, and take the examinations. Many universities offer courses by correspondence and in a few instances courses are broadcast by means of the radio. Summer sessions, evening schools, and "chautauquas" also help to provide educational opportunities for thousands of people.

Higher Education of Women. A century ago it was generally thought that higher education in college and university was not intended for women. A woman's brain was thought to be too weak to pursue advanced studies. Her education, beyond the common school, was provided only in the "finishing school," where she might study English literature, French, polite manners, art, drawing, music, and similar subjects.

As years passed, however, a demand arose for a more vigorous training for women, and as a result women's colleges came into existence. Mrs. Emma Willard opened a "female" seminary in Troy, New York, in 1823; she became one of the best known women teachers in America. Elmira College, the oldest of women's colleges in America, was founded in 1855. In 1865 Matthew Vassar gave a large sum for the founding of a woman's college at Poughkeepsie (pȯ kĭp′sĭ), New York; this is Vassar College, and the standard it set was to equal that of any college for men. Among the other institutions in the East that provided for the higher education of women were Wellesley, Smith, and Mount Holyoke Colleges in Massachusetts, Hunter College in New York City, the largest women's college in the world, and Bryn Mawr College, near Philadelphia, established especially for graduate and research study.

Co-education. The State universities in the West have admitted women to their classes on equal terms with men for more than fifty years. This higher co-education has become the custom in the West. With few exceptions colleges on private foundations also have co-education. Oberlin, in Ohio, was the pioneer co-educational college, admitting women to some of its courses from its foundation in 1833. Antioch College, in Ohio, admitted women on an equal basis with men in 1853. In 1867 Indiana University opened its doors to women on equal terms with men. The University of Michigan did likewise in 1870. The other State universities in the Western States and a number of similar institutions in the East also adopted the same policy.

Today the women graduates from women's colleges and co-educational institutions are numbered by the thousands. They have organized an "Association of American University Women," and exercise an important influence on education, politics, and public morals. Women have gone into the professional schools and have become successful lawyers and physicians. Judge Florence Allen of Ohio is a member of the Supreme Court of that State. Women have also served as State governors and as members of State legislatures and of Congress.

Education of the Negro. The progress of the American Negro since his emancipation from slavery is a remarkable chapter in our history. The Negroes came out of slavery in poverty and ignorance. With the aid of friends, but chiefly by their own efforts, they now own over 30,000,000 acres of land and other property worth more than $1,000,000,000. While the masses of the race have relied upon manual labor for their living, thousands of Negroes have become well educated and have entered successfully into business and into the various professions — medicine, law, dentistry, engineering, and the ministry.

Since the Civil War the Negro race in America has increased from 4,000,000 to nearly 12,000,000. Illiteracy among Negroes has been reduced from 90 per cent to less than 30 per cent. Among the men of distinction the race has produced are W. E. B. Dubois, Booker T. Washington, Kelley Miller, and Robert Moton in literature and education; Paul Lawrence Dunbar in poetry; and Roland Hayes, one of the great tenor singers of the world, in music.

The Negroes were greatly helped and encouraged by the Church mission schools that were established in the

South just after the Civil War. In 1867 George Peabody, a Northern philanthropist, gave a large sum for education in the South. Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, was established for Negroes. Wilberforce University near Xenia, Ohio, had been established by the African Methodist Episcopal Church as early as 1856. Howard University for Negroes was established at Washington, D. C., in 1870.

One of the outstanding educators of America, as well as one of the benefactors of the human race, was General Samuel C. Armstrong, founder of Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute at Norfolk, Virginia. Armstrong served in the Union Army in the Civil War, showing special interest in Negro troops. Soon after, through the influence of General O. O. Howard, Armstrong worked with the Freedmen's Bureau, having charge of the Negroes in ten counties in Virginia. He became interested in Negro education and in 1871 founded Hampton Institute. For ten years only Negroes attended the school, but in 1878 Indians were also admitted. By 1893 the school had 100 teachers and 1800 students. Part of the funds donated by the National Government to Virginia for a State Agricultural College (by the Morrill Act of 1862) was given to Hampton for the benefit of the colored people.

Among the early students at Hampton was Booker T. Washington. In 1872 "by walking, begging rides in wagons and on trains," Washington, who was then only 13 years old, traveled 500 miles to Norfolk, where he came under the influence of General Armstrong. He studied three years in Hampton, working as janitor for his room and board. Later he taught at Hampton, assisting General Armstrong in the training of 75 Indians.

Booker T. Washington decided to devote his life to the education of the Negro. In 1881 he founded at

Tuskegee, Alabama, in the heart of the Black Belt, the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute. The school was opened in a little shanty and Negro church. Within twenty years the school had 40 buildings, erected mostly by student labor. In 1889 Tuskegee was endowed by Congress with over 25,000 acres of land. Andrew Carnegie gave the school $600,000. Tuskegee now has an endowment of $2,000,000 with 100 buildings, a library of 20,000 volumes, and in 1928 enrolled nearly 2000 students from 31 States. Graduates from our best universities are teachers in the institution. It has had a great influence in promoting the progress of the Negro in the South.

Booker T. Washington

The main work offered at Tuskegee is *industrial*. The young men are taught shoemaking, plastering, carpentry, blacksmithing, printing, farming; the young women learn laundering, house work, cooking, and sewing. Washington's plan was to make the Negro self-supporting and independent.

A number of other Negro schools patterned after Tuskegee have been established in various parts of the South. Tuskegee's " movable school " (a motor truck with tools and teachers) travels through the Black Belt teaching the Negroes how to improve their working methods, their health, and their homes. The annual conference held at Tuskegee for many years was like an educational revival. It was attended by Negro farmers and teachers from all parts of the South; it did much to spread better ways of work and living among Negroes. Many of the one-room cabins in which Negro families had lived for years were done away with, and the Negroes began to buy farms and build good homes.

American Literature: National Period. The early period of American literature, in which Washington Irving was the leading figure, has sometimes been called the "Knickerbocker Period." Much of the literature of this period was English rather than American, most of the writers looking to England rather than to the United States for their inspiration.

The second period of American literature was dominated by a group of New England writers, among whom Ralph Waldo Emerson was prominent. This period is sometimes called the "New England Period." It included such authors as Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, Lowell, and Hawthorne.

The third period began a few years after the close of the Civil War and has been well named the "National Period." During this period the West and the South as well as New England and the East were represented by writers of the first rank. Some of the authors wrote on subjects taken from their own neighborhood, but most of them reflected the expansion of the country and the development of ideas which followed the Civil War. In this sense the period was national, not local.

Mark Twain, Bret Harte, and Edward Eggleston were pioneers in the National Period. Mark Twain (Samuel L. Clemens) was born in Missouri in 1835. Like Benjamin Franklin he secured a large part of his education as a printer and newspaper reporter. Later he gave his entire time to literature and wrote, in all, more than 25 volumes, including such famous stories as *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn*. He is best known as a humorist, but was also a philosopher and a reformer. He reflected the wild, care-free spirit of the West, and the atmosphere of the Mississippi River appears in many of his books. When a young man he served as pilot for a time on a Mississippi River steamboat, and he loved the river almost as if it were a human being. He looked upon it with the eyes of a poet, and it appears over and over again in his writings.

James Whitcomb Riley

James Whitcomb Riley, the "Hoosier poet," was born in Greenfield, Indiana, in 1853 and died in Indianapolis, in 1916. Much of his verse is in the Middle-Western or "Hoosier" dialect and is characterized by humor and pathos. His poetry is homely, likeable, and democratic. He was also widely known as a reader of his own productions.

Bret Harte was born in Albany, New York, a year after Mark Twain. Mark Twain was a product of the country, the river bank, the mining camp, and the West, while Harte came from the city, a cultured home, and the East. Never was there a more striking contrast in the boyhood days of two noted men.

When Harte was a boy of seventeen, his family moved to California. This was a turning point in his life, and threw a new atmosphere about him. Presently he began to write on subjects connected with the Far West. His story, *The Luck of Roaring Camp,* made him famous, but he is probably known to more people by his jingling poem, "The Heathen Chinee."

Edward Eggleston was born in Indiana in 1837, one year after the birth of Bret Harte. His father, a college man, had moved from Virginia to Indiana to practice law. Edward was nine years of age when his father died. The boy's education was meager and irregular, for his health was delicate. While still a lad in his 'teens he determined to become a circuit-riding Methodist preacher. He entered upon his arduous duties with great enthusiasm, but after a few months his health gave way, and he sought rest and strength in the pine forests of the North. Later he made literature his profession and became famous by the publication of *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* and *The Hoosier Schoolboy,* fascinating tales of pioneer life in Indiana.

JOHN BURROUGHS

John Burroughs, the famous naturalist, was born in the State of New York in 1837. He taught school for a time and was later a treasury clerk and bank examiner. For many years he lived on a farm and devoted his time to writing books and raising fruit. He was the author of a long list of very interesting books on nature. He died in 1921.

James Whitcomb Riley. A little after Eggleston's time, James Whitcomb Riley, another Hoosier, wrote poems "from the heart out," in language so simple and touching that he endeared himself to the masses of the people and particularly to those who had passed their childhood days in the country. His father was a lawyer and wanted young James to study for the same profession, but the boy preferred the sign painter's trade. Later he became a newspaper man and a lecturer, and finally devoted his entire time to literature. Among his best known poems are "The Old Swimmin'-Hole," "Out to Old Aunt Mary's," "Thoughts fer the Discuraged Farmer," and "An Old Sweetheart of Mine."

John Burroughs and John Muir. Burroughs and Muir were students of the great out-of-doors. They interpreted nature in all her moods and described her in all her beauty. Burroughs was not an educated man in the ordinary sense of that term. "I was born of and among people," he said, "who neither read books nor cared for them." His book was the great book of nature, and he read it as few men could. All his life he lived close to the out-of-doors. His writings are interesting for their literary form as well as for their scientific value.

JOHN MUIR

John Muir, the great naturalist, geologist, and explorer, was born in Scotland in 1838, but spent most of his life in the United States. He discovered the Muir glacier in Alaska and also explored the Arctic regions. He studied and traveled in almost every quarter of the globe, including Manchuria, Africa, and South America. His *Stickeen*, the story of a dog, is a fascinating book. He spent the later years of his life in California, where he died in 1914.

John Muir was a Scotchman who delighted in mountains, canyons, and glaciers. When a boy he came from Scotland to Wisconsin. Later he studied four years at the University of Wisconsin. After that the world was his laboratory. Burroughs loved to saunter through the woods and fields, listening for the notes of the first birds of Spring, while Muir liked to climb mountains, explore glaciers, and sleep by his campfire often without pillow or blanket of any kind. Muir was also interested in animals, but he would not take the life of a fish or a rattlesnake, and he studied the repulsive, slimy lizard with real affection. He wrote little, but what he did produce contains the real spark of life.

The literary output of the National Period was enormous. Scores of names could be given — names that are, some of them, just as worthy and as famous as those already mentioned. During this period the South gave us Sidney Lanier, the poet, Thomas Nelson Page, the novelist, and Joel Chandler Harris, author of the "Uncle Remus" stories. New England is pictured for us in the stories of William Dean Howells. In historical writing Francis Parkman, Henry Adams, James Schouler, James Ford Rhodes, and Edward Channing won distinction.

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. Why is education more important in a democratic country like the United States than in an autocratic country like Russia at the time of the Czars? Give reasons.

2. Tell why schools should be supported by the State rather than by private individuals.

3. What seems to have been the main purpose of the first American high schools? What is their main purpose today? How do you explain the change?

4. What is a "commissioned" high school? Is the high school in your community commissioned? Tell the advantages to the community of having a commissioned high school.

5. In your opinion why are churches interested in education? How did they show their interest during the nineteenth century? Mention ways not given in the text in which they engage in educational work in your community at the present time.

6. Explain the main differences between a State university like Ohio State University, and a private institution like Columbia University.

7. How did women obtain the right to a higher education? Be able to give a floor-talk in which you include the following

items: "finishing" schools, Mrs. Emma Willard, Vassar, co-education, Oberlin.

8. Describe the condition of the Negroes in 1865. What is their condition at the present time? Explain the main reasons for the changes that have occurred.

9. Tell how the following people helped the Negro to advance: George Peabody, General Armstrong, Booker T. Washington.

10. Why do such Negro leaders as Professor Dubois object to the kind of education given the Negro at Tuskegee Institute? Do you think their objections are sound? Give reasons.

11. Explain the chief tendencies in American literature during the last century. Mention authors whose writings you have read who illustrate the tendencies you mention.

THINGS TO DO

1. Look up in the Index all the references under "Schools" and "Education" down to 1860. Prepare a report on the growth of education in the United States before the Civil War.

2. Find the cost of the schools in your community twenty years ago and the cost today. Choose a member of the class to obtain the figures from the secretary of your school board or from your superintendent of schools. Prepare to explain some of the reasons for the increase in cost.

3. Prepare a floor-talk on the history of one of the colleges or universities mentioned on pages 742–743. You can secure information in a good encyclopedia and in the catalogs you will probably find at your public library, your school library, or in the school office.

4. Make a list of the authors mentioned in this chapter from whose writings you have read. After each author's name, put the title of the poem, essay, short story, or book you have read. Star (*) the author and the book you enjoyed most.

5. Read about the life of one of the authors mentioned on pages 747–751 — preferably the one you like best or the one in

whom you are most interested — and give a floor-talk about him. If possible, illustrate your talk by reading aloud from his writings short passages that you like.

6. Read one poem, story, or book that you have not read before by one of the writers named in the chapter, and tell the class about the selection you read.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. " Samuel Langhorne Clemens (Mark Twain)," *Makers of Our History,* 320–330.
2. " John Muir, Interpreter of Nature," *ibid.,* 331–342.
3. " Sidney Lanier, the Southern Poet," *ibid.,* 343–352.
4. " The Pony Express," *America First,* 339–344.
5. " Mark Hopkins, President of Williams College," *Heroes of Progress,* 11–19.
6. " Maria Mitchell, Astronomer and Teacher," *ibid.,* 54–60.
7. " Booker T. Washington, Founder of Tuskegee Institute," *ibid.,* 147–156.
8. " John Muir, the Man Who Loved Trees and Mountains," *ibid.,* 179–188.
9. "A Negro School of 1862," *Source Book of American History,* 339–342.
10. " Horace Mann and Better Schools," *Readings in Community Life,* 106–108.
11. " Self Education," by Booker T. Washington, *In Our Times,* 475–478.
12. " Boyhood of a Naturalist," by John Burroughs, *ibid.,* 493–497.
13. " The Heathen Chinee," by Bret Harte, in *The Book of Knowledge,* 4: 1381.
14. "American Colleges and Universities," *ibid.,* 12: 4307–4318.
15. " Recent American Writers," *ibid.,* 14: 5007–5016.
16. "American Literature of Our Day," *The World Book Encyclopedia,* 1: 254–260.

CHAPTER XLII

RECENT EVENTS AND PRESENT PROBLEMS

The Growth of Cities. One of the noteworthy features of recent American history is the enormous growth of manufactures and cities. The two have grown together. Factories seek railroad centers and the workers follow the factories. This brings an increase in population to the city.

By 1900 America had about twelve billions of dollars invested in factories, with an annual output of fifteen billions in value, over fifteen times as much as when the Civil War began. At first New England contained nearly all the factories, but gradually manufactures spread to the West, and Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin became industrial States. By 1900 Illinois, once almost wholly agricultural, had gone beyond Massachusetts in manufacturing.

America is no longer a purely agricultural nation. Farming is still a great industry in America, but if we take all manufacturing together we find its output to be greater in value than the products of the farms. In 1850 the manufactured products of the United States brought a little over a billion dollars, but by 1930 these products had mounted to more than sixty-two billions.

In 1890 the value of manufactured goods in America was for the first time above the value of farm products; in 1930 the value of manufactured goods was more than

PENNSYLVANIA TERMINAL, NEW YORK CITY

UNION STATION, CHICAGO

five times that of the farm products. In 1865 the United States held fourth place as a producer of manufactured goods. Now the country ranks first in the world's manufacturing. This may be due in part to the enterprise and industry of the people, but more especially to high wages, skilled labor, and vast natural resources—coal, iron, copper, zinc, lumber, gold, and silver.

In 1789 the United States contained only six cities with a population above 8000, and only one with a population as high as 33,000. Less than 4 per cent of the people lived in cities; the rest dwelt in the country or in small towns and villages. Now, according to the census of 1930, the United States has more than 600 cities with a population of at least 8000 and sixty-eight with a population of over 100,000. Each census shows a large increase in such cities. Today more than half of the American people live in cities. New York City contains a greater population than all the rest of New York State.

The growth of city population has been so rapid that the cities have had difficulty in meeting their increasing needs. Within a hundred years New York City grew from a population of about 50,000 to over 6,000,000. In a little more than ten years Detroit received nearly 600,000 of new population, attracted largely by the automobile industry. In the same time Flint, Michigan, and Schenectady, New York, more than doubled their populations. The growth of Los Angeles has been equally rapid. Within the memory of men born and living within her limits, Chicago has changed from a small prairie town to a large city of over 3,000,000 people.

Causes of City Growth. There are many reasons for the rapid growth of cities. Let us note a few:

(1) During the last fifty years most immigrants settled in the cities; free land had largely disappeared and work could be found in factories and mills.

(2) Sanitary conditions in the cities have improved, and the death rate is lower than in the country.

(3) Labor-saving machinery for the farms has made it possible for fewer people to cultivate the land.

(4) Hard times and reverses have come to the farms. Consequently farm boys abandon the farms for the cities, where they find jobs that pay better and amusements that are more attractive than in the country.

(5) Cities are the centers of trade, of business opportunities, of shipping and manufacturing. Better transportation facilities, the growth of steam and electric railways, the increased use of machinery, and the rise of great factories and businesses have promoted city growth by leading to a greater demand for city workers.

(6) Fine parks, libraries, museums, churches, theaters, and amusement houses have lured people to the city.

The Problem of the City. Two-thirds to three-fourths of the dwellers in cities are of foreign birth or parentage, and many of them are unable to speak the English language. Large numbers of all races and nationalities are gathered in groups and districts. City population constantly shifts, and people who live in the same block are often unknown to one another. The criminal classes usually have their dives in the great cities. Here the dependent poor and the unemployed are also numerous. In the cities a wide division between the rich and the poor exists and a conflict appears between classes whose methods, conditions, and ideals of life differ widely. The city therefore offers special problems in government.

With so assorted a population the city finds itself forced to attend to a multitude of duties. It must arrest criminals and punish crime; protect property; prevent the use of firearms and fireworks that might be dangerous to life or property; regulate the erection of chimneys and smokestacks; and require the inspection of gas pipes, drainage, and electric wires. The city government is expected to afford police protection; care for the public health and prevent disease; provide a good water supply; protect the people against poor milk and adulterated food; afford fire protection; provide for public lighting; attend to street paving and keep the sidewalks in repair; license and regulate all kinds of street traffic; regulate the operation of automobiles; provide and control transportation facilities; dispose of sewage and garbage. In addition, the city undertakes to maintain schools, libraries, hospitals, museums, and parks.

Old Form of City Government. American democracy almost broke down in the city, and new forms of city government were found necessary. The old type of city government rested on the idea of the "separation of powers." There must be a city legislature (council), a city executive (mayor), and a city judiciary (courts and police judges). All these departments must be kept separate and distinct. Most American cities held to this plan until the opening of the twentieth century.

Commission Government. Then the commission form of city government arose. This disregards the old theory of dividing powers and is based on the idea that in administering a city the work to be done is more like business than government. The commission plan, therefore, abolishes the city council as a legislature, on the ground that not laws but contracts and business arrangements must be made and carried out. All authority (except judicial) is given to a small group of men.

Commission government originated in Galveston, Texas, after a great tidal wave had flooded the city in 1901. Before that disaster Galveston had been badly governed. The city debt had increased; the city council had had to borrow to meet expenses; city affairs were managed wastefully; spoilsmen were put into places of profit; taxes were high; accounts were poorly kept; and there was graft in office.

After the destruction caused by the flood, Galveston could not obtain funds to rebuild its waste places under the old, corrupt, city government. The people sent men to the legislature of the State and asked that body to overthrow the old form of city government and give to a commission of five men the powers formerly vested in mayor, council, and other officers. The request was granted; and the new Galveston charter provided for the popular election, every two years, of five commissioners, all to be chosen from the city at large. This commission enacts all city ordinances, passes all appropriations, regulates expenditures, handles all franchises, and awards all contracts on public works. One member of the commission is chosen as mayor-president. The other four members are heads of administrative departments: (1) finance and revenue; (2) water and sewerage; (3) Police and fire protection; (4) streets and public property.

Commission government fixed responsibility for the failure of any department of the city service; it made business methods possible, prevented delays, and improved the quality of the city officers. Seeing the advantages of the new plan, many other cities of the country have adopted it.

The City Manager. As one great flood brought reform to Galveston, so another brought a change to Dayton, Ohio. In March, 1913, heavy rains destroyed thousands of dollars' worth of property. New business management was necessary to put the city on its feet.

The plan adopted by Dayton is called the "city-manager" plan, or the "commission-manager plan." The people of Dayton, like those of Galveston, elect a commission of five members, but the Dayton commission places the business of the city in the hands of one person who is an expert business manager. The city-manager plan looks upon the city not as *politics*, but as *business*. The citizens, as stockholders in the city, choose a board of directors (the commission) and the directors appoint a foreman, or business manager, to manage the city's business, just as a school board, elected by the people, choose a superintendent to direct the schools of the community.

The city manager is expected to be a business expert with experience in managing a city's business. He chooses his own subordinates and may remove them. On the whole, the plan seems to have succeeded and more than 600 cities in America have adopted the plan.

Immigration. During the last one hundred years the United States has admitted from foreign lands fully 30,000,000 people. Indeed, all who ever came to America were immigrants, and nearly all came to improve living conditions and to give the children a better opportunity than the parents had enjoyed.

Twenty years after the Civil War a new kind of immigration to America began. The earlier immigrants were nearly all from northern and western Europe — Germans, Irish, French, Scotch, English, Welsh, Scandinavians. They were much like the people who were already here. The Scandinavians (Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes) began to come mostly after the Civil War; they settled in great numbers in the States of the Northwest.

Most of the immigrants that poured in after 1885 were from southern and eastern Europe — Italians, Sicilians, Greeks, Russians, Jugoslavs, Slovaks, Austrians, Poles, Hungarians, Armenians, Croatians, Czechs, Bohemians, Lithuanians, and Rumanians. About forty different nationalities mixed into our population, and a babel of tongues, a mixture of all languages and religions, occurred. Taking all the newcomers, together with the Negroes and including Mexicans, Portuguese, Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos, America became a mass of all the races on earth.

Could any common life or national unity come out of such a population? Could the immigrants be merged into *one* people, speaking *one* language and having *one* allegiance to *one* Government and *one* flag?

Honest and industrious laborers undoubtedly bring to a country great benefits. Millions of immigrants have proved to be good laborers. The foreign-born laborers who worked in our country fifteen or twenty years ago added over a *half billion dollars* of wealth to the country every year.

A Transatlantic Liner in New York Harbor

This is the S.S. *Majestic* of the White Star Line.

The great bulk of our immigrants are between fourteen and forty-five years of age — within the years of their greatest productivity. Many talented musicians and artists, as well as business managers, scientists, journalists, and statesmen, have been immigrants — men like Alexander Hamilton, Albert Gallatin, Robert Owen, Carl Schurz, Jacob A. Riis, Edward Bok, Louis Agassiz, James J. Hill, Andrew Carnegie, and Joseph Pulitzer.

But the coming of great numbers into a country in which free land no longer existed caused serious difficulties. The twenty years before the World War saw over 15,000,000 immigrants come to America. During the year ending June 30, 1914, the year the World War began, 1,218,418 immigrants entered the United States. The World War cut down the flood to almost nothing, only 110,000 entering in 1917. But as soon as the war was over, the stream of immigration began to rise again. The entrance of many laborers combined with the industrial depression that followed the war threw many Americans out of work and by 1921 more than 2,000,000 men had no jobs. These conditions made it seem wise to restrict or check immigration.

Restricting Immigration. In 1882 Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, excluding Chinese laborers from the country and providing for the inspection of immigrants and for the exclusion of undesirables—idiots, the insane, convicts, and paupers likely to become a public charge. Gangs of "pauper laborers" were being hired in Europe by big companies and brought to America; to stop this practice Congress in 1885 passed the Alien Contract Labor Law, prohibiting the bringing of workers to this country under contract to perform labor.

The Immigration Act of 1910 levied a head tax of $4.00 upon every immigrant, and also forbade the admission (in addition to the classes already mentioned) of epileptics, persons suffering from tuberculosis or other dangerous diseases, polygamists, anarchists, children under sixteen not accompanied by their parents, and all Chinese, except those who were students, merchants, professional men, and employees of exhibits or expositions.

But, as has been pointed out, the need for greater restriction became more apparent as the years passed.

Three restrictive acts were passed by Congress, but were vetoed by three successive Presidents, Cleveland in 1897, Taft in 1913, and Wilson in 1915. In February, 1917, however, Congress passed the Burnett Immigration Bill over President Wilson's veto. This act strengthens and extends the exclusion of aliens. It increases the head tax from $4.00 to $8.00, and imposes heavy penalties on steamship companies that bring to America persons whom the law seeks to exclude; its provisions are more rigid upon contract labor; and it imposes the *literacy test*, requiring all immigrants over 16 years of age (not blind nor dumb) to be able to read in some language.

THE PROMISED LAND

What promise does the land of liberty hold for this immigrant family? The Statue of Liberty stands in the background.

The Burnett Act definitely checked immigration, but after the World War, when the flood of immigration rose again, Congress passed an act (1921) limiting the number of immigrants which any country might have to a certain percentage of its people living in America in 1910. About 350,000 aliens could come in under this act.

In 1924 another act reduced the quota of each country to only 2 per cent of the number of its people living in the United States in 1890. Under this law, as amended in 1928, about 153,000 immigrants a year may be admitted, the quota of each country to be determined on the basis of the "national origins" of the American people from the beginning of our national life rather than on the number in the United States in 1890. The present law also provides that immigrants who are not acceptable shall be weeded out before they start from home, instead of after they get here. This is done through American consuls in European cities who give *visas,* or passports, to those who are thought to be admissible. The act seeks to prevent the separation of families, and to prevent delays, detention, and hardships at Ellis Island, the gateway to New York City. It also excludes those aliens who are not allowed to become citizens. This provision refers primarily to the Japanese, for Japan is allowed no share in the number of immigrants admitted to the country; this special discrimination was naturally very offensive to Japan. Up to this time the Japanese had been excluded by mutual agreement between Japan and the United States.

Prohibition. The movement that brought about the national prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors started more than a hundred years ago. Societies were formed, the members of which gave their pledges not to drink alcoholic beverages, for they believed that such drinks led to poverty and crime, and that mankind would be benefited if the manufacture and sale of such beverages were prohibited by law.

The Prohibition Party was organized in 1869 to carry the temperance movement into politics. The party has nominated a candidate in every subsequent presidential election.

The agitation for prohibition in time caused law-making bodies to give attention to the movement. In 1846 Maine passed a law against the liquor traffic, the first in history. Kansas adopted prohibition in 1881, and Iowa soon after. Other States passed laws providing for "local option," under which localities, such as counties and precincts, voted independently on the liquor question. Because women were not then allowed to vote, the Prohibitionists felt that their cause was not fully represented in "local option" contests. However, the movement continued to spread. By 1900 five States had gone dry, and by 1915 three-fourths of the country had some legal provisions for prohibition. Largely because of the necessity for the conservation of food materials during the World War, the cause of prohibition was won through the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment by Congress in December, 1917, and the subsequent ratification by forty-six of the States.

The Eighteenth Amendment states, in part, that "the manufacture, sale, transportation, importation, or exportation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited."

The Volstead Act, passed over President Wilson's veto, October 28, 1919, defined intoxicating liquors as those containing one-half of one per cent or more of alcohol, and provided for the enforcement of the amendment. The Jones Law, approved by President Coolidge, March 2, 1928, provided severe penalties for offenders repeatedly guilty of violations of the prohibition acts.

The Pan-American Union. In 1881 James G. Blaine, then Secretary of State under President Garfield, invited the Latin-American countries of Central and South America to a conference to discuss arbitration and other matters of interest to all American countries. Garfield's early death ended this plan for a time, but in 1889 Congress authorized the President to invite the governments of the Latin-American countries to send delegates to Washington. Mr. Blaine, again Secretary of State under President Harrison, presided over this conference.

The conference discussed the preservation of peace and the establishment of means of better communication among the American countries. An *International Bureau of American Republics* was established for the collection of information and the cultivation of good will. Mr. Blaine and President McKinley were eager to bring about equality of privileges of trade among these countries. The *Bureau* has since become the *Pan-American Union,* which is now an important factor in the promotion of friendly relations among the American republics.

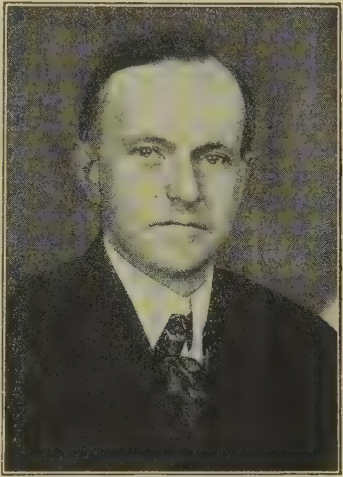
Politics and Elections. In the presidential election of 1920 the Republican delegates nominated Warren G. Harding, a United States Senator from Ohio. They then nominated Calvin Coolidge, Governor of Massachusetts, for Vice President. The Democratic candidates were James M. Cox, Governor of Ohio, and Franklin D. Roosevelt, later Governor of New York.

The League of Nations was much discussed in the campaign. It was a new issue and both parties were divided upon it. Many Republicans favored the League and thirty-one prominent Republicans issued an address to the American people assuring them that the best way to bring about America's entrance into the League was to elect Senator Harding.

Harding became President on March 4, 1921. As usual, corruption followed in the wake of war. One of the members of Harding's Cabinet, A. B. Fall, Secretary of the Interior, was generally believed to have accepted a bribe of $100,000 for leasing to several oil men the Teapot Dome oil lands in Wyoming. The Secretary of the Navy resigned under a cloud. Attorney General Daugherty (dô′ẽr tĭ), who had played an important part in bringing about Harding's nomination, was involved in these scandals. Corruption also occurred in the Veterans' Bureau.

His knowledge of these conditions may have hastened President Harding's death, which occurred in the summer of 1923; Vice President Coolidge then became President.

Under President Harding Congress had passed in 1922 a general tariff act to take the place of the Underwood Act enacted by the Democrats in 1913. (See page 683.) The new law, the Fordney-McCumber Act, provided for higher protective duties on manufactured goods and also for duties on agricultural products.



CALVIN COOLIDGE

Calvin Coolidge was born at Plymouth, Vermont, on July 4, 1872. He was graduated from Amherst College in 1895. He then studied law and began the practice of his profession in Northampton, Mass., in 1897. He served as Mayor of Northampton, State Senator, Lieutenant Governor, and finally as Governor of Massachusetts for two terms. He was elected Vice President of the United States in 1920 and became President upon the death of President Harding in August, 1923. In November, 1924, he was elected President by a great majority. He died in 1933.

Coolidge retained the Harding Cabinet until some of its members were forced to resign. He pursued a quiet policy, favoring few measures likely to arouse controversy. He became identified with "prosperity" and "economy." He continued to pursue a policy of isolation toward Europe.

Presidential Election of 1924. In 1924 President Coolidge was nominated by the Republicans without opposition for re-election. Charles G. Dawes of Illinois was named for Vice President. The Democrats nominated John W. Davis, of West Virginia, for President and Charles P. Bryan, Governor of Nebraska (brother of William J. Bryan), for Vice President.

Coolidge continued his peaceful administration, avoiding sharp issues whenever he could do so. He sought to hold down the expenses of the Government and to promote business prosperity. During his administration two tax reductions were made and the national debt was reduced below eighteen billions. At the close of the World War the debt had been as high as twenty-eight billions.

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HERBERT CLARK HOOVER

Hoover was born of Quaker ancestry at West Branch, Iowa, August 10, 1874. He worked his way through college, graduating in engineering at Stanford University in 1895. He was Chairman of the Commission for the Relief of Belgium, 1915–1919; U. S. Food Administrator, 1917–1919, organizing the saving of food at home; Director of Food Relief for the war-torn countries of Europe after the war. He directed Mississippi flood relief in America in 1927. He served as Secretary of Commerce under Presidents Harding and Coolidge, 1921–1928, resigning when he was nominated for President.

Presidential Election of 1928. In its national convention in June, 1928, the Republican Party nominated for President Herbert C. Hoover, of California, and for Vice President Senator Charles Curtis, of Kansas. The Democrats in their national convention nominated for

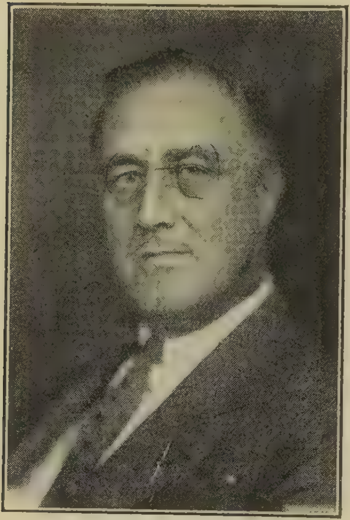
President Governor Alfred E. Smith, of New York, and for Vice President, Senator Joseph T. Robinson, of Arkansas.

The issues of the campaign were farm relief, immigration, protective tariff, prosperity, and prohibition. There was little difference between the candidates or their parties on any of these questions except prohibition. Hoover was recognized as a "dry" and Smith as a "wet."

The election resulted in a decisive victory for Hoover. The Republicans also carried both the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The Great Depression. For several years America had enjoyed prosperity, but in 1929 a great industrial depression set in. Some banks could not collect their loans, nor get money for their notes, bonds, securities, and claims which they held. Many banks failed and their depositors lost their money. Men who were unable to pay taxes and rents lost their homes and farms. Factories and shops were closed, and workers were thrown out of employment. When their savings were gone, many had to be helped by neighbors, welfare societies, community funds, and appropriations from taxes. To make the Government income equal its outgo, Congress increased taxes and reduced Government expenses.

Hard times continued, and such times usually cause the defeat of the party in power. In the election of 1930 the Democrats secured the control of the House of Representatives and almost wiped out the Republican majority in the Senate. President Hoover sought to stem the tide of the depression. He opposed the payment of the soldiers' bonus and held the country to the gold standard in money. He opposed all "inflation," or increase of the currency, by the issue of paper money. Congress created the *Reconstruction Finance Corporation,* providing large sums of money for loans to banks, railroads, and other corporations, to keep them going. A *Home Loan Bank Bill* was also passed, to provide loans to small home-owners so that they might not lose their homes. But the business depression continued, or grew worse, until the time came for another presidential election.



Franklin Delano Roosevelt

Mr. Roosevelt was born at Hyde Park, New York, on January 30, 1882. He was graduated from Harvard University in 1904, studied law at Columbia University Law School, and began practice in 1907. He was elected New York State Senator in 1910 and resigned in 1913 to become Assistant Secretary of the Navy. He had charge of inspection of United States forces in European waters in 1918, and of demobilization in Europe in 1919. He was the Democratic candidate for Vice President in 1920, was overseer of Harvard University from 1918 to 1924, and served two terms as Governor of New York State. He was elected President of the United States in 1932.

Election of 1932. For the election of this year the Republicans renominated President Hoover and Vice President Curtis. The Democrats nominated Franklin D. Roosevelt, Governor of New York, for President, and John N. Garner, of Texas, Speaker of the House of Representatives, for Vice President. The election resulted in an overwhelming Democratic victory. President Hoover carried only six States with 59 electoral votes, while Roosevelt and Garner carried 42 States with 472 electoral votes. Hoover's defeat was greater than his victory in 1928. The depression had caused the change. Roosevelt received nearly 7,000,000 more popular votes than Hoover. Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate, received nearly 1,000,000 votes. The Democrats also won a good majority in the Senate and an overwhelming majority in the House of Representatives, and they elected almost all the State Governors. In their platforms both parties declared for the repeal of prohibition.

Inauguration of Roosevelt: New Amendments. Franklin D. Roosevelt was inaugurated as President on March 4, 1933. He immediately called the new Congress into extra session. In many States the banks had already closed. In other States depositors had been drawing out their money, for the many bank failures had caused people to lose confidence in their banks. To prevent further financial panic, the President declared a "bank holiday," by which all the banks of the country were closed for a short time. Soon the "sound" banks were allowed to reopen, but the "unsound" banks were compelled to remain closed until the bank examiners had investigated their accounts and had found them safe. Many of them reopened later, some with the help of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

The Twentieth Amendment. The "Norris Amendment," or the "Lame Duck Amendment," to the Constitution was urged in the Senate for ten years by Senator Norris, of Nebraska, and it repeatedly passed the Senate by a two-thirds vote, but was as frequently blocked in the House. Public sentiment finally forced its passage in Congress. It passed both houses by the necessary two-thirds vote and was submitted to the States for ratification, March 2, 1932. By January 23, 1933, it was ratified by three-fourths of the State legislatures in rapid order and became effective on October 15, 1933.

This amendment provides that "the terms of President and Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3rd day of January of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified, and the terms of their successors shall then begin."

The "short session" of Congress always contained many members who had been defeated for re-election in November. These "lame ducks," as they were called, continued to legislate until March 4th. This "short session" or "lame duck session" of Congress was abolished by the Norris Amendment. Whereas the short session formerly had to end on March 4th, now every session may continue as long as the members desire. When Congress was within a few days of a fixed time for adjournment, a few members in Congress could defeat measures by causing delay with long speeches, roll calls, or "dilatory motions." This is called "filibustering." It is unlikely that filibustering will be attempted if Congress is to be in session for an indefinite time.

The Twentieth Amendment also provides that if the President-elect should die before the time for his inauguration the Vice President-elect shall take his place until Congress chooses some one to fill out the term.

The Twenty-first Amendment. The new Congress by a two-thirds vote in each house submitted to the States a resolution repealing the Eighteenth Amendment (Prohibition), and providing for the control of the liquor traffic by the States. It was provided that the people should elect State conventions for the ratification or rejection of the repealing amendment. For the first time in our history provision was made for ratifying a constitutional amendment by State conventions instead of by State legislatures. By the end of 1933 conventions in the required number of States ratified the amendment.

The Beer Bill. Before President Roosevelt came into office, the old Congress passed a beer bill legalizing the sale of beer containing not more than 3.2 per cent of alcohol. It was held that such beer was not intoxicating and, therefore, was not in violation of the Eighteenth Amendment. It was claimed that a great deal of revenue would come to the Government from the taxes on beer.

Roosevelt's Policies: "The New Deal." Roosevelt found the country in a suffering condition. The national income was running behind its outgo by a billion dollars a year; business was prostrate; in many States the taxes could not be collected; the farmers were bankrupt; fifteen million workers were out of employment; and the banking system was about to collapse. The President called the new Congress into an extra session. He appealed to Congress for extra powers, and over the radio he asked the country for support. Within three months, by a series of measures urged by Mr. Roosevelt and his advisers, Congress conferred upon the President more power than any President had ever before exercised in time of peace. We summarize here the more important of these powers:

(1) To balance the budget (to make the income equal the outgo) by making large reductions in annual expenditures. The President was allowed to reorganize the Government Departments, to transfer, eliminate, or consolidate the executive branches of the Government, in the interest of economy, and to reduce the salaries of employees by 15 per cent.

(2) In the Veterans' Bureau the President was empowered to replace the old allowances for veterans by an entirely new pension system. Veterans suffering disabilities not at all connected with their war service were reduced or dropped from the pension pay roll.

By these two policies the President expected to save fully *one billion dollars* for the Government, or 25 per cent of the annual expenses, as he had promised in his pre-election campaign.

(3) Through a Director of Public Works the President was given power to spend $3,300,000,000 on public works, as a means of relieving unemployment.

(4) Through a Director of Relief the President was allowed to direct the spending of $500,000,000 for the relief of the needy and destitute.

(5) The President was given power equal to war powers:

(a) To regulate transactions in credit, currency, gold, and silver; to confiscate gold, and to prevent its going out of the country; to cancel contracts for gold payments, and to prevent such contracts in the future. All money was made equal to all other money and all debts could be paid in "lawful money of the United States." Under ruinous low prices gold payments had placed unbearable burdens upon debtors, and the Government was now seeking "the greatest good to the greatest number."

(b) To "inflate" the currency, by buying Federal securities in the open market, or by reducing the content of the gold dollar, or by issuing United States notes (greenbacks) up to $3,000,000,000, or by accepting silver up to $200,000,000 in payment of the allied war debt. The purpose of inflation was to raise prices, to relieve debtors and home owners, and to "increase the purchasing power" of farmers and producers, to open factories and put men back to work.

(c) To employ 250,000 unemployed young men in the work of reforestation.

(d) To appoint a co-ordinator of railroads, to bring about economies in all railway lines, and to increase their services to the public.

(e) To provide publicity for income tax returns, to prevent evasions and false returns from the rich.

(f) To develop the natural resources of the Tennessee River basin, including the completion, under Government ownership and control, of the Muscle Shoals project, for the creation of cheaper electric power and the making of cheap fertilizers.

(*g*) To establish control over all industry (Industrial Control Bill) with power to fix minimum wages and maximum hours of work, regulating production, to encourage and promote fair competition. A system of Government license for business was set up which the President might use, if necessary, to require business and industry to conform to his regulations. Thus we find Government in business in ways never known before.

Many of these measures are experiments. It is for the future to reveal what success will attend the exercise of these vast powers by the President.

Home Loan Bill. In the last days of the extra session, Congress passed a better Home Loan Bill. This allows an owner of a home worth $20,000 or less to exchange his present mortgage for a debt to the Government, at 5 per cent interest. Home owners may also borrow from the Government to pay their back taxes, and they may borrow on easy terms up to 40 per cent on the value of their homes.

The Glass Bank Bill. Senator Carter Glass, of Virginia, is the author of the new bill which reorganized the national banking system. It makes banks stronger and safer. Under it national banks may have State-wide branch systems; there is a more severe examination of banks; and speculation and sales of bonds and securities are restrained.

The act established the *Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation* by which banks belonging to it insure their depositors against loss, beginning July 1, 1935, as follows: 100% guarantee of deposits up to $10,000; 75% of deposits from $10,000 to $50,000; 50% of deposits beyond $50,000.

Farm Relief: Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA). A new Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) was created with a Farm Credit Fund of $2,300,000,000 which could be used to help farmers refinance their mortgages.

Farmers were encouraged to limit their production to the demands of their markets. Wheat farmers were paid for keeping land out of cultivation; cotton farmers were paid for "plowing under" their growing crop; and hogs were slaughtered wastefully to keep them out of the market. The object was to raise agricultural prices and the plan had some success. But many thought it absurd and wrong to limit, or destroy, the farmers' crops while so many millions were in want. The critics said the trouble is not that there is too much wealth, but that it is unfairly distributed.

The New Deal At Work. After the special session of Congress had adjourned the President and his assistants set about carrying out the vast powers given him by the new legislation. The President first gave his attention to the problems of industry, labor, and unemployment.

The National Recovery Act. General Hugh S. Johnson was made Director for carrying out the National Recovery Act (NRA). The purpose was to send men back to work; to put more money into circulation; to increase the purchasing power of the wage-earning and salary-earning classes. General Johnson sought to enlist labor leaders, business and industrial leaders, and the general public to co-operate for recovery. Rules of action, or "codes," were to be adopted for every line of business. All industries, big and little — shops, factories, mines or quarries, banks, and stores — were to receive the *blue eagle* and the motto, "We Do Our Part," as symbols of willingness to co-operate and follow the Government's directions. Those industries unwilling to co-operate would have to be disciplined and punished. The Government would "crack down" on them, as General Johnson expressed it. That is, such firms and factories would be held up to public disapproval as "slackers " and their " blue eagles " would be taken from them.

A national emergency was declared to exist for a period of two years. It was a " war against the depression," and the people were called upon to join in a united patriotic campaign, as in wartime. There was to be a kind of partnership between Government and industry. The owners and managers of an industry might draw up a " code " which the President could amend by imposing such requirements as he thought necessary to protect employees in obtaining reasonable hours of labor and fair wages, and to protect the public from being charged too much for what they bought. When the President approved the " code," it became the law for that industry, or company. Violations were made punishable by fines. A " balky " industry could not go ahead with its business until it was properly licensed.

Labor unions in all industries were recognized. The working men were not to be forced into any organization like a " company union " controlled by the company and not by the men, but they were allowed to join the union of their own choice. Real labor unions and the American Federation of Labor grew rapidly in membership. Collective bargaining became the rule and child labor was not allowed. There were many objections to the Recovery Act, but on the whole the plan worked well and business began to improve.

The New Securities Act. A new act was passed to protect people with money who might be deceived into buying worthless stocks and bonds. Thousands of people had lost their savings in this way. The new act provided that full information concerning securities offered for sale should be given to the Federal Trade Commission. This Commission had the power to stop the sale of bonds and stocks that are not in agreement with the Securities Act. Officers of investment companies were made personally responsible for giving false information, or holding back information, and were subject to punishment. There is an old rule of trading expressed by the Latin words, *caveat emptor,* which mean "let the buyer beware." The idea is that if a man makes a bad investment, or buys some worthless stock in a "wild cat" venture, he has only himself to blame if he loses his money. This is not quite true. Simple, honest people, who have a little money to invest, have a right to protection against swindlers who do not tell the truth about what they wish to sell. The new act adds the rule, "let the seller beware." If he deceives the man who buys his stocks and bonds, the seller is liable to fine and imprisonment. This promotes honest dealing in securities and will help to restore public confidence in investment bankers and companies.

The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). This organization, created under the "New Deal," moved about 300,000 unemployed laborers into forest camps. There were 1450 camps in 47 different States. Many of the camp laborers came from the cities. The men built miles of trails for trucks and horses; they thinned out brush and scrub woodland to permit high grade timber to grow; they erected 12,000 miles of telephone lines joining forest look-outs, to aid in fire control; they helped to get rid of destructive insects and diseases of plants on ten million acres of forest lands. Thus our timber resources were being preserved and cultivated, and losses from floods and fires were being prevented. The men doing the work volunteered for the service. They worked under military direction and were paid $30 a month, in addition to food, clothing, housing, medical attention, their camp kits, and other benefits. It was a welcome employment to young men who had been out of work. It was also good training in forestry and real conservation work. The cash allowances of the men were sent, in large part, to their dependents, helping to support a million people and taking many families off the relief rolls.

The Muscle Shoals Program: The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). A plan had been made for the development of water power on the Tennessee River, near its falls and shoals. The great Wilson Dam had been built near Muscle Shoals, in Alabama, on the big bend of the river, but for years the water power available there had been idle and unused.

There had been a long struggle over the question whether private individuals or the Government should control the enterprise. Finally Senator Norris, supported by Mr. Roosevelt, won out for Government control and operation. Millions of dollars of Government money had been spent on the venture. It could furnish light and power over 20 million acres of territory. Now it was thought that private corporations and utility companies should not be allowed to fix the light and power charges for the two or three millions of people living in this area.

President Roosevelt wished to go beyond the creation and distribution of cheap electricity. He asked Congress for the creation of a Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) of three members to plan and direct the development of the vast region of the Tennessee valley of 640,000 square miles in several States. The project involved flood control, reclaiming swamp river lands, the development of industrial and agricultural communities, producing cheap electric power and light, and nitrate plants and fertilizers for farms. A new " Norris Dam " is to be built on the Clinch River, east of Knoxville, about 200 miles northeast of Muscle Shoals. All this power development is a great piece of national planning involving the interest of many States and the future welfare of millions of people. If it is successful, President Roosevelt proposes to extend it to the Northwest, to Washington, Wyoming, and other parts of the country.

Subsistence Homesteads. A part of the Administration's plan for recovery was to place a million families on " subsistence homesteads," of from two to ten acres of land. These little farms were to be near factory towns or forest reserves. The homesteader will raise most of his own food stuff. He may keep a cow and have chickens, and he can earn a small cash wage by part-time work in a nearby shop or factory, or by work in the forest. This would help out the jobless coal miners and the surplus labor in the cities. The Government was allowed $100,000,000 with which to begin this work.

Leaving the Gold Standard. An Act of Congress passed in 1900 declared that " the gold dollar weighing 25.8 grains, nine-tenths fine, shall be the unit standard of value," and, also, that it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury " to maintain at a parity of value with this standard all forms of money issued or coined by the United States." This means that for any given quantity of any one kind of money a corresponding quantity of gold money might be obtained. The United States had promised to redeem in gold all of its paper money and bonds. So the country was said to be on the gold standard.

President Roosevelt saw that it was necessary to abandon the gold standard. Great Britain had done so nearly two years before and her " pound sterling " went down in value from $4.86 to $3.25 in our money. Her cheaper money gave her some advantage in international trade. There had been great international competition for gold. The President, acting under the powers given to him, forbade all hoarding or export of gold. It was required that all gold held by banks, corporations, or individuals be turned over to the Government. Penalties of fines and imprisonment were threatened for failure to do so. The President let it be known that no one holding money or bonds or obligations of the Government could demand and receive gold for them. It was seen that the debts of the world could never be paid in gold. The gold clause in public and private contracts was annulled. Thus 30 billions of dollars in outstanding national currency and debts which the Government had promised to redeem in gold were no longer redeemable in gold money.

There were billions of county, city, and State debts. There were, also, between 60 and 70 billions of private debts and mortgages which contained the gold payment clause. These clauses were to be no longer binding. There was not enough gold in the country to pay one twenty-fifth part of these gold obligations. It was clear that these debts would have to be paid, if paid at all, in some cheaper money than gold at its old price. All contracts are subject to the power of Congress to coin money and to regulate its value. Mr. Roosevelt practically showed that he did not intend to return to the gold standard. This greatly disturbed many wealthy men and people opposed to any change, for they had always looked upon the gold standard as a sacred and unchangeable part of a "sound money" policy. The policy of cheapening the value of the dollar prevailed. It was supported by the great mass of the people who felt that the lowering of prices under the gold standard had brought the country to the brink of ruin.

Congress Continues to Support the President. As provided in the 20th Amendment, the new Congress met again in regular session on January 3, 1934, not in December as the custom had been. The overwhelming majority of Congress soon showed that it was ready to give solid backing to President Roosevelt. The members knew the country was behind the President and wanted him supported. Most of the Republicans went along with the Democrats in this support.

Congress passed an act for levying nationwide taxes on intoxicating beverages, and another act for regulating their sale in the District of Columbia. It showed a willingness to support the Public Works program and to appropriate the money necessary to carry out the Roosevelt policies.

The New Gold Bill: Devaluating the Dollar. By far the most important piece of legislation was the new gold bill giving the President full power over the gold and currency of the country. Mr. Roosevelt signed this act on his 52nd birthday, January 30, 1934. The act takes over into the United States Treasury all the gold held by the Federal Reserve Banks; it grants authority to reduce the gold content of the dollar from 40 to 50 per cent, and authorizes the establishment of " a stabilization fund of $2,000,000,000 for operations in foreign exchange "; that is, for protecting and steadying the price of the dollar in changing American money into the moneys of different foreign countries. The President would use the fund to see that the dollar would not be quoted too low in terms of French francs, German marks, and English pounds, etc.

More than three and a half billion of dollars in gold were taken from the Federal Reserve Banks. On January 26, 1934, the total gold reserves in the Federal Reserve Banks were $3,559,963,000. This, added to what the Government already had, gives the United States nearly half the gold in the world. No other country has so great a stock of gold. Gold certificates were given to the Reserve Banks in exchange for their gold.

If the dollar were devalued at 60 cents the Government profit on the gold received would be $2,683,000,000. That is, the Government could issue on this gold that many more dollars than it could before the content of the gold dollar had been reduced.

All gold coin is to be drawn from circulation. No gold is to be coined hereafter, and no gold coins are to be paid out. The Government holds gold bars (or bullion) in the Treasury as backing for paper money; so the country is said to be "on the gold bullion standard" but no currency or bonds are to be redeemed in gold dollars hereafter. Equal purchasing power for every kind of currency is to be maintained. The "currency of the United States" means what is lawful money and legal tender in the "continental United States," which includes the 48 States, the District of Columbia, and Alaska.

Immediately the President devalued the gold dollar at a little less than 60 cents. This does not mean that the new dollar has only 60 cents in it. Every dollar, of whatever kind, has 100 cents in it, since a cent is the one-hundredth part of a dollar. No one can get a dollar for 60 cents any more than he could before. But it means that the gold content in a gold dollar is to be about 60 per cent of what it once was. Instead of having 25.8 grains of gold, it would now have a little less than 15.25. This means the dollar would not be so valuable in terms of goods. It would not buy so much. The object of this gold policy was to raise prices to the general level of 1926 and to keep prices at about that level, if possible. Gold money had changed in value; by the great fall in prices it had become too dear, too hard to get, and debtors were ruined because they could not sell their products for enough to pay their debts and mortgages. It was desired that debtors should be allowed to pay back dollars of the same value, or purchasing power, as the dollars they had borrowed, which seems fair enough. The new policy means that Congress and the President shall regulate the value of money and that the control of currency and credit shall be transferred from the big banks in New York to the Government in Washington.

The Supreme Court Upholds the Emergency Policy. It was suggested that the Supreme Court might overthrow the legislation of the New Deal by declaring it "unconstitutional." In January, 1934, the Court upheld, by a vote of 5 to 4, a Minnesota law which granted two years more time before a creditor could foreclose a mortgage on a debtor and take the debtor's property. A mortgage is a form of contract and this law "impaired the obligation of a contract," which the U. S. constitution forbids a State to do. But the Supreme Court recognized an "economic emergency" calling for extraordinary powers, unless such powers are distinctly forbidden by the constitution. The Court upheld the Minnesota law on the principle that changing social and economic conditions justify unusual methods of social control to relieve suffering and disaster. Chief Justice Charles E. Hughes wrote the decision. He said:

> "The question is no longer that of one party to a contract as against another, but of the use of reasonable means to safeguard the economic structure upon which the good of all depends."

This seemed to indicate that the national acts on the New Deal would be sustained by the Court.

The Gold Decision. This was done so far as the Government's gold policy was concerned, by a decision of the Supreme Court on February 18, 1935, again by a vote of 5 to 4. By this decision gold clauses in contracts could not be enforced and bonds were payable in legal tender currency, no matter if gold had been promised. The debts of the nation, of States, cities, counties, railroads, corporations, and private individuals, were so enormous that there was not enough gold in all the world to pay one tenth of them. They must be paid in "lawful money," by such money as Congress may determine. When contracts are made or bonds are bought it is to be understood hereafter that the power of Congress to "coin money and regulate the value thereof" means the power to "regulate," or change, the kind or value of money in which all debts, public or private, may be paid. By this decision the Court recognized that Congress has full control over the currency of the country.

However, on June 3, 1935, the Supreme Court, by a unanimous decision, declared unconstitutional the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA). By this decision the court said that Congress had delegated power to the President which it had no right to delegate. The decision made null and void all the code-making process of the last two years which had regulated hours and wages of labor and had prevented child labor. All industries were released from restrictions that the act and the codes had imposed on them. Now wage-cutting, longer working hours, child labor, and "cut-throat" competition again became legal. The court said that the power of Congress over domestic commerce was restricted entirely to *interstate* commerce, not to business within a State. No economic emergency could justify the breaking down of the limitations on Federal authority.

The decision led to much confusion and uncertainty in Government circles. Certain questions arose: Would business agree to enter into voluntary codes to maintain fair hours and wages? Shall the national government be denied control over social and economic conditions relating to the welfare of the people—a power which all other national governments have? Will the President seek an amendment to the Constitution granting this power to the Federal Government? Or, should an act of Congress be passed forbidding the courts to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional? Such questions will be considered within the next few years.

Frazier-Lemke Farm Mortgage Act. Although this act was not a part of the "New Deal," it was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. The act was an effort to scale down the farmer's debt to a figure that would have enabled him to pay off his mortgage by lowering his interest rate and extending his time for payment. The court held that under the Fifth Amendment the private property of the lender could not be taken without just compensation.

Congressional Elections, 1934. In the fall elections of 1934 the President's party increased its majority in both houses of Congress gaining over two-thirds majority in each house. This was unusual. Generally the Administration loses support in the "off-year" elections between presidential campaigns. Many of the "stand-pat," or conservative, Republican leaders of the Senate were defeated for re-election. The country voted to sustain Roosevelt.

The New Congress. The new Congress met on January 3, 1935. Though it was elected to support Roosevelt it did not turn out to be merely a "rubber-stamp" Congress, always doing just what the President told it to do.

Nor did the President seek to "boss" Congress, or interfere with its independence. Appearing before both houses, January 4, 1935, President Roosevelt urged further progress toward social justice. He urged that there should be obtained for all "a proper security, a reasonable leisure, and a decent living." He would put people to work instead of leaving them "on the dole," that is, supported by relief funds handed out to people in idleness. The President said:

> "We must quit relief. Work must be found for able-bodied but destitute workers. We must restore self-respect and self-reliance to the workers, by giving work that is useful and for permanent improvements."

Work Relief Bill. In harmony with this policy, early in April, 1935, Congress passed the bill appropriating $4,800,000,000 for relief and public works. This vast sum, the largest ever voted in time of peace, is to be expended as the President sees fit—for relief and employing labor in useful public works. The money is to be spent in all parts of the country, for public buildings, for better housing instead of slums, for separating grade crossings where railways and highways meet, for building dams, bridges, and sewers; for better roads, for aiding schools, distributing electric power, planting trees, and reforesting great water sheds to prevent erosion, or the washing away of soil on slopes and hillsides.

Other Presidential Measures. Other measures are being urged in Congress by leaders supporting President Roosevelt.

(1) *A Banking Bill,* to reorganize and unify the banking system of the country, by which the currency and credit of the country may be brought under better public control.

(2) *Control,* or *abolition,* of *utility holding companies,* to prevent losses to investors, and to prevent water, gas, and electric power and light companies from charging too much for their services. It is thought better to protect the millions of consumers of what these utility companies furnish rather than to see that dividends are paid on the "watered stock" of "holding companies."

(3) *Social Security,* providing *pensions for the aged,* who have come to old age in need; and to provide *unemployment insurance* for laboring men who may lose their jobs in any future depression or hard times. Payments are to be provided for such workmen out of a fund given partly by the government and partly by the workmen themselves when they are employed in more prosperous times.

Rejection of the World Court. In January, 1935, President Roosevelt asked for the adherence of the United States to the World Court, as several presidents before him had done. He submitted the "protocol" to the Senate and advised its acceptance, but more than one third of the Senate, including many Democrats, voted against the proposal; and as the measure was before the Senate in the form of a treaty it required a two-thirds vote in order to carry. The protocol had a majority 52 to 36, but not a two-thirds vote. In consequence, the United States still stays out of the World Court. (See pp. 641, 642.)

Investigating the Munitions Industry: "Taking Profits Out of War." Senator Nye, of North Dakota, acted as chairman of a Senate committee to investigate the munitions industry, that is, the manufacture and sale of arms and munitions of war. The investigation showed how wealthy firms that make war materials get vast profits from war. It was to their interest, therefore, to have wars, to promote war scares, and to prevent the reduction of armaments by the nations. The committee brought out how these firms bribe public officials; how they work through powerful lobbies for huge military and naval appropriations; how the various firms divide up the profits among themselves; and how they maintain agents at international conferences to defeat disarmament. The country was shown how a regular militarist propaganda was carried on in the press, the radio, and the movie film, to excite war scares and to keep alive the war spirit, all in the name of "national defense." There was a strong movement in Congress, backed by public opinion, to "take the profits out of war," and a bill passed the lower house for that purpose.

The Rising National Debt. The vast expenditures that have been forced upon the Government in recent years mean an increase of the national debt. That debt at its peak following the World War was about 26 billions. Before the depression it had been reduced to about 16 billions. In 1935 it stands at about 32 billions, nearly all of the increase coming since the depression of 1929. The works for which much of the borrowed money is expended will be "capital improvements"—things which the country should have, like new roads, bridges, parkways, power dams, public buildings, slum clearance, etc. National money was loaned to States, cities, and counties for buildings, sewers, water works, and productive improvements, and much of this money will be repaid.

A Peaceful Revolution. The "New Deal" has been called a revolution. Certainly it is bringing great changes; it is a revolution in that sense. But these changes are coming as the people would have them, in ways that are peaceful, orderly, and law-abiding, and likely to preserve American democratic institutions.

We have traced the history of America and we find it a story of struggle, of adventure, and of achievement. Out of this history has come a country worthy of our love and devotion. Our country is not merely our wealth and money, not merely our rivers and lakes and plains, our mountains or our mines. Our country is far more than all these. It is to be found in the memories and achievements of the past, in the noble deeds of pioneer fathers and mothers who founded the Republic and carried civilization across the continent. They gave their service and in some instances their lives to achieve independence, to establish the Constitution, to preserve the Union, and to bring to their children peace and freedom under law and order. It is a privilege to be a citizen of such a country, to honor its flag and defend its principles. We shall love and honor our country by providing justice for all, by establishing security for life and property, by rendering cheerful obedience to law, and by living in peace and friendship with all nations. These principles have brought honor to America in the past and they will make her beautiful among the nations today.

O beautiful for pilgrim feet,
  Whose stern, impassioned stress
A thoroughfare for freedom beat
  Across the wilderness!
America! America!
  God mend thine every flaw,
Confirm thy soul in self-control,
  Thy liberty in law!

PROJECTS, ENTERPRISES, AND ACTIVITIES

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. What was the early policy of the United States towards immigration? Give reasons. Why has the policy changed during the last thirty years? Point out the connection between the change in the immigration policy and the events described in Chapter XXIX.

2. Mention ways in which your community or your State has benefited from immigrants, or has been injured by them.

3. Mention incidents in our history that explain in part the causes for the fear of the United States felt by many citizens of Latin-American countries. Tell what Blaine, Coolidge, and Hoover did to remove such fear and to bring about more friendly relations between our country and our neighbors.

4. Explain the main political issues before the country since 1920; state the position taken by the great parties on each issue; and give the result of each of the national political contests.

THINGS TO DO

1. Make a bar graph showing the proportion of city population to rural population in the United States at the following years: 1790, 1830, 1860, 1890, 1910, and 1930.

2. List cities in the United States which owe their growth chiefly to manufacturing; to commerce; to government.

3. Make a line graph showing the trend of immigration into the United States between 1820 and 1933. Consult an encyclopedia and (for 1930) *The World Almanac* or *The Chicago Daily News Almanac.*

4. Have a debate on one of these questions:

   a. Resolved, That the "literacy test" for admission to the United States should be abolished.

b. Resolved, That after five years from date all unskilled laborers coming from foreign lands should be excluded from the United States.

5. Volunteer to make a study of *one* of the immigrants mentioned on page 761. Tell the class the story of the life of the person you select and point out the ways in which he contributed to the welfare of his adopted country. See Annie E. S. Beard, *Our Foreign-Born Citizens* (Crowell), or Joseph Husband, *Americans by Adoption* (Little, Brown & Co.).

6. Bring newspaper clippings illustrating services rendered to the United States by Americans of foreign birth or parentage.

READINGS IN CLASS LIBRARY

1. "Warren Gamaliel Harding," *Our Presidents*, 287–298.
2. "Calvin Coolidge," *ibid.*, 299–307.
3. "Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Greatest American Sculptor," *Heroes of Progress*, 157–167.
4. "Theodore Thomas, the Man Who Taught Us to Love Music," *ibid.*, 189–198.
5. "The Future of the Republic," in *Source Book of American History*, 390–392.
6. "The Spirit of America," in *Readings in Community Life*, 188.
7. "Why I Came to America," *ibid.*, 189.
8. "How I Found America," *ibid.*, 190–195.
9. "From Serbia to America," *ibid.*, 196–198.
10. "What America Means to the Immigrant," *ibid.*, 198–199.
11. "In New York with Nine Cents," *ibid.*, 200–202.
12. "As Others See Us," *ibid.*, 208–213.
13. "Guarding America's Open Door," *ibid.*, 214–217.
14. "On Becoming an American Citizen," *ibid.*, 220–222.
15. "Americans," by Theodore Roosevelt, *ibid.*, 222–224.
16. "How Two Immigrant Families Were Americanized," *ibid.*, 224–228.
17. "Living Conditions of Immigrants," *ibid.*, 382–385.

18. " Washington, the Capitol City," *ibid.*, 394–402.
19. " The Manager Plan of Government," *ibid.*, 538–542.
20. "A Pioneer in Good Citizenship," *ibid.*, 629–631.
21. " Farming with Machinery," *In Our Times*, 19–22.
22. " By Steerage to the New World," *ibid.*, 72–75.
23. " Cities and Citizens," *America the Great Adventure*, 210–223.
24. " Commission Form of Government," *The World Book Encyclopedia*, 3:1584–1585.
25. " City Manager," *ibid.*, 3:1439.

LOOKING BACKWARD

A. THE STORY. THE NATION OF TODAY

Read aloud the following story and fill the blanks with the proper words to picture The Nation of Today:

People of all sections of our country and, in fact, people of the different countries of the world have become neighbors and life has become greatly enriched through man's inventiveness. Such inventions as the ____________, the ____________, and the ____________ make communication easy and rapid. Improved means of transportation by the ____________, the ____________, and the ____________ bring about greater travel and trade and a better understanding between people. Farmers are now able to do their work more efficiently and to find time for leisure activities because of the improved machinery such as the ____________ and the ____________. Better forms of entertainment are brought to all classes of people through the radio________ and the ____________.

The Government has attempted to safeguard the interests of the people against the evils of intoxicating liquor through the ____________ Amendment, which prohibits the ____________ ____________, and through the ____________ Act which attempts to ____________

Public schools supported by ____________ have been extended to include the ____________. Higher institutions of learning, [illegible] ________ and [illegible] ________; which existed long before the common schools, have greatly increased in number and in enrollment. Both the [illegible] ________ and the [illegible] ________ founded such institutions, and have continued to aid in their support. The Negroes have been helped to become useful citizens by the ________. Two outstanding institutions of learning for Negroes are located at [illegible] ________ and [illegible] ________. N.C.

Literature since the Civil War has represented every section of the country. Among the pioneer writers of the period are [illegible] Twain ________, Bret Harte ________, and ________. Two students of nature, [illegible] ________ and ________, have pictured and interpreted the out-of-doors in books. Outstanding among the poets of today are [illegible] Whitcomb ________, [illegible] ________, and Whittier ________.

Cities have grown rapidly because of

1. [illegible] ________ 4. [illegible] ________
2. sanitary conditions [illegible] ________ 5. ________
3. [illegible] ________ 6. [illegible] ________

City government has been a problem. The type of city government in which a city [illegible] ________ and a [illegible] ________ worked as separate departments, was followed in all cities until the ________. Since then the [illegible] ________ and the ________ plans have been introduced and are on trial today.

Our country has changed its policy concerning immigration. The early policy of the Government was [illegible] ________. But today the Government is [illegible] ________. Immigration benefits the country by supplying [illegible] ________. Immigration had to be restricted because (1) [illegible] ________ (2) [illegible] ________.

The Pan-American Union has brought about ________ between the republics of ________, ________, and ________.

The New Nation is united in spirit and has been enriched in its life, but it faces many difficult problems which the boys and girls of today must help to solve.

B. HISTORICAL TERMS

The terms given below in List 1 are used in the story of The Nation of Today. Find in List 2 a group of words to explain each term in List 1. Write on your paper the numbers and letters to show the matching terms. For example, number 1 in List 1 means the same as *d* in List 2; write on your paper 1–*d*.

List 1

1. temperance societies d
2. national prohibition i
3. local option e
4. Volstead Act g
5. common schools k
6. census a
7. commission government
8. city-manager plan
9. immigration f
10. aliens h
11. Pan-American Union
12. Co-education

List 2

a. an official count of the people
b. city government by a business expert
c. a bureau established to promote a better understanding between the republics of North and South America
d. organizations opposing the use of intoxicating liquors
e. decision by the vote of the people of a community
f. the entrance of settlers from a foreign country
g. a law to enforce prohibition
h. foreigners
i. the forbidding by law of the manufacture, transportation, and sale of liquor
j. city government by a small body of men elected by the people
k. elementary schools supported by public taxes
l. education of men and women in the same schools

C. CLASS ENTERPRISES

1. Two committees prepare silent dramatizations of the following: (a) Home Life Seventy Years Ago; (b) Home Life Today.

2. One pupil volunteers to explain with blackboard drawings how an automobile engine works.

3. Draw a graph showing the changes in population in your community since 1900.

4. Bring pictures from newspapers and magazines illustrating present-day wonders in communication and transportation.

5. Have an exhibit and demonstration of toy airplanes made by members of the class.

6. Tell about interesting features in the Chicago Century of Progress of 1933.

7. Have a Book Fair for the display (1) of textbooks used by your grandparents and parents and (2) of the textbooks in use in your school today.

8. Arrange a program on "Living American Authors." Recite a poem or read an essay or a short story by an American whom you admire, or tell about his life.

9. Draw maps showing changes in the area of your community at different times during the last one hundred years.

10. Post on the bulletin board in your classroom cartoons, pictures, or articles that picture "The New Deal."

11. Bring pictures and maps from newspapers and magazines illustrating the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA).

APPENDIX

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE[1]

In Congress, July 4, 1776

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: — That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

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[1] The spelling and capitalization have been changed to conform to modern usage.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature — right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies without the consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us in many cases of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow citizens taken captive on the high seas to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of the free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The foregoing Declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed, and signed by the following members[1]:

JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire — JOSIAH BARTLETT, WM. WHIPPLE, MATTHEW THORNTON.

Massachusetts Bay — SAML. ADAMS, JOHN ADAMS, ROBT. TREAT PAINE, ELBRIDGE GERRY.

Rhode Island — STEP. HOPKINS, WILLIAM ELLERY.

Connecticut — ROGER SHERMAN, SAM'EL HUNTINGTON, WM. WILLIAMS, OLIVER WOLCOTT.

New York — WM. FLOYD, PHIL. LIVINGSTON, FRANS. LEWIS, LEWIS MORRIS.

New Jersey — RICHD. STOCKTON, JNO. WITHERSPOON, FRAS. HOPKINSON, JOHN HART, ABRA. CLARK.

Pennsylvania — ROBT. MORRIS, BENJAMIN RUSH, BENJA. FRANKLIN, JOHN MORTON, GEO. CLYMER, JAS. SMITH, GEO. TAYLOR, JAMES WILSON, GEO. ROSS.

Delaware — CÆSAR RODNEY, GEO. READ, THO. M'KEAN.

Maryland — SAMUEL CHASE, WM. PACA, THOS. STONE, CHARLES CARROLL of Carrolton.

Virginia — GEORGE WYTHE, RICHARD HENRY LEE, TH. JEFFERSON, BENJA. HARRISON, THOS. NELSON, jr., FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE, CARTER BRAXTON.

North Carolina — WM. HOOPER, JOSEPH HEWES, JOHN PENN.

South Carolina — EDWARD RUTLEDGE, THOS. HEYWARD, Junr., THOMAS LYNCH, Junr., ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

Georgia — BUTTON GWINNETT, LYMAN HALL, GEO. WALTON.

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[1] The original copy of the Declaration of Independence is kept in the Library of Congress in Washington, D. C. The names of the States, given above for convenience, do not appear in the original document. The Declaration was adopted on July 4, 1776, and was signed by the members of Congress on August 2, 1776.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

SECTION I

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II

The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of *New Hampshire* shall be entitled to choose three, *Massachusetts* eight, *Rhode Island and Providence Plantations* one, *Connecticut* five, *New York* six, *New Jersey* four, *Pennsylvania* eight, *Delaware* one, *Maryland* six, *Virginia* ten, *North Carolina* five, *South Carolina* five, and *Georgia* three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore* in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV

The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V

Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceeding, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI

The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII

All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and the House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post offices and post roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offenses against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX

The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

SECTION X

No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

SECTION I

The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.] [1]

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he may have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION II

The President shall be Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

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[1] This clause of the Constitution has been amended. See twelfth article of the Amendments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV

The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

SECTION I

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II

The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III

Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

SECTION I

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II

The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION III

New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of any particular State.

SECTION IV

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress, provided that no amendments which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

AMENDMENTS

ARTICLE I (Ratified 1791)

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II (Ratified 1791)

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III (Ratified 1791)

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV (Ratified 1791)

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V (Ratified 1791)

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI (Ratified 1791)

In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII (Ratified 1791)

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII (Ratified 1791)

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX (Ratified 1791)

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X (Ratified 1791)

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

ARTICLE XI (Ratified 1798)

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII (Ratified 1804)

The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII (Ratified 1865)

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV (Ratified 1868)

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house remove such disability.

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV (Ratified 1870)

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI (Ratified 1913)

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII (Ratified 1913)

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided,* That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII (Ratified 1919)

After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, for beverage purposes, is hereby prohibited.

The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIX (Ratified 1920)

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this Article.

ARTICLE XX (Ratified 1933)

Section 1. The terms of the President and Vice President shall end at noon on the twentieth day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the third day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

Section 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the third day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President-elect shall have died, the Vice President-elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President-elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President-elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President-elect nor a Vice President-elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice President shall have qualified.

Section 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

Section 5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect upon the fifteenth day of October following the ratification of this article.

Section 6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

ARTICLE XXI (Ratified 1933)

Section 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

Section 2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or Possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by convention in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

DATES OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

1492 Columbus discovered America.
1497 Cabot discovered the continent of North America.
1507 America named after Americus Vespucius.
1519–1522 Magellan sailed around the world.
1588 England defeated the Spanish Armada.
1607 Founding of Virginia, the first permanent English colony in America.
1609 Hudson anchored in New York Harbor.
1619 Introduction of slavery.
1620 The Pilgrims settled Plymouth.
1630 The Puritans settled Boston.
1643–1684 New England Confederation.
1649 Religious toleration in Maryland.
1664 Capture of New Netherland by the English.
1682 William Penn came to America.
1706 Benjamin Franklin born in Boston.
1732 George Washington born in Virginia.
1733 Founding of Georgia, the last of the thirteen original colonies.
1760 George III came to the throne.
1763 Treaty of Peace with France.
1765 The Stamp Act.
1774 First Continental Congress.
1775 Lexington and Concord.
1775 Battle of Bunker Hill.
1776 Declaration of Independence.
1777 Burgoyne's surrender.
1779 George Rogers Clark won military possession of the Northwest.

1781 The British surrender at Yorktown.
1781 Articles of Confederation.
1783 Treaty of Peace with Great Britain.
1787 Ordinance for the Northwest Territory.
1787 Constitutional Convention.
1789 The Constitution went into operation.
1793 Invention of the cotton gin.
1796 Washington's Farewell Address.
1803 Purchase of Louisiana.
1807 Fulton's steamboat.
1809 Abraham Lincoln born in Kentucky.
1812 War with England.
1814 The Hartford Convention.
1819 Purchase of Florida.
1820 The Missouri Compromise.
1823 The Monroe Doctrine.
1825 The Erie Canal opened.
1828 Building of the first railroad in the United States.
1832 Jackson vetoed the United States Bank Bill.
1832 Nullification in South Carolina.
1837 Great financial panic.
1844 First telegraph line opened.
1845 Annexation of Texas.
1846 The Oregon Treaty.
1846–1848 The Mexican War.
1848 Discovery of gold in California.
1850 Compromise on slavery.
1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act.
1857 The Dred Scott decision.
1858 Lincoln-Douglas debates.
1859 John Brown's raid.
1861 Lincoln becomes President.
1861–1865 The Civil War.
1863 Emancipation Proclamation.
1863 Battle of Gettysburg.
1865 Appomattox.
1866 Atlantic cable laid.
1869 First railway to the Pacific.
1879 Specie payment resumed.
1883 Civil Service reform.
1887 Interstate Commerce Commission established.
1894 Coming of the automobile.
1898 War with Spain.
1898 Annexation of Porto Rico, the Philippines, and Hawaii.
1903 Coming of the airplane.
1909 Discovery of the North Pole.
1913 Federal Reserve Bank Act.
1914 Opening of the Panama Canal.
1914–1918 The World War.
1917 Purchase of Danish West Indies.
1917 The United States entered the World War.
1917 Immigration Restriction Act.
1919 Eighteenth Amendment Ratified.
1921–1922 Arms Conference at Washington.
1927 Lindbergh flew alone from New York to Paris.
1928 Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact signed in Paris.
1929 The Great Depression.
1930 London Naval Disarmament Conference.
1932 Reconstruction Finance Corporation Established.
1933 National Recovery Act.
1933 London Economic Conference.
1933 Twentieth and Twenty-first Amendments Ratified.
1934 Devaluation of Dollar.
1935 Nullification of NRA.

TABLE OF PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS

NO.	PRESIDENT	STATE	BORN	DIED	TERM OF OFFICE	ELECTED BY	VICE PRESIDENT	STATE
1	George Washington	Virginia	1732	1799	Two terms; 1789–1797	Whole people	John Adams	Massachusetts
2	John Adams	Massachusetts	1735	1826	One term; 1797–1801	Federalists	Thomas Jefferson	Virginia
3	Thomas Jefferson	Virginia	1743	1826	Two terms; 1801–1809	House of Repres. Republicans	Aaron Burr George Clinton	New York New York
4	James Madison	Virginia	1751	1836	Two terms; 1809–1817	Republicans	George Clinton Elbridge Gerry	New York Massachusetts
5	James Monroe	Virginia	1758	1831	Two terms; 1817–1825	Republicans	Daniel D. Tompkins	New York
6	John Quincy Adams	Massachusetts	1767	1848	One term; 1825–1829	House of Repres.	John C. Calhoun	South Carolina
7	Andrew Jackson	Tennessee	1767	1845	Two terms; 1829–1837	Democrats	John C. Calhoun Martin Van Buren	South Carolina New York
8	Martin Van Buren	New York	1782	1862	One term; 1837–1841	Democrats	Richard M. Johnson	Kentucky
9	William H. Harrison	Ohio	1773	1841	One month; 1841	Whigs	John Tyler	Virginia
10	John Tyler	Virginia	1790	1862	3 yrs. and 11 mos.; 1841–1845	Whigs		
11	James K. Polk	Tennessee	1795	1849	One term; 1845–1849	Democrats	George M. Dallas	Pennsylvania
12	Zachary Taylor	Louisiana	1784	1850	1 yr. and 4 mos.; 1849–1850	Whigs	Millard Fillmore	New York
13	Millard Fillmore	New York	1800	1874	2 yrs. and 8 mos.; 1850–1853	Whigs		
14	Franklin Pierce	New Hampshire	1804	1869	One term; 1853–1857	Democrats	William R. King	Alabama
15	James Buchanan	Pennsylvania	1791	1868	One term; 1857–1861	Democrats	John C. Breckinridge	Kentucky
16	Abraham Lincoln	Illinois	1809	1865	1 term and 1 mo.; 1861–1865	Republicans	Hannibal Hamlin Andrew Johnson	Maine Tennessee
17	Andrew Johnson	Tennessee	1808	1875	3 yrs. and 11 mos.; 1865–1869	Republicans		
18	Ulysses S. Grant	Illinois	1822	1885	Two terms; 1869–1877	Republicans	Schuyler Colfax Henry Wilson	Indiana Massachusetts
19	Rutherford B. Hayes	Ohio	1822	1893	One term; 1877–1881	Republicans	William A. Wheeler	New York
20	James A. Garfield	Ohio	1831	1881	6 months and 15 days; 1881	Republicans	Chester A. Arthur	New York
21	Chester A. Arthur	New York	1830	1886	3 yrs. 5 mos. 15 days; 1881–1885	Republicans		
22	Grover Cleveland	New York	1837	1908	First term; 1885–1889	Democrats	Thomas A. Hendricks	Indiana
23	Benjamin Harrison	Indiana	1833	1901	One term; 1889–1893	Republicans	Levi P. Morton	New York
24	Grover Cleveland	New York	1837	1908	Second term; 1893–1897	Democrats	Adlai E. Stevenson	Illinois
25	William McKinley	Ohio	1843	1901	1 term and 6 mos.; 1897–1901	Republicans	Garrett A. Hobart Theodore Roosevelt	New Jersey New York
26	Theodore Roosevelt	New York	1858	1919	1 term and 3 yrs. 5 mos. 18 days; 1901–1909	Republicans	Charles W. Fairbanks	Indiana
27	William H. Taft	Ohio	1857	1930	One term; 1909–1913	Republicans	James S. Sherman	New York
28	Woodrow Wilson	New Jersey	1856	1924	Two terms; 1913–1921	Democrats	Thomas R. Marshall	Indiana
29	Warren G. Harding	Ohio	1865	1923	2 yrs. 5 mos.; 1921–1923	Republicans	Calvin Coolidge	Massachusetts
30	Calvin Coolidge	Massachusetts	1872	1933	5 yrs. 7 mos.; 1923–1929	Republicans	Charles G. Dawes	Illinois
31	Herbert C. Hoover	California	1874		One term; 1929–1933	Republicans	Charles Curtis	Kansas
32	Franklin D. Roosevelt	New York	1882		1933	Democrats	John N. Garner	Texas

IMPORTANT FACTS ABOUT THE STATES

STATES	DATE OF ADMISSION	AREA IN SQ. MILES	POPULATION IN 1930
The Thirteen Original States			
1. DELAWARE		2,370	238,380
2. PENNSYLVANIA		45,126	9,631,350
3. NEW JERSEY		8,224	4,041,334
4. GEORGIA		59,265	2,908,506
5. CONNECTICUT		4,965	1,606,903
6. MASSACHUSETTS		8,266	4,249,614
7. MARYLAND		12,327	1,631,526
8. SOUTH CAROLINA		30,989	1,738,765
9. NEW HAMPSHIRE		9,341	465,293
10. VIRGINIA		42,627	2,421,851
11. NEW YORK		49,204	12,588,066
12. NORTH CAROLINA		52,426	3,170,276
13. RHODE ISLAND		1,248	687,497
14. Vermont	March 4, 1791	9,564	359,611
15. Kentucky	June 1, 1792	40,598	2,614,589
16. Tennessee	June 1, 1796	42,022	2,616,556
17. Ohio	Feb. 19, 1803	41,040	6,646,697
18. Louisiana	April 8, 1812	48,506	2,101,593
19. Indiana	Dec. 11, 1816	36,354	3,238,503
20. Mississippi	Dec. 10, 1817	46,865	2,009,821
21. Illinois	Dec. 3, 1818	56,665	7,630,654
22. Alabama	Dec. 14, 1819	51,998	2,646,248
23. Maine	March 15, 1820	33,040	797,423
24. Missouri	Aug. 10, 1821	69,420	3,629,367
25. Arkansas	June 15, 1836	53,335	1,854,482
26. Michigan	Jan. 26, 1837	57,980	4,842,325
27. Florida	March 3, 1845	58,666	1,468,211
28. Texas	Dec. 29, 1845	265,896	5,824,715
29. Iowa	Dec. 28, 1846	56,147	2,470,939
30. Wisconsin	May 29, 1848	56,066	2,939,006
31. California	Sept. 9, 1850	158,297	5,677,251
32. Minnesota	May 11, 1858	84,682	2,563,953
33. Oregon	Feb. 14, 1859	96,699	953,786
34. Kansas	Jan. 29, 1861	82,158	1,880,999
35. West Virginia	June 19, 1863	24,170	1,729,205
36. Nevada	Oct. 31, 1864	110,690	91,058
37. Nebraska	March 1, 1867	77,520	1,377,963
38. Colorado	Aug. 1, 1876	103,948	1,035,791
39. North Dakota	Nov. 3, 1889	70,837	680,845
40. South Dakota	Nov. 3, 1889	77,615	692,849
41. Montana	Nov. 8, 1889	146,997	537,606
42. Washington	Nov. 11, 1889	69,127	1,563,396
43. Idaho	July 3, 1890	83,888	445,032
44. Wyoming	July 10, 1890	97,914	225,565
45. Utah	Jan. 4, 1896	84,990	507,847
46. Oklahoma	Nov. 16, 1907	70,057	2,396,040
47. New Mexico	Jan. 6, 1912	122,634	423,317
48. Arizona	Feb. 14, 1912	113,956	435,573

TERRITORIES AND POSSESSIONS	DATE OF ANNEXATION		
Continental United States	....	....	122,775,046
Alaska	1867	590,884	59,278
District of Columbia	1790	72	486,869
Hawaii	1898	6,449	368,336
Philippines	1899	114,400	*10,350,640
Porto Rico	1899	3,435	1,543,913
Guam	1899	210	18,509
American Samoa	1900	77	10,055
Panama Canal Zone	1904	527	39,467
Virgin Islands	1917	132	22,012
Military and Naval Service, etc., Abroad	....	....	89,453

*Figure for 1920.

AREA OF THE UNITED STATES IN SQUARE MILES

Area in 1790	892,135
Area in 1930	3,738,395

The latter figure includes all of the dependencies of the United States.

POPULATION OF CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES BY DECADES

1790	3,929,214
1800	5,308,483
1810	7,239,881
1820	9,638,453
1830	12,866,020
1840	17,069,453
1850	23,191,876
1860	31,443,321
1870	38,558,371
1880	50,155,783
1890	62,947,714
1900	75,994,575
1910	91,972,266
1920	105,710,620
1930	122,775,046

If the population of the Philippines and other island dependencies were added, the total population at the present time would be about 135,713,578.

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS 1933–1941

STATES	SENATE	HOUSE REP'S
Alabama	2	9
Arizona	2	1
Arkansas	2	7
California	2	20
Colorado	2	4
Connecticut	2	6
Delaware	2	1
Florida	2	5
Georgia	2	10
Idaho	2	2
Illinois	2	27
Indiana	2	12
Iowa	2	9
Kansas	2	7
Kentucky	2	9
Louisiana	2	8
Maine	2	3
Maryland	2	6
Massachusetts	2	15
Michigan	2	17
Minnesota	2	9
Mississippi	2	7
Missouri	2	13
Montana	2	2
Nebraska	2	5
Nevada	2	1
New Hampshire	2	2
New Jersey	2	14
New Mexico	2	1
New York	2	45
North Carolina	2	11
North Dakota	2	2
Ohio	2	24
Oklahoma	2	9
Oregon	2	3
Pennsylvania	2	34
Rhode Island	2	2
South Carolina	2	6
South Dakota	2	2
Tennessee	2	9
Texas	2	21
Utah	2	2
Vermont	2	1
Virginia	2	9
Washington	2	6
West Virginia	2	6
Wisconsin	2	10
Wyoming	2	1
Total	96	435

Two Territorial Delegates—one each from Alaska and Hawaii—sit in the House of Representatives. These delegates are permitted to speak, but not to vote. Porto Rico is represented in Congress by a Commissioner and the Philippines by two Commissioners.

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